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VOL. VI.—PART II.

1556—1557.  
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EDITED BY
RAWDON BROWN.

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VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1556 *continued.*

1556.
Oct. 20.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.

669. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, and FEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary accredited to the Duke of Alva and to the Pope, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In execution of the commands contained in your Serenity's letters of the 16th instant, we had audience of the Pope to-day at 1 p.m. His Holiness, supposing that the Secretary had come to take leave, said "The Secretary must think it an age until he returns;" to which I, Ambassador, replied, "Holy Father, the Secretary is here to serve your Holiness, and as long as he can do so will remain willingly, knowing that such is the intention of the most serene Signory, who being most anxious for the peace and quiet of Christendom, of Italy, and of this See, and especially of your Holiness, has resolved to send back the Secretary to the Duke of Alva (having understood by our letters how ready your Holiness shows yourself to make the agreement, towards which the said Duke likewise assured the Secretary he was inclined), charging him to propose to his Excellency two courses, the one to send your Holiness, by an agent of his own, articles and conditions more fair and suitable and such as may be to the dignity of this Holy See, the other to hold a conference, as the means which have often contributed to effect so good a result as peace, and to demonstrate by deeds what he has said in words about his goodwill; but that first of all the Secretary be sent to your Holiness to receive from you such suggestions about these two courses as may be thought fit, and then that your Holiness should let him know which of them would please you most, so that he may endeavour with all earnestness to have it taken."

The Pope, after listening attentively, replied, "Magnifico Ambascador, we thank the Signory for this office, and by reason of the love we bear them we could not but take what they do in good part, though we tell you that this sending or doing nothing at all are all one (*che questo mandar, et niente, è tutto uno*) with these enemies of God, because this Duke is an agent; and you, who are experienced in affairs of state, well know that agents cannot do one thing more than another without a commission, although this individual arrogates great power to himself, and says he has performed so grand a feat as this present impiety without its having

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been ordered him, which is in truth a fine and eminent commendation; but this is not the case, for he received the order thus to do, nor may you suppose that without it he would have advanced so far and not have written *maria et montes* to his master, and that he will also do and say much more, and can you expect that he will not wait a reply? But admitting that he is at liberty to make the agreement, rest assured that for words you will bring back words; he will tell you some of those his first knaveries (*sue gagliofferie prime*) about the prisoners and the re-establishment of our vassals. What we have done was well done, and when it shall please God we will prove this against them and their accomplices. To retract what we have done would be to betray Christ, *cujus vicem gerimus*; this we will not do, we will die first; and when unable to remain here we will go to a place where we shall have opportunity for finishing our processes, and doing what becomes us, and what was done by former Popes for much slighter cause. The mere harbouring of our vassals, besides so many other causes, is sufficient for the privation of other kingdoms and empires, most especially of our own fiefs, which we will assign to those who shall conquer them. The kingdom of Naples is not so mean and insignificant as not to find some one who will wish for it. This is what I have to say about conditions: as for the Conference, that Duke would fain do as on the last occasion, when his snares and way-layings (*le sue insidie et assassinamenti*) were discovered, for God assisted the Cardinal San Giacomo and our nephew, who fell sick and could not go thither; so that in short you will obtain no good result, and will compromise the most illustrious Signory's dignity, for that man (*colui*) will laugh both at you and at us; and to open our heart to you freely, out of the love we bear you, and not to despatch you as we should any other ambassador, with a few well-weighed words, we in this matter will neither give you counsel nor any consent."

I, the Ambassador, rejoined, that the Secretary being here by commission from your Serenity for the service of his Holiness, I besought him to give some hint (*lume*) about his will respecting these conventions (*partiti*). The Pope replied, "Shall we tell you what the Signory should do, and which would have served to curb those Imperialists (*costoro*)? They should have sent to say to the Duke of Alva, What art thou doing that thou comest so far forward? Why dost thou make war on a Pope and the See Apostolic? Desist from hostilities, cease to attack, as otherwise we will not put up with it. Had the Signory done this, we promise you that by this time we should be at peace, because the Imperialists (*costoro*) are afraid of those who show them their teeth, and deride such as perform any cold offices."

Having said this, his Holiness seemed by degrees to go working himself into a rage, like one who wished to say, what the Pope did say, thus, "We understand that those Imperialists (*costoro*) are practising on you, and propose large conditions (*partiti larghi*), but if you accept them they will be *in perniciem vestram*; never will you have had a worse day than that one, and you will pay dear for what you have done; we tell you this, and protest in the name

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of God that you will pay the reckoning for it if you render yourselves the friends of His [Divine] Majesty's rebels, of one who persecutes the religion, for you will soon see them open heretics, as they now are secret ones; but why do we say secret ones, if, in addition to this honourable undertaking of making war on us, Philip eats meat in public on the eves during the Ember weeks and in Lent; but he says, 'Oh, the weakness of my stomach compels me to do so.' Eat in your chamber, scoundrel (*mangia in camera, scelerato*); and as thou knowest that this is one of the tenets (*propositioni*) of the Lutherans, do not give the world this scandalous example; but who forbids the son to resemble his father, who, as we have told you, encouraged those heresies to make himself master of Rome, and when he saw that it was intended to apply a remedy he ordained something worse, which was the '*Interim*.'"*

Here the Pope repeated the words uttered heretofore against the Emperor in person, as written by me to your Serenity, calling him diabolical (*indivolato*), soulless (*senza anima*), thirsting for the blood of Christians, schismatic, born to destroy the world; mentioning the bad state of Flanders, Spain, the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples, "*which,*" he said, "*was in such distress that it would give itself to the Turks; but that God assists us, so that they they do not think of it, although they have the convenience of a short passage, such as that of Vallona to Puglia;*" adding, "Ally yourselves with these people, who have always been your friends, as testified by Maximilian, who laid siege to Padua with upwards of 100,000 men, and they pretend that your territory is theirs; and you permit the destruction of the religion, the faith of Christ, the state of the See Apostolic! By God! when we are devoured, you will be their salad (*una insalata a costoro*), nor will it be of any use for you to call Sultan Soliman to your assistance. Do not deceive yourselves, these Imperialists seek first to humble us, to destroy the religion, and then you, because you have more vigour with regard to temporal power, in order then to make themselves masters of Italy, as no one else remains there. Remember that you have to give account of your actions, first to God, should you allow His cause to perish; then, we will not say to us, for we shall soon leave you, being old, as you perceive, but to him who is to come after us, nor can you know who it may be; and last of all to posterity, who will marvel how you can have been so blind and stupid as not to see your own welfare. Know that you are lords of men and not of brutes; where are there so many beautiful and flourishing cities, and such populous ones, as in your territory? Where is a university like that of Padua? where you have greater convenience than anyone else for making your children study; besides which, through the variety of negotiations transacted by you at sundry periods, and by reason of your natural prudence, you are fitted to rule the world; wherefore you will have to render by so much the greater account of your actions. Do not then permit the

* A system of theology so called, prepared by order of the Emperor in the year 1548, and which was disapproved of both by Catholics and Protestants.

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possibility of your being reproved ; take up the cause of religion, of justice ; open your eyes to your own advantage and honour.

Thereupon, I, the Ambassador, said, "Holy Father, the proceedings of our ancestors were not of such a sort as to render it possible to entertain suspicion that those most prudent Lords now living could ever do anything to the prejudice of the honour of God, or to the detriment of the [Roman Catholic] religion, nor do I know of any conditions (*partito*) proposed to them." The Pope replied, "We know of it, and it has been announced to us ;" to which I rejoined, "*Most blessed Father, I can assure your Holiness that the most illustrious Signory never bore any sovereign so much affection as is borne by them towards the See Apostolic, and especially towards your Holiness, nor do they seek anything but peace, of which they hope you will make a most precious gift to the world.*"

He then continued, "We do not need to be exhorted to make peace, nor could a greater injury be done us than to doubt the fact, and to wish to persuade us thus to do, for the whole of our past life has tended towards nothing else, and in like manner the commencement of our pontificate ;" and he then commenced telling of the "Reform," the "Council," the "Datariato," and other things on this subject, as mentioned repeatedly and written by me ; adding, "*These Imperialists are the enemies of God, and traitors ; you indeed know about the poisonings and the acts of treachery, both against our person and our kinsfolk, which we discovered. Do you wish us to let ourselves be assassinated by your means ; do you yourselves wish to sell us ? Do you kill us in preference, as we shall at least die by the hands of Christians, if indeed manibus hominum perisse juvabit.*" To this I replied, "*Holy Father, absit, nothing is desired but what may be advantageous and honourable for your Holiness, and therefore the most serene Signory is sending back this Secretary to the Duke of Alva.*"

"Do as you please," said the Pope ; "we will not fail in our duty provided the Imperialists (*costoro*) quit the Papal States, freeing our whole territory, and making reparation for loss and interest, as that would be fellowship (*perchè questo saria da compagni*), unless they prefer coming as suppliants to beg pardon and exemption from the censures already incurred by them, in which case we should not close our heart to pity ; but were we to do otherwise we should consider ourselves unworthy of the post filled by, us, nor will we omit repeating to you to bear in mind what he (*quello che fece*) did, as they will propose to you whatever may please you, and then do nothing of the sort, as is also the case with those others," alluding, so far as can be judged, to the King of France and the Duke of Ferrara ; repeating to us what he said to me, Ambassador. "*Nullum non lapidem moverunt.*" You know the affair of the Farneses, and that they have even placed (*messo*) that carrion Ascanio della Cornia (*quella carogna d'Ascanio della Cornia*). We do not ask you for a league, nor for any other assistance, but merely that you should direct yourselves well and provide for your affairs ; and you, Secretary, may make this report to those lords, *though their first wish ought assuredly to be to see a King of Naples and a Duke of Milan, were they to get*

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nothing else, as this would be their aggrandizement and security, and to effect it they should pledge their property, and their wives and children, and remain nude, and they should expel from their councils those who persuade them to the contrary." In conclusion the Pope said, "Magnifico Ambassador, the respect we bear the most illustrious Signory, and the great trust we place in you, makes us speak thus, as we always have done." Then, having thanked him for so free and confidential a discourse, we said that the Secretary would go to the Duke of Alva, as commissioned, and then return to let his Holiness know what he had done. He replied "Go" (*andate*), and having received the benediction, we took leave.

For the entire fulfilment of the Signory's orders we then went to Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano at Monte Cavallo, and I, Ambassador, announced to them the Secretary's return to the camp, as I had done to the Pope, adding that his Holiness had not condescended to say which of the two proposals pleased him best, merely telling him at the end to go. The Cardinal replied that the Pope did perhaps not declare his mind, because, knowing the nature of the Imperialists, he suspected that it might render the Duke of Alva yet more elate, but that he, the Cardinal, very much approved of the proposal for fairer terms and articles, such as might be to the dignity of the See Apostolic, rather because the other course could not be adopted for several reasons, one of which was that the enemy held the open country, so that there was no safe place in which to hold the conferences; the other, that they would not end in an hour, and that the delegates would have to remain there several days, it being necessary to set forward the conditions before coming to the interview. This was confirmed by the Duke of Paliano, who added that he could very safely promise that the Pope would never reject fair terms, and that whenever able to make the agreement to the dignity of the See Apostolic he would do so; and with regard to his brother and himself, he said there was nothing more advantageous or more desired by them than peace, provided the Pope's dignity were preserved. When we asked them where the army was, they said they believed it to be at Frascati, and that the Duke of Alva was to find himself at Grottaferrata this evening, having circulated a report of going to Veletri, though this they doubted, as it was a strong place, garrisoned by good troops and a good commander, the latter being Adrian Baglione.

In these conversations, most serene Prince, we think we have elicited two facts, the one that the Pope has been advised [from Venice?], or informed from some other quarter, that a league is being attempted between the Imperialists and your Serenity, a suspicion which I sought to eradicate; the other is that neither the Pope nor Cardinal Caraffa seemed inclined towards the peace in the way demonstrated by them at our last interview [12th October], which is perhaps owing to the many and positive promises of assistance from France, although the Duke of Paliano evinced the same ardent desire for peace as always professed by him.

Rome, 20th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, with contemporary decipher.*]

1556.
Oct. 20.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

670. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The preparations for the war remain in the same state as described in my last of the 14th, for the purpose it is said of awaiting fresh advices from Rome about the conference which was to be held; but last evening a secretary of Cardinal Tournon arrived, and although he brings word that the Pope will make no agreement, and this is confirmed by the new Nuncio Cesare Brancaccio, late Governor of Rome, who arrived here to-day postwise, no further steps are taken about the preparations aforesaid. It seems that his most Christian Majesty would wish to find means for adjusting the affairs with the Pope, and that the report of these preparations may the rather induce the King of England to make the agreement, for as frequently written by me, his most Christian Majesty has always kept a certain sort of negotiation on foot with him, and lately through the Cardinal of Lorraine, who told the Abbot of San Saluto (as written in my letter of the 9th) that King Henry wished King Philip to send him one of his ministers (un suo) to let him know his mind with greater certainty than it is represented by his ambassador resident here, who conferred about this to-day with the Constable, and told him that Don Ruy Gomez is determined to come himself to his most Christian Majesty should it thus please him (quando così gli sia caro), but that first of all he wishes his Excellency, as a veteran diplomatist, to open the road for him, whereby to negotiate peace between the two crowns, because as for the Pope the matter was not of sufficient consequence to prevent the possibility of discovering an immediate remedy. The Constable answered the Ambassador that with regard to the coming hither of Don Ruy Gomez his most Christian Majesty will always be glad to see him, and as to opening a road for the negotiation of peace he could only repeat what was said at the conference of Calais, that whenever the King of England will make restitution, his most Christian Majesty is ready to do the like, and that should King Philip choose to hold what he has, King Henry also will hold his own, whilst if on the other hand King Philip prefers placing himself in the hands of arbitrators, his most Christian Majesty would consent to that. The Ambassador announced this, as he was desired to do, by a courier to Don Ruy Gomez, so we shall soon see the result.*

Some months ago the King of France gave Madame de Valentinois [Diane de Poitiers] the Turkish and Moorish slaves who were saved from the Imperial galleys wrecked off Corsica, and the said lady sold them lately to an agent of Adam Centurione, who bought them for Prince Doria, at the rate of 26 golden crowns per head, they being 633 in number; and shortly afterwards a Turk arrived at the Court in the name of Sultan Soliman to request his Majesty to release the said slaves, and the sale having been made shortly before, the Turk was kept waiting for audience eight or ten days, and they then told him that his most Christian Majesty was

* The signs in the cipher signify "Sua Mta. Xma.," evidently a clerical error for "Sua Santità."

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content to release them if they were in his hands, wherefore the Turk was to go to Corsica, and if he found them, an order should be given him for their immediate release; but as their purchaser has had time to remove them from the island it is considered certain that the Turk will arrive there after their departure.

Paris, 20th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

671. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The new Nuncio had audience of the King yesterday, and in the Pope's name strongly urged his Majesty no longer to delay declaring that the truce was broken, and to commence marching his forces already destined for the assistance of his Holiness, who was in such a state as not to have the means of holding out much longer without fresh aid from his Majesty. When he departed, the King discussed what was to be done with his Council of Affairs (con il suo Consiglio delli Affari), and although some of the members were of opinion that without farther delay it would be well to satisfy his Holiness, the Constable, nevertheless, persuaded his Majesty to wait for six or eight days, during which interval the decision from Ferrara would arrive, and moreover, Don Ruy Gomez having given it to be understood that he would come hither, it was well to await the result of his visit, as from that, and yet more from the Duke of Alva's mode of proceeding, it might be inferred that the King of England was not averse to the agreement, as unless he in fact wished for it those troops would make greater progress and do more mischief than they are heard to do. The King therefore determined that the resolves made about the war are all to remain suspended in their present form.

It has been determined to assist the troops in Savoy, by sending them two arrears of pay (*doi paghe*), it being feared that were they to receive more, they would disband by reason of the great hardships they have endured. The Government is still intent on pecuniary supply, and his Majesty sent for the chief burgesses of this city, and in fair language proposed to them to accommodate him with a certain good amount of money, paying the usual interest of eight and one-third per cent., but nothing whatever is yet settled, for although they evinced their customary good-will, they, nevertheless, also said something about the straits in which they now find themselves, owing to so long a war as the preceding one was, though it is believed that they will not fail to satisfy his Majesty. The muster of the men-at-arms, which was to have been made on the 20th, is put off until the 30th.

Paris, 22nd October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*], ,

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Oct. 22.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7. B.672. FEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and
SENATE.

Yesterday I went to Grotta Ferrata, 10 miles hence, where I found the Duke of Alva with the whole army. I arrived at 6 p.m., and shortly afterwards was introduced to his Excellency, to whom I stated what your Serenity had again ordered me to do, from your wish to see the peace set on foot, for the general advantage, employing the identical words of your letter, but omitting (as recommended) the paragraph about the conference, as neither that, nor still less the preceding one, had pleased his Holiness, and insisting on the one about proposing fairer articles and conditions, and more to the dignity of this See Apostolic [and of his Holiness, Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano having commended this.

His Excellency replied that, to speak freely with me, as he had done already, and as was his custom, he would tell me that he knew no one more desirous of peace and quiet than the most serene King of Spain, both by nature, as also because this was not a war in which he could amplify his territory and dominion, as it was waged against the Pope, which would not be the case with any other power; and that as it was waged unintentionally, on cessation of its cause the effect will cease immediately; and that with regard to his Excellency, he could assure me in truth that the peace will be more dear to him, and the adjustment more agreeable, than were he to take Rome, and the Pope, and the whole of the Papal States; adding that, before answering me, he deemed it necessary well to ponder the nature of this infirmity, so as to be enabled subsequently to discern the remedy which it would be good to apply to it, *concerning which he also wished for my opinion and counsel.* And he proceeded to say that these priests are of such a sort that towards those who humble themselves before them they evince such haughtiness that there is no living with them, nor can anything that is desired be obtained from them, whilst, on the other hand, to those who show them their teeth they are no less servile (*che la sorte di questi preti è tale, che chi si humilia con loro, essi se inalzano tanto, che non si po viver, ne si po ottener cosa che si voglia, et così all' incontro, che chi mostra loro li denti, s'abbassano altrettanto*); and that his Excellency, having made every demonstration of humility and submission, they had elevated themselves to such a pitch (*si sono talmente inalzati*) as to bring matters to their present pass, and that therefore he intended proceeding in another manner (*havea animo di proceder di altra maniera*), and to see about putting a stronger bridle on them, and try whether this other way could help to make them condescend to the agreement; and that as to proposing fairer terms, and more to the dignity of this Holy See and of his Beatitude, and sending them by a personage of his own (*un suo personaggio*) (as suggested by me to him), he had sent the articles with which I was acquainted, believing them to be such that by cancelling a single one of them the agreement to be made would not last, as was the wish of the King, of your Serenity, and of his Excellency, who had not had much regard for the dignity of his Royal Majesty, and for his own, appreciating the

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said dignity less than he did the peace, and drawing up the articles in such a way that on their execution things might remain quiet and pacific. That two days ago they sent back to him his Friar Manrique (Fra Tomaso Manrique)* with certain impertinencies (con certe cose impertinenti), and that his Excellency re-despatched him with a reply of the same tenour; notwithstanding all which, however, to prove the wish of his Majesty and of his Excellency to be such as stated by him, he was willing to resume his former system of submission and humility if I counselled him thus to do, the which course he nevertheless felt certain would bear no fruit whatever. In reply to his inquiry concerning what I thought on the subject, I said that it was not requisite for me to counsel his Excellency farther, knowing how good he was, but that I would indeed tell him again that your Serenity relied so much on his prudence and experience in business (nella pratica che ha delle cose) as to make you promise yourself firmly that, with the wish always expressed by him for peace, as confirmed by me, and in conformity with that of his Majesty and of your Serenity, he would prove this his desire to the world by devising conditions of the sort specified by me. To this his Excellency replied, "Let us do thus: have the articles proposed by me taken in hand by those most illustrious lords; let them hear the Pope's reasons, and those of the King, and adjust them in their own fashion, as I shall always be disposed to do what they shall choose;" adding, "Lead me, guide me as you will, for I shall always be content with their decision, knowing how great are the wisdom and justice of those lords, provided it can aid the business of the agreement; but let them beware of doing the contrary, for I know the nature of those who rule the Pope (conoscendo io la natura di quei che governano il Pontefice).† You will go to Rome; should you comprehend that it would be well for me again to humble myself (as I have said), you will write me word, as I will do so willingly."

I replied that I understood what his Excellency had told me about his goodwill towards the peace, and repeating for the third time what I had said to him in your Serenity's name, I added that there would be no occasion to write farther to his Excellency, as he might have very well understood from me what your Serenity's wish was in the matter, and, according to the Signory's commands, I utterly declined interfering in it farther, and perceive that your Serenity's will and respect in this particular were sage.

This much I have to tell you in respectful execution of the instructions given me; nor will I omit adding that his Excellency said that these Lords (questi Signori) purpose giving into the hands of the French some of these fortresses, and he mentioned Corneto near Civitavecchia, which place I forgot to name to your Serenity, and that his Excellency knew it to be most certain; and through

* See Foreign Calendar, Mary, pp. 253, 270, date 16th September and 17th October 1556.

† The Pope, at the period in question, was ruled by his nephews, by the Florentines Monsignor della Casa, and Aldobrandini, and by the Neapolitan, Bozzuto. See also Badoer's "Report," printed by Alberi, series 2, vol. 3, p. 405. (Edition, Florence, 1846.)

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an excellent channel (requesting me to keep the thing secret) he also knew that, in "sede vacante," it is the intention of Cardinal Caraffa to make himself master of Ancona, and arrange his affairs by giving it to the French, saying, "Would to God that the Pope would not place himself so much in the power of the French, as subsequently, even should he wish it, he would no longer be at liberty to attend to the agreement and peace."

Then this morning there came to the chamber where I was lodged, in the abbacy itself of Grotta Ferrata, where I was accommodated both with a bed and every other necessary from the Duke's personal effects, there came, I say, his Excellency's chief secretary (who on the preceding evening met me with some horsemen), and kept me company for a while, saying he chose in like manner to descend the hill with me; and when near the Duke's tent, he said it would be well for me to see his Excellency again, so I dismounted, although I had taken leave of him, to depart next morning, on the evening before. I found him in the said tent where he resides since he has been at Grotta Ferrata, and he commenced repeating what he had said to me in the evening, detaining me more than a quarter of an hour, nor did I fail to answer him in conformity with what I had done on the aforesaid evening, doing the like by the secretary, who then, having asked leave of his Excellency, accompanied me a good way on the road (*mi fece compagnia per un bon pezzo*).

Yesterday, at a short distance from Grottaferrata, I met the Prince of Bisignano and Count Pepoli, with whom I went as far as the camp; and the said Count, who is the son of a sister of the Pope, spoke to me at great length about his regret for this war, and his wish for peace; as did the Prince, who asked me whether any of his "*Companions of the Hose*" of the "*Gardeners Company*" (*nominati "Li Hortolani"*)* were still alive; and he said great honour had been done him at Venice, he and his descendants having been inscribed on the Golden Book. The Imperial army is encamped around the aforesaid abbey of Grottaferrata, a strong position, and convenient for wood and water.

From what I heard it consists (down to this day) including Spaniards, the Italians already on the spot, those who arrived yesterday, and the other 3,000 who were expected to-day from the Abruzzi, of about 20,000 infantry. The Spaniards, well accoutred and fine troops, are in number some 3,000; and the others, also, seem to be good soldiers. They have 21 squadrons of light-horse, but which are not all of equal number, some being 60 strong, some

* The so called "*Knights of the Hose*," were young Venetian noblemen, "*boon-companions*," who formed themselves into companies at Venice, and gave entertainments, banquets, revels, &c., of which, mention is often made in the diaries of Marin Sanuto, who, besides the "*Hortolani*," alludes to other companies, entitled "*Immortali*," "*Sempre-vivi*," "*Perpetui*," "*Eterni*," "*Puavoli*" (puppets), "*Felici*," "*Principali*," "*Liberati*," "*Sbragazai*" (Rakes), "*Fraterni*," "*Potenti*," "*Fausti*," &c., &c. The Potentates of Italy, the Dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, and other grandees, in the 16th century, were proud of being enrolled as honorary members of these companies, and whenever they came to Venice their colleagues gave them entertainments. Their devices were embroidered on their "*hose*," as seen by the engravings in Cesare Vecellio's work, "*Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*." (Ed. Venezia, 1590, 8vo.)

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80, and some 100. They have six ensigns (*stendardi*) of men-at-arms, who do not amount to 500, and eleven pieces of artillery, including heavy guns and field-pieces (*tra grossa et da campo*). They have got from the Abruzzi 2,000 sappers and miners (*guastadori*), whom I saw, and they have no lack of beasts of burden both for victuals and to draw the artillery. Marc' Antonio Colonna is "general" of the men-at-arms, Count Pepoli of the light-horse, Vespasian Gonzaga of the Italian infantry, and Don Garcia de Toledo of the Spanish, and Ascanio Cornia is quartermaster-general (*maestro general de campo*). It is supposed that they will fortify "Rocca di Papa," which is a very little above Grottaferrata; and that the army will not move until the arrival of the Germans and the 800 Spaniards whom they are expecting, the first named having already passed through the Veronese, as also the others from Milan, on their way to embark at La Spezia on board the galleys, which will not be more than 31 (the others having gone to Spain), and on their arrival they will make themselves masters of Hostia, and fortify it, to have the command of the Tiber, and then, if in sufficient force, attack Civitavecchia; the army having no scarcity of victuals, as the pass through the Abruzzi so near at hand is open to them; notwithstanding which, it seems that bread is not so abundant as it ought to be, considering the supplies found by them in the Papal States.

Rome, 22nd October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics are in contemporary decipher.*]

Oct. 22.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

673. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday, Friar Tomaso Manrique went to the camp, being sent by the "Congregation," as written in my last. He took a letter of credence from Cardinal Carpi alone, because he, having attended the Congregation, knew what was to be done by the said Friar, who returned hither on Monday, and having given the Duke of Alva the proposal in writing, drawn up by himself (but with the knowledge of Cardinal Caraffa), he brought back in like manner a written answer. *From what I have been told by a great Cardinal, who had it from his own lips*, the Friar said to the Duke, that with regard to his proposals, the Cardinals of the Congregation would endeavour to make the Pope consent to the first and second; and as for the securities, that they would give what they could, and such as might be judged fitting. Respecting the other articles, which I will not particularise, having sent them to your Serenity at the time, their right reverend lordships did not dare propose them to his Holiness. The Duke replies, that he has heard the Friar's statement, and that by Don Francesco he sent such articles as seemed to him fitted to quiet the present disturbances, and that he prayed their right reverend lordships, whenever they thought they had a good opportunity, to present them to the Pope, and perform an office in favour of the peace, so that the Pope might be honoured and acknowledged (*"acusata"* to use the Spanish word) by his King's Majesty, in whose name the Duke himself in like

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manner humbly petitions his Holiness. Besides this reply, the Friar says he found the Duke very blustrous (*molto sul bravo*), and he thinks he perceives that his Excellency holds no one in account (*che non stimi alcuno*), which proceeds from the abundance of treasure received by them from the Indies, and from the supplies made in Flanders, Spain, in the kingdom of Naples, and at Milan. Ferrante de' Sanguini has also come from the camp, and brings general words (*parole general*).

The Cardinal San Giacomo is inclined to go and see his nephew the Duke of Alva, if the Pope will give him leave, having told his Holiness that should he choose him to speak about the affairs of the peace, he will do so willingly, and that even should he not, his going to the army cannot but be of use. *The Cardinal who communicated to me the report of Friar Manrique, added, as a very great secret, that he thinks ill of the affairs here, by reason of the Pope's obstinacy, the weakness of this side, and the brisk provision (gagliarde provision), made by the other; so he is afraid that, should the army blockade Rome, the Pope will be compelled to do what he constantly says he will, namely, leave Italy, placing the principal fortresses in the hands of the French, both to interest them in his defence, and also lest they fall into the hands of Imperialists, there being already some signs of this occupation, as there are French soldiers in Civitavecchia, and they are also endeavouring to get some other fortresses.*

Besides the news of the army given by the Secretary Capella, I hear that on decamping from Palombara, as one of the inhabitants was the cause of the murder of a commissary appointed by the Duke of Alva, the soldiers sacked them, but the honour of the women, and the residence of Cardinal Savelli were respected. One day lately, the Imperialists seized some oxen (notwithstanding the Duke of Alva's proclamation allowing them to do so freely) belonging to the Romans, which went out to plough (*alquanti buoi de Romani, usciti per romper la terra per seminar*), in greater number than was required for the work. Their apologists say it was in order to give the oxen pasture, though the seizure is supposed to have been made in revenge for the cattle taken under Tivoli by Leonardo della Rovere, commander of a company of Papal cavalry. Endeavours are being made to obtain restitution of the oxen, and the Romans have complained to Cardinal S. Giacomo, who is supposed to have sent his chaplain to the camp on this account. Yesterday, Ascanio della Cornia went with some companies to occupy Porcigliano, a place near Hostia, and obtained it without difficulty, although one of his chief captains, Zerbin da Cremona, was killed under the walls by a harquebuse shot.

A captain of great consideration, and who speaks to me confidentially, besides telling me of the disorders of the Papal Court (disordini di questi Signori), assured me lately, that by remaining here he knows that he risks the honour of the person who sent him, and his own, and also that of his troops, as besides all the other inconveniences is the following one, that they are not paid until the expiration of the service, each rate of pay [for one month ?] being 30 giulij, the disbursement of which is very often delayed, and, even

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if given in due season, it would not suffice for the meanest soldier's living during 18 days, everything here having become so dear, in consequence of which they will either be compelled to sell their arms, and whatever they possess, or else to rob and mutiny; and as he will not put up with any of these things, he was determined to announce the fact to the personage [the Duke of Urbino?] for whose service and by whose order he came hither, telling me besides, that he is also creditor for three months "*tasse de cavalli*."

A certain portion of the fees for the despatch of consistorial benefices (*beneficij di concistoro*) is assigned to the Cardinals, and as there are now some 3,000 crowns [on this account?] in the name of Cardinal Pacheco, the treasurer of the College, Cardinal Caraffa has sent him a written order not to consign either that sum or any other derived from the same source to the Cardinals, but retain the whole for the service of the Pope and of the Church, the portion of each of the aforesaid Cardinals being placed to their credit in the Treasury, for reimbursement in better times. It is also said that to-day the Romans have determined to levy the "*quatrino*"* on every pound of meat in Rome, which city and Bologna were alone exempt. It may yield about 30,000 crowns [annually?], of which they sell 3,000 at 10 per cent., giving the purchasers certain State revenues as security, and will thus be enabled to avail themselves of 30,000 crowns immediately, and then prolong the said tax until they can pay off the 3,000 crowns which they have sold.† Camerario, who had been appointed Commissary-General,‡ is much at strife with the "conservators" of Rome, it seeming to them that he assumes the entire jurisdiction; and it is said that from almost all the trades of a certain importance (*de qualche polso*), under pretence of their having transgressed their statutes (which we call "*mariegole*"), he will exact 100 crowns by way of compromise from each member of the guilds.

A despatch arrived yesterday from the King of Spain in reply to what was sent to him some days ago by Cardinal Pacheco (with the consent, however, of Cardinal Caraffa), about these disturbances, and from what I hear from a person who can know it, his Majesty declares himself well inclined towards the peace, even beyond what is fitting, though not to the extent, at this commencement of his reign, of depriving himself of all dignity and repute; and that knowing the Duke of Alva to be prudent and good in like manner as he believes him to have done all he has done hitherto well nigh under compulsion, so does he leave to him the power of granting and doing (*d'accordar et far*) what he shall think fit for his Majesty's benefit, which is quite contrary to what was reported

* The Venetian "*quatrino*" was a copper coin, three of which formed a "*soldo*." I do not know the comparative value of the Roman "*soldo*."

† Po importar circa 30 mille scudi, et de questi venderne (sic) a 10 per cento 3 mille, obligando alli compratori certe loro entrate, et così valersi di 30 mille scudi al presente, prolungando poi la ditta angaria tanto tempo, che si possino francar delli 3 mille scudi venduti.

‡ Bortolo Camerario of Benevento. (See a former letter of Navagero's, dated 8th October.)

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lately by the French, and credited, that the King of Spain had written to the Duke to desist from this undertaking.

Rome, 22nd October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics are in contemporary decipher.*]

Oct. 23.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7, B.

674. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, and FEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary accredited to the DUKE of ALVA and to the POPE, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope, having entered the audience chamber, where we were waiting for him, (as he had retired with Cardinal Caraffa,) when I, Ambassador, asked him how he was, replied, "Troubled, on account of these enemies of God, renegade-moriscos (*marani*), spawn of Jews (*seme di giudei*), for we have yet to learn that they are Christians; but we hope in Christ that they will repent them of what they have done. We will deprive them of their kingdoms and empires; we will proclaim them excommunicated and accursed, them and those who shall have participation with them; we will make a crusade against them, because both father and son are heretics; and we will extirpate that accursed race. We are not the servant of men, we are the servant of God, and His Divine Majesty will assist us. Who knows what His goodness and infallible providence may choose to effect? Perhaps in order to bring about some memorable result, He caused this impious generation (*questi empij*) to wage war on us without any fault of ours. This scum of the earth (*questa fezza del mondo*) has, alas, commanded us, owing to our cowardice, ever since those wretched souls Lodovico Moro and Alfonso* placed the neck (*la testa*) of Italy under the yoke of the barbarians, our capital enemies. You also have communication (*habbiate pratica*) with these promise-breakers (*mancatori di fede*), who cajole you, and will offer you a thousand large conditions (*mille larghi partiti*), solely for the purpose of annihilating you. Beware of what you are doing; this we protest to you beforehand out of the love we bear you, not for any other cause, as in none but in God do we place our hopes; nor do we ask you for anything, because we will not be obliged to you, but only this, as we said so mildly to you, Ambassador, without ever demanding a league, that you should regulate yourselves well and prepare to defend your own, and that you do not let yourselves be persuaded by these your especial enemies to do what you may have to repent of, for in that case we should comprise you in the anathemas and maledictions which they have incurred; for you imagine that the present war involves solely the ruin of Italy,—it involves the destruction of the Catholic Faith! Witness the end towards which the proceedings of these wicked wretches (*questi scelerati*) tend, hear what their words signify, read what their writings imply, or rather what they say publicly, make our Cardinal give you the letters written by Ferrante dell' Offredo to the inhabitants of Ascoli, and you will see whether it would be possible to conceive a more fiendish act

* Ludovic Sforza, surnamed the Moor, and Alfonso II. of Aragon, King of Naples.

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(più indiavolata operation); and send it to my most excellent lords, that they may know what a race this is, for we know things which you perhaps do not know."

Thereupon I, the Ambassador, said, "Holy Father, of this, as affirmed by me on the day before yesterday to your Holiness, I know nothing whatever, but I can promise you special reverence and observance on the part of the most serene Signory towards this Holy See and your Holiness' person, and an incredible desire for peace." The Pope replied, "*Sovereigns and Republics, as you know, are wont to do what profits them; let those lords consider whether it turns to their account for this State to be mastered by the Imperialists (costoro) who spe devoraverunt dominium totius Italiæ; or, on the other hand, whether it would benefit them were these wretched remains one day to raise their head and do what shall seem to them advantageous and honourable for those lords and their posterity for ever. We have willed to say these few words for the satisfaction of our conscience, for we would fain not witness your ruin; and do you, Secretary, who we suppose have done nothing with these traitors, now speak.*"

I, the Secretary, then said, that in your Serenity's name I had strongly urged the Duke of Alva to prove by deeds what he had told me heretofore by word of mouth, about his goodwill towards peace, by proposing fairer articles and conditions and more suited to the dignity of this Holy See and of your Holiness, so that the peace might be made, it being certain that nothing renders a peace more lasting than the fair terms on which it is based. In reply, his Excellency dwelt much on his own wish, and that of the most Serene King of Spain, for peace, and that both one and the other desired nothing more than to make a firm and perpetual agreement; which I announced to his Holiness in execution of your Serenity's commission, and because I hoped that with God's assistance he would find means to comfort the world by giving it peace.

He replied, "*The Signory must show her teeth (bisogna che la Signoria mostri li denti) if she wishes an agreement to take place, for to make a good peace it is requisite to knock those Imperialists on the head (bisogna dar sopra la testa a costoro), as in that way it might be effected. We will go farther with you, for at any rate we are not addressing the common people, but an ambassador and secretaries, in whom we place trust, and a Signory who we cannot imagine would ever deceive us. You will soon see all Italy in arms, and a war the greatest and most important that ever was—even the Turks will come; nor may you say, why not apply a remedy through peace? for such is the perfidy of these rebels to God, and their insolence in choosing to command us, and to make us do in our own house in their fashion, and preventing us from exercising justice and maintaining that dignity which Christ has given us, that it cannot be. Now in the midst of these commotions, can you remain looking on with folded arms? You might possibly repent of it. You have given passage to the Germans for the service of these accursed of God; should you not give it to those who will come on our behalf, we shall consider you open enemies.*"

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I, the Ambassador, not choosing these words to pass without a reply, said (in conformity with the order received from your Serenity) that his Holiness must not doubt of your giving the same passage to his troops as you had given to others, of which I assured him as an indubitable fact; whereupon the vehemence of his speech, as likewise of all his gestures, subsided, and he continued, in a lower tone, and much more tranquilly, "We do not tell you to arm for our assistance, nor to do one thing rather than another, but to defend your own state. Will you see everything around you in flames, and not think of running to your own roof with a bucket of water? If you arm, and remain within your own boundaries, you will preserve the dignity of Italy and the Signory's authority, and you will render both sides apprehensive; whereas, should you not do so, you will endanger your own state by generating a wish in a quarter where it does not exist (perchè ne farete venir voglia a qualcuno che non se lo pensa); besides which, you will remain with no great repute in the world, for it might be said, 'Those Lords, with such great forces as they have in Italy, might have been her arbiter had they acted with their usual prudence, and they would have put their stamp on which side they pleased instead of waiting to have judgment passed on themselves.' We doubt whether any of your own patricians could give you better advice than to make such provision as to secure your state, and enable you, (should God thus inspire you,) when the opportunity presents itself, to do what might bring you glory and very great profit, together with increase of territory. Pray, at length rouse yourselves! why so many scruples? Where are those venerable old men of mine, so brave and full of spirit, whom I knew in your city? Why are they not living now? You are young, and certain things which do not justify fear seem great to you. Had I a seat in your Senate, I would tell its members these things, and yet greater ones, and perhaps with less reserve, not from personal interest, but merely for the service of the State.

"For great achievements great courage is required. Would it not be well to drive the Imperialists (costoro) from hence, and to make a King of Naples and a Duke of Milan, so that they might not have more than that? If unable to do more, this would be done easily, were there men; but, even if it should be difficult, why ought they not for so glorious an undertaking to risk life, and what there is (metter la vita, et ciò che c'è)? We cannot know what the Almighty may choose to do, but should it please His Divine Majesty to grant us such a grace in our time, what joy would then be ours, what felicity! My Signory of Venice would be in her grandeur; the See Apostolic will then be what it ought to be; Italy then secure for thousands of years; and as we have this opportunity of the Secretary (who by word of mouth will report to those Lords in addition to what you, Magnifico Ambassador, will have written to them), we will open our whole heart to you in the most confidential form imaginable, praying you indeed to keep the matter very secret, as otherwise we should consider ourselves betrayed by you and by the most illustrious Signory.

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Should you choose, we in a few days will cause the mission hither of two sons (si faremo mandar qui doi figlioli)"—he did not explain whose, but we saw that he meant to say of the King of France—"one for King of Naples and one for Duke of Milan; one we will give to you, the other we ourselves will keep, and we will educate and rear them, so that in four years they will be Italians, a thing which cannot be done with these others, because Philip has so many kingdoms that he can never rule them, besides which it is intended (si dissegna) to give him the Empire likewise; and therefore he is at variance with the King of the Romans, so that (according to information received by us) Maximilian departed from them lately, very dissatisfied; and then Philip aspires to universal monarchy (alla monarchia), as his father did. The French, on the other hand, will do whatever we wish, for the King is a dutiful son (un bon figliolo), and gives us every satisfaction."

The Pope then added, "*In this affair there is much cloth (qui ci è panno assai); we will prove our love for you by placing it in your hands to be measured out as you please (che ve ne facciate che parte vorrete). Heretofore, Magnifico Ambassador, we dropped a word to you about Sicily, &c., that that Island would suit you better than any other Power in the world, on account of the navigation (per rispetto della navigazione), and you would be perpetual lords of it, such being our good pleasure, which cannot come to pass with regard to the French, and you would derive such profit from it (besides many other conveniences) in the matter of corn, that you would have no need of others. You would thus have cloth and shears in your hand; do not lose so fine an opportunity (così bella occasione) (for never had you a greater one) whilst we are in this See, as we love you so much, and desire solely to do you some signal service, and should that blessed day arrive on which we can congratulate ourselves, we will give you such a share as to astonish you, and you will be compelled to say that you did not believe our love for you to be so great. Keep prepared, incur vast expenditure in ordinary; demonstrate it, so that we may hear of your men-at-arms, your fleets; engage a commander-in-chief (un capitano); and, if for no other reason, do so to preserve your own; and should you not chose to appoint a commander-in-chief, name a governor, as we do not bind you more to one course than to the other, for we wish your respects in this matter to be considered; though we will tell you that, should the Signory choose to appoint a commander-in-chief, we pray them to consider as recommended our son the Duke of Urbino, not indeed because he has had anything said to us on the subject, nor that he may think we bear him in mind, but because he is a good son (bon figliolo) and brave, besides the service rendered you by his father (than whom we certainly do not hold him in less account), but because he loves and reveres you; and owing to the conveniences which you might derive from his territory, we do not see anyone more to your purpose. Write this, Lord Ambassador; and do you, Secretary, say so in our name to those most excellent Lords, assuring them that whatever they shall do for the Duke of Urbino, we shall consider it a favour done to ourselves. But, in conclusion, arm yourselves, my children, as you are com-*

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*pelled to do so for the defence of your State, which admits of no regard for anyone, nor can anyone reproach you for it, because, having twice performed this office with the Duke of Alva,—which has been most acceptable to us, and we thank the most illustrious Signory for it, as it savours somewhat of a protest (*perchè ha non so che del protesto*)—unless you provide at least for your own security, they will laugh at you for it, and you will utterly lose your repute; nor do we know whether we might not have to repent us of the praises so often bestowed by us on you for arming to oppose the Turk's threatened invasions, when we combated our predecessors, who denied you some fair subsidy for that purpose, telling them that if you did not arm they ought to command you to do so in virtue of obedience to the Holy See, and give you assistance for that purpose, because your remaining in readiness (*provisti*) is the safety of this State."* The Pope then added, "There would be many other things to tell you, but we will no longer try your patience. May the Almighty inspire you to do what may be for your advantage." After thanking his Holiness for this confidential communication, we then took leave.

Rome, 23rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.
(Second Letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

675. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having taken leave of the Pope, the Ambassador and the Secretary went to Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, who were together, and, the Cardinal having withdrawn from personal necessity, the Duke said to us, "Let us adjust it, pray adjust it; for I see a great conflagration kindling." Scarcely were these words uttered, when the Cardinal having made his appearance, the Secretary repeated to him what he had said to the Pope, and was answered that the Duke of Alva, by limiting himself to general terms and not descending to particulars, showed that he did not really wish for peace save in words, so that he might do his own business, as he did when he sent his agent to all the Christian Powers that they might exhort the Pope to quiet, and simultaneously commenced war. The Cardinal said he thanked God that the Signory considered the terms proposed unfair, the Secretary having told the Duke to propose fairer ones, in which case, should the State consider them suited to the Pope's dignity, there would be no difficulty in making the Pope, and the Cardinal and Duke his ministers, accept them, as it cannot be supposed that a Pope who had already sent Legates to make peace between others would wish in his own person to make war; though the Pope and they did indeed wish for a secure and honourable peace, and, rather than make it otherwise, they were resolved to die, as death is natural and unavoidable, but infamy descends even to posterity, besides sullyng the entire past life of men of honour.

The Cardinal then demonstrated at great length that the Imperialists had commenced the war solely for the purpose of giving law to the Pope, repeating what had been said by him before about the prisoners and the barons who had been deprived of their fiefs, and

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adding that the Imperialists were bent solely on schism, as seen by the proceedings of the Duke of Alva, who at the commencement had the oath of fealty taken to the College and the future Pope, and by the letter of Ferrante dell' Offredo addressed to the inhabitants of Ascoli, which the Cardinal read to us, endeavouring to prove that the interests of his family would make him not swerve (*non deviar*) from peace. To this the Duke added that he was ready to give back Paliano to the Pope, and remain with nothing but his sword and tabard (*con la spada et la cappa sola*), provided it could produce some good effect, with the hope that God would not abandon him; saying that he saw certain things in movement which, unless soon remedied, would cause such a general conflagration that two generations would not suffice to extinguish it; that the Duke of Alva, thinking to serve his master, renders him the greatest disservice possible, for should it be true that their sole object is to make sure of the Pope's will, and to do so by force, they will not succeed, as his Holiness and his nephews would rather die than yield to blows (*batiture*); and that noble minds are won by gentleness and not by outrage.

The Cardinal added, "Those who have done us the injuries suffered hitherto will perhaps not repeat them, as we have made such provision as will enable us to prolong awhile, and God will assist us, for the sword of heaven does not cut in haste;" the Duke having previously said to us that no good result could proceed through the Duke of Alva, as by the last advices the King of Spain referred himself to him. The Duke also said that no agreement could be made without the restitution of his state to Marc' Antonio Colonna, whose brother-in-law Don Garcia de Toledo led the Duke by the nose (*si lassava menar per il naso da Don Garcia di Toledo*), and that the quartermaster (*mastro di campo*) Ascanio della Cornia directs everything.

Rome, 23rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.
(Third Letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

676. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On returning home from the palace I found the illustrious Lord Camillo Orsini waiting for me, and after a few ordinary compliments and a friendly apology for not having come to me sooner, as besides being deterred by business he did not wish to give cause for comment, he said he had come to tell me a few very important things, requesting me, however, for several reasons to keep them secret and not to mention his name when writing them to your Serenity. He said that ever since he had been called hither by the Pope he has advised him to keep quiet, seeing that by war one of two evils was unavoidable, either to lose this State, or with the assistance of others to put the whole world to fire and sword, and that he spoke so freely as to enrage the Pope, adding that he never expected it to come to a rupture, as he did not see how the Pope could do it without the assistance of the French, nor how the Imperialists could now, so much to their disadvantage, break the truce; but that he had nevertheless deceived himself, because the Imperialists having

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ascertained that the King of France would merely give defensive assistance, *which could not resist their forces in Italy*, they determined on war, and made such progress as witnessed hitherto *because the Government here* (questi Signori che governano qui) *had not chosen to adhere to his opinion*, which from his youth upwards has been that, to avoid defeat, a commander must divide his forces; adding that such is the case here, and that he knew not what the King of France would now do, though he thought *that for the defence of the Pope he would be compelled to attack in every direction, as it would not do for him* (non facendo per lui) *were the King of Spain to make himself greater than he is; and that he, Camillo, suspected that the Pope, under compulsion, would give the French such part of St. Peter's patrimony* (del stato della Chiesa) *together with the fortresses as the Imperialists may be unable to get possession of, which partition being effected, the state of Italy would be too horrible to think of* (troppo horribil cosa è a pensar il stato d'Italia), because in addition to the Germans, the Spaniards, the Switzers, and the French, there would be the Turk with a fleet in the Adriatic, and the Algerine fleet in the Mediterranean, so that our ruin would be inevitable; nor did he see any other remedy than your Serenity; wherefore he came to offer me a confidential suggestion, requesting it might be taken in good part, as his love for this Roman territory, which is his first country, and for your Serenity's state, which is his second, compelled him to tell me the remedy, as follows.

That your Serenity, putting words aside, should do like him who, wishing to separate two combatants, draws his sword and places himself between them; whereupon each party, from fear of the mediator's joining his adversary, and that he remain single-handed one against two, separates, a result which would never be effected by words; and that your Sublimity, therefore, should make yourself understood by a few thousands of your cavalry, and by spending a mere 10,000 crowns for the despatch of [recruiting?] captains, and making a little stir, to let it be seen that you will not tolerate such destruction; and, by intimidating one side and the other, make them all look to their own affairs. By this remedy alone could the conflagration which is being kindled to burn the whole of this poor Italy, and perhaps the rest of the world, be extinguished.

In conclusion, he showed me a letter from his son, Signor Paulo, who is in Perugia, telling him that the Duke of Florence, besides 15 [recruiting?] captains despatched by him heretofore, has now sent forth 50; that his battalions are in marching order, so that in a single day he can make them advance in any direction he pleases; and that it was said the 4,000 Germans would embark at Leghorn, so that there was much to fear for the city of Perugia; he (Signor Paulo) had therefore given notice of this to the Roman Government, and, not having received any reply from them, he prayed his lordship (Signor Camillo), who was his father, and therefore had his honour at heart, to urge their most illustrious lordships to give him reinforcements, that he might be enabled to do his duty on every occasion. *The Lord Camillo said that he made this statement to-day to the Cardinal and the Duke when in consultation with*

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them, and that they proceed coldly, as there is not money for so many things.

Last of all, after many protestations of his service to your Serenity, and that if you needed him (which God forbid !) he would realize what he has so often said by word of mouth about coming to serve you, even as a sapper (should he be deemed fit for nothing else) ; I, having thanked him for his great friendship, and for what he had thought fit confidentially to suggest, said I would write it to your Sublimity, *assuring him that not one word about this would be uttered by those most illustrious Lords beyond their sanctuary, which is the senate hall* ; saying besides, that your Serenity held him in such esteem as his valour deserved ; whereupon he departed, having first shown me his two sons, Signor Catino and Signor Giovanni, the one born at Vicenza and the other at Verona, which made him say, that in like manner as they were born in your Serenity's dominions, so did he hope that they would die in your service.

Rome, 23rd October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

677. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having received your Serenity's letters of the 9th, desiring me to acquaint his most Christian Majesty with the offices of which you had ordered the performance with the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, I today made the communication to the Constable, who, after listening to me attentively, replied that his King was very certain and sure of your good-will and inclination towards universal peace, and especially with regard to the quiet of Italy, and that he was glad you knew this same desire to be entertained by his Majesty, who after concluding the truce thought solely of its maintenance, and therefore saw with regret the stir of arms made by the Catholic King against the Pope, who being his natural Prince by reason of the kingdom of Naples, independently of what was due to his Holiness on account of the religion, his Catholic Majesty's ministers ought not to have proceeded as they did ; and even had the Pope given them some cause (of which, however, the Constable was not aware), it was more becoming for the son to bear with the father than to do the contrary ; but that his Catholic Majesty having armed, and having offended the Pope in so many ways, both by taking some of the papal places, and burning others, and finally by making the captured places swear fealty to the College of Cardinals and to the future Pontiff, implying, as it were, a threat either of schism, or of putting the Pope to death by poison, or in some other way, his most Christian Majesty, in order not to fail in his duty as implied by the title borne by him, and as his Holiness is comprised in the articles of the truce, and also because the King had promised him his protection, was resolved no longer to delay sending forward his forces for the benefit of his Holiness, and had determined to despatch the Duke de Guise, the Duke d'Aumale, the Duke de Nemours,

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the Marshals de Brissac and St. André, with many other lords, into Piedmont, where he should have about 1,000 men-at-arms and a great number of light horse, with 10,000 French infantry and 9,000 Switzers, who, by letters dated the 16th, the Constable understood were already raised. M. d'Andelot had also been sent to Picardy, and would be followed by the Admiral, the Duke de Nevers going in like manner to his frontier of Champagne. All these forces his Majesty was sending because he did not choose, the Catholic King, armed and sword-in-hand, to think of compelling either his most Christian Majesty or the Pope to make an agreement unworthy either of one or the other; and that to speak to me more freely, he, the Constable, had for many and many a day delayed the march of these forces, considering how important the renewal of hostilities was; *but, seeing that the King of England had honey in his mouth, and gall in his heart, he knew not how his most Christian Majesty could any longer in honour delay*, and most especially as the Pope is so very urgent for the execution of what has been promised him, assuring his Majesty that he is at the end of his means of resistance, that the King's forces must come from Piedmont, and that he is determined not to consent to any agreement, *nay, that when unable to do anything else, he will embark on galley-board and proceed to Avignon.*

His Excellency then added, adjuring me to believe that what he would tell me on the word of a gentleman was true, that within the last six days he had in hand an Italian merchant well-known to me, who, for the war of Italy, offered his most Christian Majesty 500,000 crowns, and to leave in his hands another 400,000 francs which the King owes him and his partners; and he hinted that they were Florentines, and that even besides these there was no lack of many means whereby to raise a considerable sum; though to say the truth they had no great amount in the exchequer (*in cassa*), but that this crown had indeed many easy ways to raise money, as was the case also with your Serenity; and that besides his own troops, and ways and means for obtaining money, the King in like manner had no lack of friends of importance in Italy, although certain Potentates (*qualche d' uno*) had withdrawn from his friendship, but without his having given any cause for this, as on the contrary, they would be compelled to confess, that through the favours and benefits conferred by him on them, they were enabled to recover their own.

In conclusion, the Constable said to me that he commended your Serenity for performing these good offices for the quiet of Italy, but that words alone did not suffice and that recourse must be had to something else; so he requested your Serenity to consider of how great importance it was that a young King, like this King of England, at the commencement of his reign (nel principio delli suoi regni), should have the heart to assault a Pope, to expose Christendom to the risk of a schism, and then offer his Holiness peace on such terms, that had he got him in chains he could not have proposed more disgraceful ones; and as his Excellency knew that your Serenity bore in mind his most Christian Majesty's goodwill, and the conditions proposed by him to you heretofore, he would

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not repeat them to me farther, though he indeed again prayed you to ponder this matter as becoming.

I replied that your Serenity hoped our Lord God would confirm his most Christian Majesty in his good opinion with regard to the quiet of Christendom, and that his Excellency would also find the means whereby after so many troubles a good peace might be employed; and after this, the Constable, leaving me in his chamber, went to the King with whom he remained a long while. I was then introduced, and made the communication as above. His Majesty expressed great approval of the good offices performed by your Serenity, which were truly worthy of you, and that he was glad that you had understood how well disposed he was to maintain the truce; but as he saw that the Catholic King—which is the title always given him by his most Christian Majesty—gave merely words, and that his deeds were directly the 'reverse of what he caused him to be told, he was determined no longer to delay arming, and that therefore in four or six days M. de Brissac would leave for Piedmont, and being prevented by gout from travelling postwise he will set out beforehand and make day journeys (*a giornate*), but shortly afterwards would be followed by the Duke de Guise with a company of Lords; 9,000 Switzers having already been raised, who were to march towards Piedmont, whilst after the musters they would be joined by 500 men-at-arms and 600 light horse, besides the others who are there; and in like manner the French infantry will march; he (the King) not choosing any longer to be fed with words, although aware of the important consequences of his decision; but that his cause being so just he cared for nothing, and neither could nor would do less than assist his Holiness. I then said, "Sire, I will tell your Majesty, with that freedom which of your favour you concede me, it greatly surprises everybody that the Pope should wish for peace, that your Majesty should do everything to avoid breaking the truce, and that the Catholic King should say the like, and that simultaneously in every direction so many armies should be marching, and when they are near together it will not be so easy to prevent progress and the mischievous results which are apt to accompany them; wherefore should it be possible to find some good mode in anticipation whereby to quiet these suspicions, Christendom would remain much comforted, and it would be a thing well worthy of your Majesty's high-mindedness, to supply by good counsel and dignity those qualifications of which others had a deficiency (*a supplir lei con il buon consiglio et con la dignità dove fusse il difetto d'altri.*)"

To this his Majesty replied, "Ambassador, I very well know, as I have told you, how much this fresh commencement of war matters, but I on my part have not failed to perform every good office with the Catholic King, but was never able to obtain anything but fair words and contrary effects, and to speak to you freely, as is my wont, I will tell you how this whole affair passed. His Majesty's ambassador resident here came to me and told me that his King was disposed to refer his disputes with the Pope to me; and I answered him, and also had the like said in conformity to his King by my ambassador, that if his Majesty wished to do me this

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honour I would accept it, and provided his demands were reasonable I promised him to persuade the Pope to be content to accept them, and even to compel him in case of resistance, for I well knew what I could promise myself, and that in the meanwhile he should order the retreat of his forces ; but never would he come to any particular save that he wished for peace, his troops in the meanwhile advancing. On these topics I gave the aforesaid Ambassador six audiences, and I swear to you by my faith that each of the six times he spoke to me differently, so that not knowing how to arrive at any result I determined to make provision both through myself and through my friends ; nor will I omit to tell you another important particular.

"A few days ago the aforesaid Ambassador told me that Don Ruy Gomez wished to come to me, and I answered him that I should see him very willingly, and I was expecting to hear of his coming. The Ambassador repeated to me that the said lord had indeed the wish to come, but that he wished that I also should send some personage to his King, in order that the things might be balanced (*pareggiate*) and that it might be possible to arrive at some good settlement. This discourse enraged me greatly, for my Ambassador had written that the said Don Ruy Gomez persisted in saying that he would come without making further mention of my sending any one of my ministers to his King ; so I told the said Ambassador that this speech of his surprised me greatly, because, being contrary to what he had told me heretofore, I believed it to be contrary to his commission, and that I should cause Don Ruy Gomez to complain to him of his having spoken to me in this form, as it came to pass ; for I having let him know through my Ambassador what his Ambassador had said contrary to what he had written to me, he prayed him (Gomez), to act in such wise as to prevent him from treating me in this way ; so the said Don Ruy Gomez wrote to him to come back to me, and assure me that he will come. This the Ambassador did, half ashamed, and as it were begging my pardon, saying that he had not well understood the commission given him ; but this," (said the King) "is not the first trick he has played me, for even before the war, when Ambassador here as at present, a case befell me similar to this one. I, however, well knew that this wish to take advantage proceeded from its seeming to them that since the capture of the Pope's places by the Duke of Alva, their King's affairs were prospering more than previously ; but they did not yet know what my determination was, and now that the Ambassador knows it, he, at the last audience which I gave him, said to me, with a smile on his countenance, that his King chose to be my friend, although against my will ; and I answered him that whenever his Majesty would consent to what was fair, I would have him for my friend and brother ; so that these forms of proceeding compel me to provide as I am doing, and God grant that this may suffice to induce that King to come to some good agreement, as I for my part shall be content to have thrown away the money expended."

When the King ceased speaking, I asked him if he had ever declared that the truce was broken. He replied that he had not, saying, "And how could I make the declaration if the Catholic King's

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ministers say, and cause it to be said constantly, that although I am sending my forces to Italy, their King, nevertheless, will not consider the truce broken ; and I replied, so be it in God's name ; and I will tell you this, moreover, that less than two hours ago the Piedmontese Count Chalon (?) * (Schiellant,) (*sic*) spoke to me on these subjects, telling me how well disposed the aforesaid Ambassador was, and how great his King's good-will was, all which I am glad to hear, but would that the effects also were similar."

I then said to his Majesty that it was understood a courier had arrived from Ferrara, and since that negotiation was so manifest that everybody talked about it, I besought him to tell me if that Duke had yet made up his mind ; and his Majesty, laughing, replied, "We are so connected both by blood and otherwise, that there is no doubt of his deciding as I wish, but there is still some little difference which will be settled on the arrival at Ferrara of his Ambassador, for this courier brings the reply of M. de Forconoe (*sic*), who went in advance of him ; but I can give security for the Duke that he will decide in my favour ;" and I added that it was also heard at the Court that the Duke was raising a certain amount of troops. "Yes," said his Majesty, "but not on my account, but for the safe custody of his places on this passage of the German troops, and owing to the prevalent suspicions." Thereupon, after returning many thanks in your Serenity's name to his most Christian Majesty, I took leave.

I will not omit to tell your Serenity, although you will have been able to comprehend it from what the Constable hinted to me more clearly, that so far as I could ascertain from the King's conversation and from the expression of his countenance, both one and the other showed that he is much more anxious for an adjustment than for war, but that not being very sure of the mind (dell' animo) of the King of England owing to the bad fashion (mal modo) of his ministers, and also for the repute of his name, he was induced to arm ; but should Don Ruy Gomez come hither, and perform an office in earnest for the peace, it might be concluded not only with the Pope, but be set forward in a way to become general.

Paris, 23rd October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

678. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Wishing to ascertain all that passed between his most Christian Majesty and the Piedmontese Count de Chalon? (Schiellant), I have heard that the Count spoke to the King in the name of the Duke of Savoy, beseeching him in the negotiations for peace to incline to some fair adjustment from which the Duke might receive some benefit ; and, in reply, his Majesty said that the Duke was ill advised about his affairs (*havea mal consiglio nelle cose sue*), and that although he had seen his father go to ruin by keeping one road,

* See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 273.

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that he nevertheless had chosen to follow the same course, notwithstanding which, when the King shall perceive that he has more regard for his own interest than he has had hitherto, his Majesty likewise would render him every assistance. Subsequently the said Count spoke in the same form to the Marshal de Brissac, praying his Excellency to favour his Duke with the King; *the Marshal's reply being, that it was not time to talk about peace until the affairs with the Pope were adjusted.* When the Count rejoined that he thought the King of Spain would be content with fair terms, the Marshal continued, "*He must withdraw his forces from Rome, and if this Paliano causes him so much suspicion, his most Christian Majesty will have it placed in the hands of a third person, should it so please the Catholic King;*" and when the Count inquired who this third person could be, the Marshal said, "*In the hands of the College of Cardinals, until some better mode of adjustment be devised.*" The Count replied that he believed the Catholic King would consent to this, and that if he, the Count, thought it would be agreeable to his most Christian Majesty, he would himself go to Flanders to negotiate this matter with the King; and the Marshal commended his going thither. Subsequently the Count told a person, who related it to me, that he had ascertained this to be the will of his most Christian Majesty, and of all his ministers; so he had determined to depart for that Court, with the resolve to endeavour that the King of England do send hither one of his ministers (*uno suo*) with orders to proceed to Italy, and make the forces withdraw from all the towns of the Church, provided the Pope place Paliano in the hands of the College of Cardinals; with which intention he departed.

Paris, 24th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 24.
Original
Letter Book.
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.

679. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE

The Secretary Bucchie,* M. de St. Fermo, whose arrival here from France on the evening when I wrote my last was then announced by me, left the French Court on the 10th, and travelled the long road through Switzerland and the Grisons.

So far as I have been able to learn on good authority, he has brought word of the King's determination to assist the Pope, and that orders had been already given to raise 6,000 Switzers, and that 400 men-at-arms were on their march; that M. de Guise, the Duke of Ferrara's son-in-law, would be commander-in-chief (*capitano-general*), and M. de Termes lieutenant-general; that M. de Brissac would go back to Piedmont with 3,000 French infantry, so that here in Rome they might avail themselves of an equal amount of trained and veteran foot-soldiers, as also of 400 light cavalry; that at the latest the main body of this army would

* In the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, this name is printed on page 269, "Buccioro," and on page 270 "Buceres," which is probably nearer the mark than Bucchie, but I am unable to ascertain the correct name.

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muster at Casale by Martinmas; all which things, if true, must be known to your Serenity through a more authentic channel. I have also been assured, by a person who saw the original document, that this Secretary Bucchie brought a letter from the King to the Duke of Ferrara, in which he gives him the title of his lieutenant in Italy; and it has been told me as a great secret, by one who says he knows it for certain, that the brief has been sent from hence to his Excellency, whereby that Duke is made Captain of the League with a monthly salary of 1,000 crowns from the Pope, and 150 light horse and 400 infantry for the defence of his territory; these provisions to commence from September last; so that this individual considers as concluded the negotiation which I wrote was being treated between the Pope and the King of France; which, if true, as I am assured positively, will be known to your Serenity through some other channel, should it not have reached you already.

This morning the alarm was given, and the whole city remained in suspense, everybody believing that the enemy had shown themselves, but I understand that it was a feint to see how the troops behaved and what courage they showed; the Cardinal having therefore made an ambuscade with his own troops, at such a distance that they could not be recognized, thus trying the mettle both of the cavalry and of the Roman infantry, which, to say the truth, pushed very far forward, and amongst the rest these bands of the "*Rioni*."

I hear that that Moorish page (*quel Moretto*) in the service of the Farnese family, who, as written by me, was arrested as an accomplice in the plots of Camillo Colonna, has confessed that the said Camillo (*che esso*) by means of 200 foot-soldiers sought to give the "Porta Latina" to Marc' Antonio Colonna, who had arranged to secrete himself near that gate in certain ravines with 1,000 cavalry and as many more harquebusiers, whilst Ascanio della Cornia with all the rest of the army was to make a show of storming the "Porta del Popolo," and entering by that road, it being supposed that the Roman Government (*questi Signori*) would have sent all their forces to resist this feint.

It is not known for certain whether the Imperial army has moved, though it is said to have decamped on its march towards Hostia.

Rome, 24th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

680. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Mantua has addressed a long discourse to Don Juan de Manrique, a member of the Council of State, about the mode whereby the King might make a good agreement with the Pope, proposing first of all that his Majesty should offer to be reconciled to his Holiness, and to be always his obedient son, provided he free him from the suspicion of the Pope's wishing to make him lose the kingdom of Naples, by now placing Paliano in the hands of your Serenity; exhorting King Philip to make this peace, by

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reason of the many and various evils which, were it not effected, might accrue not only to Christendom in general, but to his Majesty in particular; and in like manner as this discourse was extremely commended as a fine and prudent one, so was it inferred that his right reverend lordship has more at heart the Pope's interests than those of the King.

In their conversations with me, as with others likewise, all the chief ministers here go saying (*và dicendo*) that the only hope they have of a possible adjustment rests on the mediation of your Serenity, who will the more willingly persevere in it from seeing that his Majesty has unreservedly referred all his disputes to you; but they evince great fear lest the Pope hold to his first opinions, all the letters received by the King quoting the violent language used by his Holiness against him, and especially those of his Majesty's ambassador in France, and also of the Abbot of San Saluto [Parpaglia], purporting that both by letters and by messengers express, the Pope assures his most Christian Majesty that by no means will he make peace with King Philip. The day before yesterday Don Ruy Gomez, when talking with me on this subject, said that, to speak freely, the whole point of this matter reduces itself to two things—the one, that the Pope will not renounce his old idea (*il suo vecchio pensiero*), which has been rooted in his mind since a very long while, of depriving his Majesty of the kingdom of Naples; the other, that the King of France thinks of nothing but encouraging the Pope to continue the war with King Philip, in order that his Holiness' expenditure may be such as subsequently to enable his most Christian Majesty to realize his projects to the detriment of the Catholic King.

Four days ago the Ambassador Vargas arrived here, whereupon I went to visit him, mentioning the many honourable, loving, and earnest offices performed by me, according to your Serenity's commission, with his Majesty and Don Ruy Gomez, and with the whole Court in general. In reply, his lordship returned the most fitting, humble, and courteous thanks possible to your Serenity, for the expression of his gratitude, extolling your rule extremely, and in so loving a way, that his words evidently came from his heart, and he swore to me that he had told the King that both now and for ever it was more for his interest to possess your Serenity's friendship than that of the Pope and the King of France together. His lordship came subsequently to visit me, and after repeating the same thing several times said, with regard to his return to your Serenity, that he found his Majesty disposed towards it, and that in like manner as he himself was also well inclined to serve him, so, if employed diplomatically, he desired nothing more than to be accredited to the Signory, not merely from the wish to do the State some service, but because from his own choice he would select Venice for his perpetual abode, if the state of his affairs by reason of his children permitted him to do so, but that he was quite determined to request the King either to allow him to return home to revisit his wife and look after his property, or else to provide for him in such a way as to prevent the necessity for his doing so.

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The Duke of Ferrara has given leave to Count Marco di Megli at his own request to quit this Court, where he was ambassador, and his Excellency not having sent anyone to replace him as he said he would, the suspicions of the chief ministers here are confirmed that the Duke will declare himself against King Philip should his most Christian Majesty break the truce.

The Duchess of Parma is expected in a few days at Ghent, together with her son [Alessandro Farnese], in lieu of her consort [Ottavio Farnese], his Excellency remaining in Italy on account of the present events, both to keep the said Duke of Ferrara in suspense, as also because it is not for his interest to give the Pope fresh cause to act injuriously towards him.

The ambassador from the Duke of Mantua informed the King to-day in the name of Don Ferrante that his Excellency has determined to fortify Guastalla, which borders on the territory of the said Duke of Ferrara, and although Don Ferrante implies that he does so because he is at strife with him, the King, nevertheless, and the chief magistrates here do not seem satisfied with this explanation. The Marquis of Pescara writes frequently to the King for money and troops with which to provide for the defence of the Milanese frontiers, showing that he has many signs of the intention of the French to break the truce, and yesterday the King announced his intention to him of sending to raise 4,000 German infantry to be sent to Italy, and especially into the Milanese should it seem necessary.

The Duke and Duchess de Bouillon departed hence to-day on their return to France, the Duke having given security at Antwerp for the remainder of his ransom, which within a month or two after his arrival at the French Court will be paid in the said town of Antwerp to the agent of the Duke of Savoy, who writes daily from Brussels to his Majesty about what he is doing to induce the people there to concede the money grant, and he says he finds them so obstinate that he has almost lost the hope of effecting anything by persuasion; so the courtiers say his Majesty will be compelled to go in person to Brussels, as it is reported he will do, without the Court, to make the last attempt to move them or else to punish some of the ringleaders (*alcuni principali*) who keep the people to their opinion. The best informed persons, however, think that as the King by reason of these present times will not move to make a stir with the people of Brussels on account of the King of France, so from suspicion of the Pope he will not depart for England, although he has despatched thither the stable department and the pages, he having done this to comfort the Queen, who in all her letters evinces so strong a wish for his Majesty to go there.

The King hunted yesterday, and having caught cold he is rather indisposed to-day.

Ghent, 24th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Oct. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

681. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen sent one of her household to Dover, where the King's pages and stable (*stalla*) arrived two days ago, to conduct them hither; his Majesty's armoury having also arrived, as likewise some Spanish shopkeepers, who follow the court, to put their shops in order; and as this is the first sign witnessed, it has greatly rejoiced this entire city and the people, chiefly on account of the profit which from past experience they all hope to make.

By letters from the court of King Philip dated the 19th it is heard that your Serenity has mediated for the agreement between the Pope and his Majesty, on which account couriers had passed to and fro in haste between your Serenity and the King. Words cannot express how much this has rejoiced the Queen and Cardinal Pole, and how anxiously they hope that, through your Serenity's authority, the agreement may take place, which besides the other good effects relating principally to England, and to the Queen in particular, would be that of removing all the impediments to the King's return. On behalf of her Majesty, Cardinal Pole caused earnest inquiry to be made of me whether I had received advice of this, or knew any particulars about it, and the answer I had made to him was that by private letters to my address all I knew purported that the Secretary Capella had been sent to the Duke of Alva.

Last week four of the wealthiest aldermen of London died, and as many more are in danger.

London, 26th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

682. The SAME to the SAME.

Encloses postage accounts from the postmasters in Flanders and London from 16th August 1554 to 26th October 1556, and his secretary's charges (4*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*) for conveyance of news-letters to the court, forming a total of 419*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*, for which sum he has drawn on the Doge's brothers, to whom he requests the money may be paid, and he will present the receipts on his return.

London, 26th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 27.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

683. GIACOMO SOBANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 24th I announced the departure of the Count de Chalon (Schialan), and subsequently I heard that after Marshal de Brissac had said to him what I wrote about placing Paliano in the hands of the College of Cardinals, the Count communicated it to the Spanish Ambassador, who approved of the plan, and also that he should go to his King; but he persuaded him first of all to speak in his name on the subject to his most Christian Majesty and the other lords of his Council; so having gone to the King and told him the Ambassador's wish, his Majesty answered him that as he proposed this to him in the Ambassador's name, he (the King), also commended

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it, and, without seeming to know that the Marshal had spoken to him about this, told him that if he pleased, so far as he (the King) was concerned, he might go; and having in like manner spoken with the Constable and other lords, he departed. The Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], who never ceases keeping these negotiations alive, informed the Nuncio of the cause of the gentleman's departure, to discover of his own accord whether this office pleased him, and he found that the negotiation for agreement pleased him, but not the condition to place Paliano in the hands of the College of Cardinals. He said, indeed, that he believed that if the forces were withdrawn, the Pope would refer himself to his most Christian Majesty about all his disputes, and this the Abbot wrote off immediately to Don Ruy Gomez.

I have also heard that after the office performed by me with his most Christian Majesty, with regard to the peace, he immediately communicated it to the Nuncio, having him told as it were underhand, that the office had taken effect and that your Serenity deserved great praise for it; so yesterday the Nuncio went to the King, and talking to him as of himself, both for the Pope's interest and for the See Apostolic, as also for his own personal advantage, he being outlawed from Naples, told him that although he believed that the Pope would always be content with any negotiation and conclusion of peace which pleased his most Christian Majesty, yet nevertheless, understanding that some arrangement circulated (andavano intorno qualche partito), he prayed the King well to consider the interests of his Holiness, and not to proceed to anything which could do him any detriment. To this his Majesty replied that he was by all means determined not to fail the Pope, but that a certain discourse about agreement having been proposed to him, he did not think fit to omit giving ear to it, but he would never do anything without communicating it, and without having regard for his Holiness' interests.

The King, however, did not say anything to him about his expecting Don Ruy Gomez, nor about the departure of the Count de Chalon (di Schialan); and, indeed, I have got scent of a certain thing, namely, that his most Christian Majesty has some suspicion of the Pope's making an agreement for himself (che sua Santità non si accordi da se stessa), which he would not approve of; his Majesty wishing to be the person through whom the adjustment may take effect, in order to keep the Pope his friend, which, as I wrote to your Serenity heretofore, made him despatch a courier to his Holiness to let him know the provision making by him for the war, and exhorting him to reject the terms of agreement proposed by the Duke of Alva, so that they might be negotiated here with greater dignity and advantage. Nor will I omit telling your Serenity that a friend of mine, in whom I can place full trust, tells me that he had a long conversation about these Papal negotiations with the Marshal de Brissac, and that his Excellency told him that he did not see any legitimate cause for the Pope's depriving the Colonna family of their State, and that therefore he considered this war unjust, and consequently that his most Christian Majesty ought not so readily to send

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his forces for this protection, and that now his Majesty also was of the same opinion; so although having promised his aforesaid protection to the Pope he was compelled not to fail him, and had therefore formed the resolves made for the war, they nevertheless proceeded very slowly, in order so that in the meanwhile every effort might be made to effect an adjustment between the Pope and the King of England; and speaking about the cause of the Count de Chalon's (Conte di Schialan) going to his Majesty, he said, "My belief is that it would be well to give back their State to the Colonnas, give some compensation to the Pope, and quiet everything;" and he asked my said friend what recompense he thought could be given. The reply was, that he saw nothing better than Camerino, and to give the Church as recompense the protectorate of Sienna, with the whole State held by it when a Republic, on condition that the Church obtain from it as much as is now yielded by Camerino, besides the salary of a Cardinal-Legate, and for the rest, that the Siennese may live at liberty like the city of Bologna.

The Marshal seemed greatly pleased with these terms, and said that he would mention them to his most Christian Majesty, adding also that in the royal council they had discussed the means whereby to conclude the general peace with the Catholic King, according to the arrangement proposed by the Abbot of San Saluto, and that he, Brissac, was of a different opinion to the Constable, who argued that it would be more advantageous for the King of France to accept Piedmont for his second son the Duke of Orleans, and to leave the Milanese for the Duke of Savoy, rather than to give Milan to the Duke of Orleans, and Piedmont to the Duke of Savoy; but that he, Brissac, objected to this, nor had his most Christian Majesty as yet formed any decision. I have also heard through another channel that in like manner as the said Marshal has hitherto been the chief person who exhorted his most Christian Majesty to make war, so is he now completely joined with the Constable, and they have so persuaded the King in favour of peace, that it has been settled not to fail performing every office to adjust the Pope's quarrel (*differentia*), in order not to have occasion to wage war, although the Guise family are firmer than ever in the contrary opinion. The Marshal dislikes, perhaps, to see the Duke placed over him in Italy as his Majesty's general, whilst Guise on the other hand commends the war in order that he may have greater opportunity for aggrandizing himself and his house;—it being thus evident that the affairs of these princes are ruled by private interests.

Twenty captains have been sent to raise troops in Gascony and Provence, each of them receiving as usual 100 crowns and their commissions (*patenti*), though they are not yet known to have had any money with which to pay the recruits, but it is said that on arriving in those provinces funds will be assigned them. They have been despatched owing to news received here that the German troops which went lately into Italy were marching to embark at Spezia, though it is not known whither bound, some

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saying that they will join the Duke of Alva, others again supposing them destined for the Duke of Florence.

Paris, 27th October 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 28.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

684. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I understand that a few days ago Cardinal Caraffa sent to request Cardinal Santafiora [Guido Ascanio Sforza] to have an interview with him about the present disturbances, and they have already held two secret conferences in a church not very far from Montecavallo, whither Cardinal Caraffa had betaken himself on account of his indisposition, the which church is called San Lorenzo in Palisperno. The particulars, which I have ascertained through two very trustworthy sources, are that Cardinal Caraffa, having expressed his desire to see an end put to these difficulties, said he thought he could not find a better mediator than the said Cardinal Sta. Fiora, who told him, in reply, that although he had cause to be dissatisfied with the Roman Government (di questi Signori), yet being nevertheless a Cardinal, and partial (affettionato) to the Caraffa family, he would not refuse any charge given him, and the result was that they were to send to the Duke of Alva one Dom. Alessandro Placido, a great confidant of Cardinal Sta. Fiora, to let him know the wish of these Lords (di questi Signori), which could never take effect on the terms proposed heretofore, and that therefore thought should be had for fairer terms of peace.

This Alessandro Placido, on his return, reported that the Duke of Alva would propose such conditions as to prove his goodwill, and that he wished these lords likewise to let themselves be understood, about which Cardinal Caraffa (as told me by these intelligencers) is consulting and writing his intention, having also hinted to Cardinal Sta. Fiora that an adjustment might perhaps be made even by reinstating Marc' Antonia Colonna, as Caraffa's brother, the Duke, showed so little ambition, and such anxiety for quiet, that he did not choose any regard to be had for him. What I write is a very great secret, and through the same channel I hope in like manner to hear the sequel, and although quite contrary to the Pope's words, and to what was written by me, I am nevertheless sending off an express to let your Serenity know it immediately, and add that one of the two intelligencers who told me what I write said, besides, that although the French offered what is said, they possibly made the offer hoping to get the Papal towns mentioned by me, and with the project to get a great number of Frenchmen and Italians, their creatures, made cardinals, which, seeming too much to these lords (che parendo troppo a questi signori), they are very secretly attempting this mode of agreement, or else endeavouring thus to gain time in order that the promised assistance may arrive opportunely.

As it is my defect not to be far-sighted, I am accustomed to give information, and not to discuss it, which is to divine, and especially in those courts where many things are done which by right ought not to be done. On the day before yesterday

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there arrived here the reverend Dolfino, Bishop of Lesina,* Nuncio to the King of the Romans, and he dismounted at the apartments of Cardinal Caraffa, with whom he remained a long while, and on that same evening spoke with the Pope for upwards of an hour. Next day he came to see me, and said his journey to Rome was caused by the affairs of the religion in Germany (*in quella provincia*), which are in the worst possible plight, so the King of the Romans sent him to tell the Pope this, and that the present war afforded great opportunity for these tumults, whereas peace would allay them entirely, or in great part; and he said that when he had a better opportunity he would give me more especial account of many other particulars.

Then, at 1 a.m. yesterday morning, letters arrived from the Court of King Philip addressed to Cardinal Pacheco, and although their contents are as yet a very great secret, I nevertheless hear from a person who has it from his right reverend lordship's own lips, and is much in his confidence, that the King writes to him to try at any rate to adjust the affairs of the Pope, who, being the head of Christendom, it is quite fair that he should have some advantages over other powers, and that, as a Vicar of Christ, his proceedings should not be scrutinised so minutely. He said that there is, moreover, a letter from the said King to Cardinal Caraffa, so bland and loving that he hopes to win and make him his own; which having been communicated to me with the same secrecy as observed by the Cardinal with regard to my intelligencer, I cannot fear its being in any way divulged, and by so much the more as through the same channel I expect to learn many secret and important details.

At Paliano there has lately been discovered a plot formed by Giulio Orsini's cupbearer (*coppier*), who had an understanding with a captain and ensign of a company, which was to consign a gate to the Imperial army, the cupbearer simultaneously poisoning his master, Signor Giulio, who had the custody of that gate, so that the soldiers, finding themselves without their commander, might either be unable to make resistance or not know how to do so. The cupbearer has been hanged, as also the captain and ensign. One Captain Moretto, a favourite of Strozzi, has gone off with one of Strozzi's galleys, because, having sold some of the galley slaves, he was apprehensive of punishment from the master.

Yesterday, at 5 p.m., the Signor Camillo della Riccia, having gone for his amusement, with three horsemen, to see a certain dove-cote beyond the gates of Rome, fell in with three of the enemy's light cavalry, who wounded him on the nose, and had he not been well mounted he would have been made prisoner, as was the case with his companion, one Captain Antonio da Mantova, who was formerly in the service of Vallerio Orsini at Padua, and lately left Frosinone. On that same night Count Baldissera Rangon, Camillo Orsini's son-in-law, having gone out with his company, numbering about 60 horse, and some other captains with their companies, amounting in all to upwards of 120 cavalry, besides the harque-

* Zaccaria Dolfino, Bishop of Lesina, made Cardinal by Pope Pius IV. on the 12th March 1565. (See Cardella, vol. 4.)

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busiers on foot, for the purpose of making an ambuscade, they encountered 300 horse of the Count de Populi, which having charged and routed them, they rallied in a valley near Ponte Molle, six miles hence, where the aforesaid Count Rangon was captured, and some 80 cavalry, with all the infantry, which confirms the general belief that whatever is arranged and done here is all divulged (*che quanto si ordina et opera de quì tutto si risappi*). According to report the army is still where it was according to my last, and the cold weather caused by the late northerly wind (besides the reasons assigned heretofore) is supposed to prevent advance, its present position being sheltered by the woods. The Duke of Paliano's indisposition becomes daily more serious, and he passed last night so badly that his whole family was alarmed. The French ministers hold daily consultations with Cardinal Caraffa, and yesterday an express was sent to France. The late French Ambassador here, M. de Vason (*sic*), came to take leave of me in very gracious language; his successor, M. de Selve,* being very much occupied, I have been unable to present my compliments to him.

The reverend treasurer has resigned his post to the reverend Cennj, a Roman *chierico di camera*, who is supposed to be worth 200,000 crowns. He is very ill from gout, and can do but little, though it is said the duty will be performed for him by one Busotto, who is much experienced in contracts and similar schemes.

Whilst writing this I have received letters from my brother giving account of the graciousness shown me by the most excellent Senate, which, adhering to its natural custom, always supplies the need of its servants, for which I will endeavour to show myself not ungrateful by serving it faithfully and diligently, as I have done hitherto, never having any other object than your Serenity's public dignity and that of the most illustrious Republic, my country.

In the act of closing my despatch I hear that the brother-in-law of Aurelio Fregoso, Bartholomeo dal Monte, having gone out of Rome to-day with his company, numbering some 50 horse, as his scouts assured him that the "Campagna" was safe, was attacked in the rear by the enemy's cavalry, which captured him and about 20 of his men, the rest having saved themselves as well as they could.

Rome, 28th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

685. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Signor Camillo Orsini having come to-day to see me at my house, said, "I, knowing the most serene Signory's ardent desire, not only to enjoy peace at home, but also to obtain it for others, and being certain (as I said the other evening) that the best and sole mediator to adjust the present most important disturbances is the Venetian Republic, as asserted by me to those with whom I had occasion to speak long before his Sublimity interfered in the matter by sending this Secretary of his here present, have come to tell your

* Odet de Selve. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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Magnificence a respectful suggestion of mine, induced by my natural affection and observance for the most serene Signory, and thus may Christ make you trust my words, as uttered solely for the common weal and for the honour of the most serene Republic, and not for any other cause. But here it is necessary to be brief, and that I should first let you know that from the wish always evinced by me for peace, contrary to that of the Pope and his dependants, I have refused the superintendence of affairs here, both at the commencement, when the Pope wished to give it me, and I refused, with the excuse of awaiting the return from France of Cardinal Caraffa, as also at present, when they made the Warder (Castellano) urge me most stoutly again and again to that effect, and I parried the attack by saying that I am here, and that they can make use of me free of any cost, and without any diminution of the authority exercised by the Pope's nephews, who said they would obey me, I being ready to serve them so far as I am good, and as a councillor, &c., although experience has shown that they do not choose to follow my advice, which was from the beginning that they should keep Paliano, Velletri, and Rome, securing the 'Campagna' by means of one single place, such as Frossinone or Anagni, concentrating all the forces in a single stronghold, whereas, being scattered in several fortresses, they were captured; but Giulio Orsini, who is in truth a daring soldier, and, as I believe, a good one, though young, was of opinion to keep everything, and the Pope, by reason of his great wish not to yield, nor to lose anything that belongs to him, assented to the Signor Giulio's opinion, so that, to my great grief, the losses known to you were incurred, the enemy's repute being thus so greatly augmented, and ours so diminished, that the former have become lions and the latter sheep; and therefore, to speak confidentially with you, I should be sorry to see the Imperial army approach these walls, from great fear of their boldness and of the alarm of our troops, as also by reason of the discontent prevalent in this city, which is governed, as it were (quasi) tyrannically, horses, grain, money, and everything else being taken by force, for there is not a 'quatrino' in the exchequer, and when they have to give a rate of pay to the troops it behoves them to beg 2,000 crowns from one person, and 3,000 from another; and of those mounted harquebusiers who were raised lately by violence, some 60 of them went over to the enemy; besides which we see the wrath of God upon us, for nothing projected by this side prospers, whereas the Imperialists succeed in all their designs, and had they attempted more their success would have been greater. Cardinal Caraffa chooses to do everything alone, and believes himself to know more than anybody else, which is subsequently disproved by facts.

"These confusions, coupled with other respects, made me reject all command nor will I accept any charge, because if I am to be minister of war I choose to be able to act to the honour of God, with justice, and with piety;—and here nothing is witnessed but the dishonour of God, injustice, and impiety. This my refusal of office, in addition to my having constantly persuaded them to make peace, caused these Lords (questi Signori) to distrust me, so they do not communicate their designs to me, as they perhaps

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would have done had I conformed myself to their will ; although if I go to the meetings of the Council they admit me readily, but if I do not go they do not send for me, and I by degrees go withdrawing myself. I have made this statement in order to add that what I am going to say was not communicated to me by these Lords (questi Signori) but through another channel, namely by Signor Ferrante de Sanguini, by the Duke of Paliano's physician, and by my creature, Captain Matheo of Forlì, the governor of the Marquis, the Duke's son, who have informed me that by these two last couriers there are letters from King Philip, evincing a very great wish for peace, his Majesty referring himself about it to the Duke of Alva, and to the said Signor Ferrante, and (should such be the wish of the Pope) he is content to let the Duke his nephew keep Paliano, provided it be dismantled, lest at any time it prove a bastion for the invasion of the kingdom of Naples, and that his Majesty will give the Duke 16,000 crowns additional revenue, it being told me besides that the Duke of Alva adds 4,000 ; so that King Philip may be supposed to bear goodwill towards the peace.

" Then, on the part of France, it is known for certain that the King, at least for a time, would wish to remain quiet, recovering the costs incurred by him, and allowing the kingdom to take breath, which caused the Constable, who is sage and good, to have the truce made ; and this wish for repose was announced by France before Cardinal Caraffa went thither and after his return, and Strozzi (contrary to the general belief, as nothing suits the [Florentine] outlaws (forusciti) better than war), at the consultations in my presence, and to the Pope after my departure, declared that the King wishes to remain at peace and enjoy the benefit of the truce. It is true that at present I fancy the French will consider it fortunate for them that the Imperialists have commenced the war, as they will think they could not have a finer opportunity than this for a stir of arms with the consent of the people, persuading them that they make it for the defence of the Church, in the hope of thus gaining honour and profit, preserving their title of Christians acquired by them for similar defence, and hoping to effect the so greatly desired occupation of the kingdom of Naples, that he may place his sons conveniently, as may seem necessary to him. The French will therefore promise the Pope what they can for his assistance, and his Holiness in the meanwhile, despairing of immediate help from France, and seeing himself so hampered as to be unable to defend himself, rather than remit one atom of his obstinacy (più presto che remetter ponto della sua ostination), will place in the power of the French such fortresses as remain to him, as, for instance, Civitavecchia, Nepi, Città Castellana, Ancona, and perhaps Perugia ; which, as said by me heretofore, would cause Italy to swarm with barbarians, and even with devils (il che causeria ch  l'Italia s'imperia (sic) de barbari, et fino de diavoli), at the risk of the victor's intending to be master of everything. In that case the most illustrious Signory, who is the sole light remaining in Italy, could not avoid destruction, and should

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therefore apply in time the remedy mentioned by me the other evening, of which I am more and more convinced; namely, that by arming for a general peace, and for that of Italy in particular, and being able to avert impending ruin by peace, the Republic should insist on its being made, and as an alternative declare war on the belligerents.

"The most serene Signory would thus place a crown on her head, and become the arbitress of Italy between the greatest Princes that ever reigned in Christendom, and will moreover oblige both those kings, who, as shown by me above, are not averse to the peace; and even should the adjustment not be made, Venice, being armed, would be respected by both sides, as otherwise, which God forbid, were either of them to remain uppermost the Signory would be in sorry plight; and I from my many years experience consider the French worse and more insolent than the Spaniards (et Io per l'esperientia che ho de tanti anni, giudico per peggiori et più insolenti Francesi che Spagnoli), and the first cause of your reverses was the rout received from King Louis.

"My wish would be to see the French in France, the Spaniards in Spain, and the Italians in Italy (Io vorrei veder i Francesi in Franza, i Spagnoli in Spagna, et l'Italiani in Italia); and to go more into details, I say that in the present case the most illustrious Signory should engage the Duke of Urbino, to effect which I offer my mediation, and if it succeeds I then suggest that his Serenity do send forward 500 men-at-arms and 10,000 infantry into the Duchy of Urbino, and abide by the protests aforesaid with regard to not enduring the desolation of Italy. In that commanding position those forces would suffice for whatever circumstances might require, being near the Abruzzi by the March; near Rome for whatever may occur by way of Gubbio, and near Perugia; and that the Duke of Florence, who is not benefited by these disturbances, and would wish for peace, might perhaps adhere to your Sublimity. It seems to me that this hint is good and salutary to bring about peace, in case the war continue, and if I give it importunately and unasked, be pardon conceded me, and the blame attributed to my wish for the common weal, and my many years' service under the Signory, whom (God forbid she should have the need!) I offer to serve without grade or stipend, as so often said by me. Lord Ambassador, fail not to represent my proposal for the Republic's consideration, as it might yield the utmost possible glory, and for the love of God let it be kept very secret, as, if divulged, it would ruin me to have spoken so freely against all the crowned heads, nor should I certainly deserve it for having unbosomed to a representative and to the ministers of the most sage and prudent Republic that the world ever saw, for in truth I fancied myself speaking to so many lords, my fathers, brothers, and children."

I, having thanked his Excellency for his great affection, assured him that those most illustrious Lords would keep the whole very secret, they never having failed anyone in similar cases; and his Excellency, having repeated that on this he relied, took leave

Rome, 29th October 1556.

[Italian.]

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Oct. 30.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 62.

686. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Lesina [Zaccaria Dolfin], having come to dine with me this morning, said that Cardinal Caraffa, with whom he is lodged, did him much honour, and that he has had two audiences of the Pope, with whom he remained two hours each time, acquainting him with the dissatisfaction of King Maximilian with King Philip, or rather with the hatred which he bears him, and that he lately left his Court discontented in every respect; that in the meanwhile the Spanish nation is so detested by Germany, that he would do whatever he could to revenge himself; that the most serene King of the Romans and his counsellors greatly fear the forces of Sultan Soliman, knowing that the most Christian King leads him as he pleases; that when he the Bishop was with the Pope, the conversation having turned upon your Serenity, he explained to his Holiness the amount of the Signory's forces by land and sea, and how single handed they could do whatever they pleased in Italy; that the King of Spain is not a Prince of much ability, nor has he counsellors of great experience and prudence about his person; that he has no money, and that therefore the Bishop did not know on what foundation he had undertaken so important a war as this present one in Italy, and which was held in great account in Germany likewise. The Bishop then told me that the Pope was so pleased with this conversation that he embraced him a thousand times, and that a great part of these favours proceeded moreover from his being a Venetian nobleman. He then told me besides, that when talking with Cardinal Morone in like manner about your Serenity, he told him that crowned heads and Republics make agreements according to their profit (si accomodano all' utile loro), and that there were many ways whereby the Pope might gain your Serenity's forces, and render you yet more united with him than you are, as, for instance, by his giving you the kingdom of Sicily and the nomination to the bishoprics throughout your territory, together with authority to avail yourself of part of the revenues of the religious orders, on which were five per cent. conceded, they would yield a considerable sum; the Bishop asking me what I thought of this, and whether he had done well. I replied that a sage man and a negotiator like his lordship had little need of my opinion, so I said merely that he knew your Serenity to be unambitious of territory and desirous of peace. He then added that yesterday, in the presence of his Holiness and of the Congregation of Cardinals, he represented the troubles and adversities of the religion, whereupon the Pope determined that he was to acquaint all the Cardinals with them in detail, and that his Holiness answered him that he would apply such remedy as counselled by the circumstances of the times. This is what the above-mentioned Bishop said to me, nor can I imagine for what purpose he entered into two instantaneous conversations, contrary to the Pope's nature, concerning what he told me as written above, nor why he spoke as he did to Cardinal Morone; though I think his business must be of some importance, he having quitted his legation without leave, as also because he is lodged in the house of Cardinal Caraffa, and that in so short a space of time, he has spoken twice

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with his Holiness. *I will endeavour to elicit something farther, and perhaps from himself (as little can be hoped from others) I shall try to gather some particulars about his business.*

Rome, 30th October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B.

687. THE Venetian Ambassador, BERNARDO NAVAGERO, and the Secretary, FEBO CAPELLA, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the receipt to-day at daybreak of your Serenity's letters dated the 28th instant, we went to the Pope, who assigned us audience at 10 h. 30 m. a.m. before his going into chapel to vespers.

On our entry he said he was sorry to be unable to remain with us as long as he wished by reason of the ceremony of the day. I, Ambassador, having thanked him for so much courtesy, told him with how much surprise and regret your Serenity had heard through our letters that his Holiness suspected you of having been negotiated with, in the name of the King of Spain, to form a closer understanding with him, and that you were giving ear to it, which could only proceed from false information, adding that by commission from your Sublimity I assured him that the most illustrious Dominion, persevering in the same inclination for peace and quiet, had never heeded nor attended to any negotiation for a closer understanding with the aforesaid King, always desiring the preservation of the Papal States as much as you did that of your own, in order not to degenerate from your ancestors; and when I, Ambassador, was about to tell him the rest his Holiness interrupted me, saying—

“Magnifico Ambassador, we should do great wrong to the Signory, and to you who represented them, were we not to give more credit to your words than to any other person soever, by so much the more as the love we bear them is, it may be said, coeval with our being, or rather inherited, as we told you heretofore, from our Cardinal Oliverio [Caraffa], on whom his Sublimity conferred a favour such as to our knowledge was never granted by him to others, for he charged his Ambassador to do everything to make him Pope. Then, subsequently, our own sojourn there with you at Venice, where we were so much caressed and honoured, increased this affection of ours, if it admitted of increase, so that we yield to none but yourselves in desiring the welfare of that Republic, in like manner as we yielded to no Venetian Cardinal in seeking it with our predecessors, performing such offices in the Consistories that your own Cardinals thanked us for them, and we replied that they deceived themselves if they thought they were more Venetian than us (*se pensavano esser più Venetiani di noi*). Now this our love for you being such, and as it would be bad policy for either of us to endure the detriment one of the other, lest we be both ruined, how is it possible for you to remain looking on whilst these churls (*questi mal-nati*) attack us, making such progress as they have made? for it is a miracle our having so long resisted their forces, which although not much in themselves, yet against us whose means are moderate they exceed the need. What are you waiting for? Although we use discretion and do not ask anything of you, ought you not to see what becomes you? Are you

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not Christians? *Are you not our children? Are you not interested in Italy?* Are not these heretics endeavouring to subjugate this province from their ambition to make themselves masters of everything? Why, alas! has wretched Italy this repute, that everybody sees that he who shall be her lord may easily master the rest of the world? Are not these devilish and accursed wretches (*questi indiavolati et maledetti*) on their way to overthrow the Popedom and destroy the faith of Christ? *Why does the Signory not do at present what they did heretofore? for we remember to have been at Venice at the time of the war of Florence,* and to have seen those venerable old men (the greater part of whom are now in Paradise) lamenting the downfall of that Republic with the tears in their eyes. Why are there not kindred souls at present? Is it possible that they be quite extinct? Were we of this opinion we should also believe that the Almighty has chosen to inflict some great punishment on us to our utter destruction; but, as we have told you, we ask neither league nor anything else of you, save that you keep ready prepared, and that you open your eyes to your own welfare; for God, He, either with or without you, will well know how to chastise his enemies. Do you not credit our belief that His Majesty will visit them with a heavy hand? and that in like manner as on the sudden they increased marvellously without any merit of their own like a blaze in perniciæ orbis terræ, so will they suddenly be crushed to avenge their iniquities, and for the peace and quiet of the world. Do you, however, remain within your boundaries as necessary for the security of your State, as by doing so you will secure yourselves and assist others by arming without making any declaration, and by answering those who question you on the subject thus: 'Why are we not to arm if we see all Italy in arms? Are we not bound to maintain our State, of which we have to give account to the Lord God?' For operations of this sort you never could be reproved, though for acting contrariwise you certainly might, if from cowardice you allowed yourselves to be oppressed, and were you by remaining unarmed to lose your dignity. Were we in your Senate we should hope to say such things in this matter as to find few members who could reasonably confute us."* His Holiness then showing that he had finished, I, Ambassador, said, "Holy Father, his Sublimity, who has heard these suggestions of your Holiness through our letters, has charged me to thank you, adding that being given by a Prince so sage and friendly, those most excellent Lords will hold them in such consideration as they shall know is required for the benefit and dignity of their State."

The Pope said, "We have repeated it to you that we do not move from our purpose, and that we are more and more confirmed in our belief that there is nothing more salutary than this for the Signory, because it tends to the preservation of state and fame, as should you now do what becomes you, you will obtain increase of terri-

* On the 8th November 1494, Pietro de Medici and his two brothers quitted Florence, which remained free until 1509. Paul IV. was born in 1476, so at the time of "the war of Florence," he was in the 18th year of his age. Cardella (vol. 4, p. 161), says that in 1494, Gian Pietro Caraffa accompanied his uncle, Alessandro Caraffa, from Naples to Rome, so I infer that he also went with him from thence to Venice.

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tory (*ne consequirete accrescimento di Stato*) and your glory will be inscribed on adamant."

I, the Ambassador, then continued, "Holy Father, I have another commission from the most serene Signory to impart to your Holiness," and I accordingly stated to him word for word what your Sublimity enjoins me about the disposition of the King of Spain, with regard to the constant and earnest offices performed by you for the peace; and about that of the Duke of Alva, with regard (should it please his Holiness) to sending the Secretary again to the camp. The Pope replied, "Magnifico Ambassador, those people (*costoro*) are villains (*scelerati*); they say many things, in order to do none of them. Let them do it to-day, and we will do it to-morrow; but you must know that they are compelled because *Filii hujus sæculi prudentiores sunt filiis lucis*; these rogues see what the most serene Signory ought to do to assist us, both for the interest of the religion and for the benefit of their state; and by preaching peace, and saying they will submit, they endeavour to put you to sleep, that you may not do your duty. And so every fortnight they send fresh messengers to each Italian potentate, to Ferrara, to Urbino, and even to Parma, telling them to pray and persuade us to make peace; nor could any greater injury be done us than to doubt our wish for it, but it must be a good peace, and not a treacherous one, for with those people (*con costoro*) one can never be secure. You will have heard of the plot discovered at Paliano, in addition to so many others;" and he then repeated his usual abuse of the Emperor, and the King of Spain, and the Spanish nation, saying that "This youth chose to signalize his life and render it notorious by the greatest impiety that could be imagined, having at the commencement of his rule over so many kingdoms commenced war on the religion, on the See Apostolic, against Christ; but that he the Pope would soon issue his sentences, not of privation, for they are already deprived, but passing censures, releasing from oaths of homage, and conferring the kingdoms on those who shall obtain them, they being such as will easily find aspirants, for already a stir is heard in Piedmont, and will also be heard elsewhere, and that the justice of God will cause even the Turk to come and inherit them; but that his Holiness will be dead, and will not witness such great destruction, for which there is no remedy save to knock these rogues on the head (*se non dar sopra la testa a questi*) and rid the world of them, for they are worse than Turks; and that it pains him above all to see the iniquitous schism of these Imperialists who strive to celebrate profane masses although they are interdicted; and they moreover dare to say that they have shown (*fatto veder*) to Doctors of Divinity, and made them write, that this their impious war is lawful; but the more we have borne and continue to bear, the more do we hope to witness vengeance for it from the hand of God. We have told you again and again that they have no other cause than our not allowing ourselves to be commanded, and our wish to preserve the State of the See Apostolic as we found it, nor do we seek to enlarge it, in like manner as had we not found it (*come anco se non l'avessamo trovato*) we should not have sought it, so that we might live more tranquilly in our poverty; nor do we wish for anything for our-

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selves, but merely to maintain our dignity, and not allow ourselves to be trodden under foot by a race (*da gente*) who have neither justice, liberality, courtesy, piety (*pietà*), faith, nor religion. *With you and with the most illustrious Signory we verily believe that we can speak, without thought for its being divulged. Ought we to be reproved for wishing to see Italy in her former state of liberty, in harmony and security, as she was before those luckless potentates Ludovico [Duke of Milan] and Alphonso [King of Naples] ruined her? Ought we to be reproved (ripresi) for this? We would tell the tyrants themselves that we wish it, because we are an Italian, and perceive that this is for the welfare of our country; and if we are now conceded so just an opportunity, why should we not endeavour to realize this our wish, to replace Italy in her lustre, and render her secure for many centuries by making a Duke of Milan and a King of Naples, not for ourselves, as our stay here is short, nor for our kinsfolk, who will content themselves with what may be given them for their living by the courtesy of the King of France, and of the Signory, so that they may conveniently enjoy what we gave them, which was taken from our rebels without dismembering the Church property, nor from ambition, but for the general good, to establish the affairs of this afflicted province. Why should the Signory not do everything for this so signal a benefit, and were they to give themselves to be understood, would it, perchance, fail to be accomplished easily? They are a handful of poor wretched fellows (sono 4 scalzi), and after breaking their heads (alli quali come si havesse rotta la testa) we should enter the kingdom of Naples, which would give itself unanimously, and we know what we say, and you would have such a part of it as you never imagined; we hinted this to you heretofore, and it would depend upon us, who never thought of doing anything without the Signory's participating in it, as known to others to whom we communicated our projects, and it will still be in time, though should you delay we might possibly make such an arrangement (fermar noi tal cosa) as subsequently to render it impossible. Let this suffice. You never had a finer opportunity than the present one, this See being held by us, who desire nothing but your welfare. Heretofore, nevertheless, [in the year 1529, Decr. 23,] you* made a Duke of Milan [Francesco Maria Sforza] who subsequently [in 1535, Octr. 24], to your great sorrow, died. Why are you not those same men now? With these rascals (ribaldi) you cannot agree, for they choose to tyrannize over the whole world, and after subduing us they would require from you in reward for their friendship, first Padua, then Treviso, then Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema, which they say belong to them. This is not the case with these others (con questi altri) [the French] because they have a number of children, and for the benefit of the kingdom it is necessary to thrust them abroad (cacciarli fuori) and provide for them. Let Italy take two, to be educated there, with Italian councillors and preceptors; one to be Duke of Milan, the other King of Naples; and be the gate closed against the barbarians, and let the Signory of Venice have Sicily,*

* The investiture was made by the Emperor Charles V. at Bologna.

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which kingdom can never be proposed for France, and will be held for ever by the Republic, its inhabitants being caressed and well treated, in which you are proficient. Venice would thus be secured against famine, that island becoming a convenient harbour for your ships and galleys, and as in your own neighbouring ports, the shout there would be 'To Venice! to Venice!' We know not whether it would be possible to state our mind or to show our love for you more clearly.

"We choose you to know that the Sicilians, being required by their viceroy to come against us, took time to consider, and their decision was that if the Spaniards chose to go against the Church, they should make use of their foreign troops in the kingdom of Naples, as the Sicilians single handed were well able to defend themselves against the Turks, which we believe to be the truth, Magnifico Ambassador, and we will have information on the subject given you by the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], who was born in that kingdom, and is as worthy a man as any we know; and in conclusion, with regard to the Secretary's going, in God's name let him go, but he will do no good, *nor does his mission much please us, as, to speak freely to you, he who requires deeds does not delight in words.* The Signory have not even chosen to disband part of their troops, as requested of them by public personages of authority, that they might be enrolled, in case of need, for us or for the most Christian King. We take everything in good part; do what you will, do not let yourselves be deceived by these traitors."

I, the Ambassador, replied that I knew nothing about this, but that your Serenity had no other troops than those usually quartered in the garrisons, with which you cannot dispense, and the cavalry, of which to deprive yourself would inconvenience and endanger your interests; and with this we took leave to go to Cardinal Caraffa, whom we met on his way to chapel, and I, the Ambassador, having accosted him, mentioned the order received by the Secretary to return to the camp, should it so please his Holiness, in the same terms as used by me with the Pope; assuring him also that your Serenity had negotiated nothing with the King of Spain, nor did you purpose forming a closer understanding with him; whereupon, seeming quite rejoiced, he answered me, "We are too much obliged to the most illustrious Signory, and are glad the Secretary is returning, because by no other means than these can this peace be made, and in order that the Secretary" (when uttering which words he called me, Secretary, to him) "may be well informed, and also know my intention, I will send you this evening what I had occasion to write lately on this subject, so that should the Duke of Alva speak to you about it, and seeing also my intention, it may be understood with whom the difficulty rests, and whether the Imperialists (*costoro*) really wish for peace."

When we modestly refused to have writings, he added, "We will send them to you, not as the cardinal-nephew of the Pope, but as Don Carlo Caraffa, because in that capacity likewise did I make them;" and here he added, "I have so provided for myself that now I can fear but little harm from them; the affairs, Lord Ambassador,

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are in a good way, nor is there any longer the least cause for doubt." We did not go to the Duke of Paliano, by reason of his serious indisposition, which tends to dropsy. I, the Secretary, according to your Serenity's order will go to-morrow to the camp. Most serene Prince, although I, Ambassador, in the first place, and subsequently both of us together, have written nearly these same things and words about the Pope's conversations, yet has it not seemed fit to us to pass them over in silence now, *in order that thereby your Serenity may know the constant mind of his Holiness.*

Rome, 31st October 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

688. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From what I have been able to ascertain on good authority, his most Christian Majesty has received information that Don Ruy Gomez no longer intends coming hither, making it appear that his presence here on account of the agreement with the Pope is unnecessary, his King having offered such terms to his Holiness, that should he reject them, his Majesty could find no means to withdraw his forces save to the disparagement of his dignity; which he hoped the King of France would take in good part, as it is in accordance with his Catholic Majesty's rights.

This was heard with dissatisfaction here, his most Christian Majesty considering himself much aggrieved, as after so many promises given him about this coming, the Catholic King had thus wished as it were to cool the preparation which was being made here for the war. In addition to this grievance it is now heard that according to the processes drawn up about the plot discovered lately at Metz, and which were sent hither to the King after the execution of the conspirators, one of these last deposed that the order given him about that scheme had been received by him from the lips of the King of England (dalla bocca del Re di Inghilterra). Another plot has moreover been discovered at Casale, and other understandings elsewhere in Piedmont. All these things demonstrate how little inclined his Majesty is to observe the truce; so here the provision for the war has greatly rekindled, as besides the despatch of the first 20 captains of French troops, other 12 captains have been appointed also to raise French troops, and 20 Italians to raise Italian troops in Piedmont. The Baron L'Espic quartermaster-general of the camp of Piedmont, has also been sent to raise 2,000 infantry in Gascony, to fill up the 49 companies now in being, which are very short of men, with order for all the said troops to be in Piedmont for the muster, to be made on the 15th instant, when all will receive pay; so that the most Christian King will have 81 companies of Frenchmen and 20 of Italians, which will be paid at the rate of 300 men per company, though they are usually not more than 270, amounting in all to about 27,000 infantry, besides the 9,000 Switzers. Although the Constable told me that the latter were already levied, I have

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ascertained that the Diet had determined to give the first 6,000, which are to be in Piedmont on the 15th, the companies being already formed, but about the fresh order for the 3,000 which arrived subsequently, nothing had been decided down to the 26th ultimo by reason of the shortness of the time; but Colonel Ferli writes that these likewise will certainly be raised, though they cannot be in Piedmont until after the 20th instant. The 500 men-at-arms will also be there by that time, and in like manner the 600 light horse, who have already received commands to hold themselves in marching order; and from what I hear of the whole of the aforesaid infantry force, 8,000 men will be reserved to garrison the Piedmontese fortresses, and of all the rest, an army corps (*corpo d'essercito*) will be formed, amounting in all to 28,000 infantry, 750 men-at-arms, including those who go from hence and those on the spot, and 1,000 light cavalry.

One of the commissioners from Piedmont (*del Piamonte*), has in like manner been sent with orders to M. de Termes for the necessary victuals, ammunition, and artillery, as also to provide boats for the construction of bridges, pick-axes, spades, pioneers, oxen, and every other requisite for the war; and according to report, M. de Brissac will depart in the course of the present week, and the Commander-in-chief the Duke de Guise on the 15th, taking with him all the other Lords who form his staff, some of whom have already commenced sending horses and other necessities. The Government is also intent on pecuniary supply, and on the day before yesterday a fresh bargain (*partito*) was struck with the German merchant George Obreck, who dwells in Lyons, as head of a large company of other Germans and Italians, which, according to its assignments received from his most Christian Majesty, having to be paid 900,000 crowns ready money in the months of November and December, has consented at that term to leave them to him again for ten years, at the usual interest of 16 per cent, on the fairs of Lyons (*sopra le fiere di Lione*); of which sum the King will thus avail himself in cash these next months; and it is considered certain that he will levy six tenths from the clergy, yielding upwards of 1,000,000 of gold. There is no advice from Ferrara, but the Duke's decision is very anxiously expected, the Prince his son declaring that at any rate it will be to his Majesty's satisfaction, the only remaining difficulty being a little more money for the payment of 500 infantry; and the said Prince told the King that should his father not choose to comply with his Majesty's wishes, he will leave in his Excellency's hands, out of the allowances received from him (*le proprie provisioni che gli dà*), a sum equal to that payment, in order that once for all this treaty be concluded. In the event of such conclusion, as I wrote to your Serenity, the King intends his Excellency to raise 6,000 infantry, 200 light horse, and 100 men-at-arms. From Rome, in like manner, no advice whatever has been received since many days, and it is longed for.

Paris, 1st November 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
Nov. 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian,
Archives
No. 7, B.

689. The Venetian Secretary FEBO CAPELLA to the DOGE and SENATE.

I departed hence very early this morning to go to the Duke of Alva, and having arrived within a mile from Grottaferrata, where my last letters informed your Serenity that the army was quartered, I found his Excellency on a hill, watching the march of the said army, which had decamped some time previously, and having presented myself to him, we two, on horseback as we were, withdrew to some little distance from the rest, whereupon I stated the first part of my commission in your Serenity's own words, and then by argument having demonstrated the very injurious result which the continuance of this war might produce, I exhorted him, in your name, to propose some other fair form of articles (*capitoli*), more to the dignity of this See Apostolic and of his Holiness, as the means without which it would be impossible to incline the Pope to the agreement, your Serenity perceiving that it was necessary to show him some mark of reverence, expressing myself in the other precise words of your most sage letter. His Excellency, after a few words confirming the trust he has in your Serenity, repeated to me the particulars written by you about the orders received by him from the King, and his Majesty's good disposition towards the peace, adding that a few days ago, Cardinal Santa Fior sent one of his gentlemen to him, not without the knowledge of Cardinal Caraffa, to speak to him about this agreement, and to see whether his Excellency wished for it and would come to details; and he (the Duke) having let him know that such was his desire, the said gentleman was sent back to him lately with a letter of credence, with certain articles of such tenour as he would show, or tell me by word of mouth. When I said that as his Excellency knew them by heart he could repeat them, he added, that with regard to the clause already proposed by him about releasing the prisoners, the Roman Government (*questi Signori*) will that after settlement of the other matters the said prisoners be afterwards asked of his Holiness, as an act of grace; that touching the affair of Marco Antonio Colonna, they replied that his Holiness had proceeded justifiably, having deprived him for the things which will be seen in the processes drawn up; that about the other matter of Ascanio della Cornia, that he was the Pope's open rebel; and that as to what concerned the non-fortifying on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, that the Pope was a free prince, and could and ought to do what he pleased in his own territory, it being, moreover, in a certain way unbecoming and undignified to speak about this whilst the Duke was armed and occupied the towns of the Church; his Excellency saying to me that these articles seemed to him so unfair that he would not read them more than once, and that he, indeed, thought that they had been made to try his patience, which as he chose to keep as long he could, he determined to write back, adopting the same form of credentials, adding to the letter, that he had perceived the bravado (*la bravura*) of the articles sent, and that, nevertheless, should they choose to attend to what is fair, they will

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see that his Majesty's intention is to exalt and not to depress the Pope's authority, and to provide for the benefit of his Holiness' family and posterity.

That, besides this letter, he told the gentleman orally that as it did not seem fit to him to put this in writing, by reason of the nature of the articles sent to him, he was to relate with reference to the said articles that it was fitting for his Majesty's public ministers and those persons who had been imprisoned on his account to be released, and that the rights of the others should be investigated, there being done to them what was due and fair. That they would so provide, and with such advantage for the Count of Montorio (for thus do the Imperialists denominate the Duke of Paliano), as compensation for Paliano, as to prove how excellently disposed his Majesty is towards the advantage of the Caraffa family. That as to Ascanio della Cornia, the King would never compel the Pope to do anything contrary to his dignity, the Duke of Alva knowing that when his Majesty is acquainted with what took place in that business, he will only require what is due; and that respecting Paliano, it was not fitting for the Pope either to have that place or to erect any other fortress at the boundaries of the kingdom of Naples, to remove any cause for disturbance, the Duke saying to me that it would be like making a Piedmont on those confines; and with this message he sent back the gentleman yesterday morning. His Excellency said to me, besides, that from what he had told me, I could understand what had taken place, as also the unfairness of the articles proposed by this side, and the fairness of his reply, he wishing for the agreement and for peace, as always asserted by him, and that had the correspondence with Cardinal Santa Fior continued he thought of desiring him to communicate everything to your ambassador in Rome, and to me, that we might endeavour to effect a fair and durable adjustment; and he asked me what I thought of the one thing and the other, desiring me to tell him what else I could recommend, as he would do it, in accordance with what he had said to me heretofore.

I replied that from what I had heard with regard to the first, it seemed the medium of Cardinal Santa Fior was good and opportune, and I replied to the second that there was no occasion for the ambassador nor for me to interfere in the business. His Excellency rejoined *that he did not much like this way, as he thought "these lords" would not quite trust Cardinal Santa Fior, by reason of the injury he received from them*, and that a medium was necessary, as two parties hostile one to the other are never seen to agree without a fitting mediator, nor did he see any better one than your Serenity and your ministers to inspect and adjust the articles and conditions, as in no other way would any good ever be done, because from what is known and seen, the most Christian King cannot mediate, nor is there any other prince of authority, and that on the settlement of what was necessary he would throw himself at the Pope's feet and make every submission. I said that it seemed to your Serenity that some agreement might be made, and assured him that you had done everything possible to procure peace, for the benefit of Christendom, and especially of Italy, yet you did no

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think it fit to arbitrate in the matter. The Duke replied that although he supposed your Serenity had considered the subject maturely, as was your wont, and that there was no necessity for his Excellency to make any rejoinder, yet he observed that had anyone asked him about this he should have replied that precisely to your Serenity it appertained to exercise your arbitration in a business of such importance as this present one, you being that potentate who single-handed would bring about this peace, and moreover the quiet of Italy, saying, for instance, "This clause is unsuitable; it would be fitting to do so and so, and adjust the matter," with such goodness and wisdom as are inherent to those most illustrious Lords. To this I rejoined that as I had told his Excellency that your Serenity would continue performing good offices, so I also promised myself that his Excellency would also endeavour to accomplish this agreement, which was so necessary and so universally desired, to which effect I again besought him earnestly.

The Duke continued that he knew the quality of his own forces and of those of the Pope, who could not receive assistance from France so soon as he hoped, but that notwithstanding this, should his Holiness wish for the agreement, he the Duke would occupy himself about it with his whole soul, as he desired nothing else, and to have it known to the world; and that the necessity for taking the arms out of the hands of him who sought to injure King Philip (*la Maestà sua*), and not the will, had made him proceed in this way, as if he had had to do with any other prince the affair would have proceeded otherwise; and that should this adjustment not be effected it will go on badly even now, *and that in the end the only gainers would be the French, to whom they purposed giving Orvieto likewise.* The Duke, in short, showed himself very anxious for the agreement, saying moreover that he should have hoped it would have been already made had the conference with Cardinal Caraffa taken place, and this he repeated several times.

Our conversation having lasted nearly an hour, his Excellency said that he wished me to see the march of the Spanish infantry, which was then descending the hill, and thus did I, remaining for upward of another hour with him, in the course of which he resumed the aforesaid conversation, telling me besides that in the preceding night he received letters from the Marquis de Trevico with news of his having taken a place near Ascoli, on the confines of the Abruzzi, where he found himself with 2,000 infantry and 300 horse, he having repulsed 600 men who came out of Ascoli to prevent it, 150 of whom were cut to pieces (*tagliate a pezzi*), all the rest being made prisoners, amongst whom, as there were some of the chief inhabitants of the city of Ascoli, a ransom of from 10,000 to 15,000 crowns had been exacted. His Excellency then added that he had remained so long a while at Grottaferrata awaiting the execution of his orders for the transmission of considerable supplies of victuals from the kingdom of Naples towards Nettuno for the use of the army, and as they had now arrived he was marching in that direction, and that in the meanwhile he had fortified Rocca di Papa; that this afternoon he should advance five miles to encamp near a lake [*Lago di Castello*] opposite Albano, *and that in four days he*

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intended to cross the river and then make himself master of Ostia ; that in the meanwhile the reinforcements which he expected with the galleys will arrive, and that he shall then proceed to do the like by Civitavecchia, that it may not be given to the French, and the citadel not being very strong, and the town having been patched (racconzata) by them lately as well as they could, he hoped to succeed.

After the Spanish infantry had defiled, I took leave of his Excellency, who, having again drawn aside with me for a short while, said that he should wait to see whether these lords (*questi Signori*) shall choose to send again to him, and that in case he send back it is his intention (dependent, however, on their tone) to demand an interview with Cardinal Caraffa, from which, as already stated by him, he anticipated a good result ; whereas from the Pope he could promise himself little or nothing, both by reason of his inveterate hatred to the Emperor, as also from the desire he has constantly evinced to deprive him of the kingdom of Naples ; the Duke remarking that his Holiness having been of this mind heretofore, when he had neither State nor forces, it may be inferred that, having grown old with this idea, he will now choose to realise it by means of the popedom.

On my arrival the men-at-arms had already passed, and I hear that they were in good order, as likewise a Spanish regiment, and all the Italians. The light cavalry which I saw are fine troops, and well mounted, considering the service they have seen and that their horses are picketed in the open country ; but nothing could be handsomer than the Spanish cavalry, well armed and all veterans, in number 3,300, although receiving pay for 3,700. Several empty gun carriages passed, and the Duke told me he was sending them for the artillery which will be landed from the galleys, they having also sappers on board, besides 1,500 who marched in like manner in battle array, the Duke telling me, as I saw, that they were accompanied by some cavalry, who were in the midst of them, to watch and prevent their escape.*

I must not conceal one thing from your Serenity, although the Duke told it me as a great secret, and as a thing which if repeated might prove detrimental to this agreement, saying he told it me in confidence, and that I must not do him such a wrong ; that he would in short consent to Paliano remaining to the Pope personally, precisely as it was held by Paul III., that is to say, that it should not be given either to the Church or to Marc' Antonio Colonna, but that the Pope might consider it his own for his life.

Rome, 2nd November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

690. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Nothing is thought of, nothing expected, save this blessed return of the King, which—as told me by Cardinal Pole—the Queen will

* The “sappers” were for the most part peasants, who marched “spade” in hand, the Italian word “zappa” signifying “spade,” and being pressed into the service they required watching.

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not credit can be impeded or delayed by the rupture in Italy with the Pope, unless here they declare war on France; but as yesterday a courier sent express, post haste (*in diligentia*), brought news of the King's return to Brussels, thus removing himself to a greater distance from hence, everybody's suspicion of further delay has increased. As yet it has not been possible to ascertain the cause of the said courier's despatch.

Here they have been intent hitherto on levying the loan demanded by them; henceforth they will occupy themselves by paying the debts, the Queen choosing everybody to be satisfied by Christmas and before; and to give yet greater satisfaction (*havendo anco voluto per maggiormente gratificarsi*) she has also willed that the gentlemen-pensioners and yeomen who were broken lately, re-enter her service, letting it appear that their dismissal proceeded from her councillors and not from her own desire, which by the said pensioners and universally was received with twofold gratitude (*è stato con doppia gratitudine ricevuta*).

The fruit of Dr. Cheke's recantation begins already to take effect, well nigh 30 persons who were in prison in danger of being burned, having lately by the grace of God and through the efficacy of his language been converted.

There has at length arrived here, according to the announcement made previously,* the Bishop of Acqs, Prothonotary [François] de Noailles, appointed long ago as ambassador resident, and who by taking the place of a brother of his [Gilles de Noailles] who, after the departure of the last ambassador [Antoine de Noailles], resided here as agent, will remove the suspicion of this Government (*questi Signori*) that the most Christian King would merely accredit an agent to England, for which reason he [the agent] was ill-looked on; the English on their part being on the point of doing the like.

London, 2nd November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B, p. 68,
&c.

691. The Venetian Ambassador BERNARDO NAVAGERO, and the Secretary FEBO CAPELLA, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, on entering the Pope's presence, I, Secretary, gave him full and particular account of what I had negotiated with the Duke of Alva, as your Serenity will have seen by the accompanying letter, but not telling him the last part, about which the Duke told me to be silent, with regard to his consenting that *Paliano* should remain to the Church (sic) in the form in which it was held by Paul III. The Pope, after listening to me attentively, said, "Have you anything else to tell us? You have not been able to remove them from their first obstinacy? (*non havete possuto cavar loro della sua prima ostinatione?*) What they have told you now is in fact the same as heretofore, although in kind (*humane*) and submissive words, they wishing to show the world the contrary of what they have at heart, talking of peace and by deed waging war. That

* Then follow a few illegible words, of which I am enabled to give the sense through entries in the Foreign Calendar dated 18th October and 9th November 1556, and by means of the Index.

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Duke is surrounded by an asylum (*un asylo*) of our ribald traitors, and chooses them to remain in our territory (*in casa nostra*) by force. What greater injustice than this could there be? From the demands made by them of the King of Christendom (*Principe de' Cristiani*) judge what they would do to you had they the opportunity. We will die rather than condescend to such a thing. It ought to seem much to them if, making amends for what they have done hitherto, they could hope that we should remit proclaiming them accursed, excommunicated, and deprived of empires and kingdoms, as we intend to do, by well-grounded decrees, which will last eternally, and Christ will find means to have them executed. We say that it ought to suffice them should we be pleased to leave them the name of king, and not that they should choose to give us the law in our own territory, for rather than assent to any indignity we would die a thousand deaths;" adding the following four verses [Virgil, *Æneid*, Book IV., verse 24]:

" Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,
Ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua jura resolvo."

"Oh, Lord! shall we not some day be relieved from this insupportable yoke of the barbarians? Shall we lose the greatest opportunity that ever was in the world, which will not return again for many centuries? Is it possible to be so stupid (*tanto stupidi*) as not to see what ought to be done? We shall recommend ourselves to His Divine Majesty alone, as those who should bestir themselves do not, though they will perhaps wish to do so when no longer in their power. Even now the forces of Italy alone would suffice to rid us of this plague (*peste*), which, if allowed to proceed farther, will infect everything. You, Secretary, may report this, and on the other hand our desire for the universal good, nor will we omit to repeat to you what we have said heretofore, *that it would be the establishment of the affairs of Italy;*" and he then talked about the two sons of the most Christian King, one to be Duke of Milan, the other King of Naples; that as nothing could be said to the French about Sicily, that island would be given to your Serenity in such form as to render you perfectly master of its advantages, and that the world would assign you the glory of having freed Italy through the facility with which you would execute this design of his Holiness, who did not wish for anything for the See Apostolic nor for his kinsfolk, and that if he gave his nephews the fiefs of *Paliano* and *Bagno*, he did so (having taken them from those rebels) that they might have them in custody; adding the things uttered and written so often, most especially in our last letters, and coming to the conclusion that his demand of your Serenity that you should arm was a very moderate one, and so salutary (*salutar*) for the Signory that more could not be imagined, and that no one could reprove you if, seeing all around you in arms, you made provision for the security of your State; saying that he prayed God to enlighten the hearts of those most excellent Lords, that they might see their advantage and decide as should be most beneficial to them.

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Thereupon we took leave of his Holiness, and having heard of the convalescence of the Duke of Paliano we went to him, and I, Ambassador, narrated the Secretary's interview with the Duke, to which he replied, "I had some hope that the King of Spain, on hearing of the progress made by the Duke of Alva, would order him to retire and cease his attack on the Church, so that a good peace might be made to the honour of his Majesty and of the Duke of Alva, who would thus have obeyed his master's commands, and gained the Pope, whom they will never win by force. I know that, after the receipt of the King's letters, the Duke wished to send hither Don Francisco Pacheco, who is his soul (*che è l'anima sua*), to treat an agreement; but after hearing those counsellors, Marco Antonio Colonna, Don Garcia de Toledo, and Ascanio della Cornia, about whom I told you heretofore that they have leagued together, he changed his opinion, for he is by nature irresolute, and determined to delay sending for a few days, that he might do so with greater advantage, and not show that he acted by the King's order; so that this being the state of the case, I greatly fear the ruin of all Italy, for having through Ferrante de' Sanguini informed the Duke of Alva about the French movements, to induce him to make the agreement, he said they were things in the air. He will now perceive whether it is so, on hearing of these French personages who are sent, for they could not be greater either by birth or by reason of the love borne them by the most Christian King, and M. de Montmorency is also coming to reside at Rome, in consequence of that wife of his" (*per causa de questa sua moglie*).^{*} In the course of this conversation it also escaped him (*li uscì de bocca*) that the Duke of Ferrara was Captain General of the League. He then said that the army was on its march, with the intention of crossing the river, which he hoped they would do, as unless they got reinforcements they might repent them of doing so, because, when wishing to recross, they might perhaps be prevented, and lose what they have occupied on this side.

On proceeding to Cardinal Caraffa, who had returned from the review, he said, in conclusion, that if the Imperialists wished for peace they must quit the papal territory, and propose fair terms in writing, to which a written reply would be given, and that it will be thus seen who fails to make the agreement, and that the mutual friends might arbitrate about the difficulties, and thus settle the business, nor could there be a better mediator than the most Serene Signory. This we adroitly declined, according to our commission, and then took leave, after exhorting him to find means so necessary and profitable for Italy and the whole world.

Rome, 3rd November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B, p. 70.

692. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The right reverend "Decano" [Cardinal de Bellai], who had dined to-day with the Pope, and withdrew with him, when in the act of departure, seeing me in the audience chamber, came up to me and

^{*} He had refused to marry the King's natural daughter, on the plea of a prior engagement. (*See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 271.*)

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said in Latin, "Lord Ambassador, I, as you know, have always wished for the peace, and always counselled it, but am now compelled to change my opinion, because I see that the policy (*li consegli*) of this King of Naples tends towards the ruin of the Church, and although I have renounced all interference in the affairs of France, yet will I not renounce the care, which as cardinal I ought to have, for the liberty of this ecclesiastical State;" telling me plainly that he who tolerates such injuries, done by a King of Naples to a Pope, may always expect the like treatment, and that thus does a vassal render himself the superior of his lord;" adding, "*You possess so great a part of Italy, and such forces, as known to everybody, and if other princes out of Italy bestir themselves for the preservation of the See Apostolic, what ought you Italians to do? Do not lose the opportunity; do you also join this honourable undertaking;*" and in conclusion he told me he had chosen to speak to me in this form lest he should have cause to repent him of his silence; and he then took leave, because the Pope called us to audience, of which I was glad, as it put an end to this conversation.

The ambassador from Portugal complains greatly because, although this present Pope and his ancestors had received considerable benefits from his King, yet during the whole course of his pontificate he has never been able to obtain a favour, nor an act of justice, nor even audience for business, the Pope having even deprived the Cardinal, the King's brother, of the legation conceded him by Julius III.; so he says he thinks the King will recall him, without sending another ambassador, seeing himself held in such small account by his Holiness.

The last letter from the court of France, dated the 22nd October, from the nuncio, late governor of Rome, confirms my statement that M. de Guise is coming as captain general, M. d'Aumale captain of the cavalry, and M. de Nemours of the infantry; that eight "standards" of men-at-arms, and Brissac in person, had already arrived in Piedmont, and that the whole of this army would amount to upwards of 20,000 infantry, including Switzers and French, 500 men-at-arms, and 800 light cavalry.

Rome, 3rd November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

693. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has delayed his departure for Brussels until next week, in order to give a wider field (*più campo*) to the Duke of Savoy and to several lords of these provinces to perform as of themselves earnest offices, both threatening and persuasive, with the deputies of the towns of Brabant to make them consent to the demand; both for the sake of not having cause in these times to make any demonstration against them, and also because according to the advices from Brussels it is heard that the Prince of Orange* said in public that his Majesty ought to have all those persons hanged who

* Guillaume de Nassau Dillembourg, then 24 years old, and who in 1579, at the age of 47, was nominated Stadtholder of Holland. (See Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, "*Holland*," ed. London, 1863.)

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dare to contradict him in his so important necessities (*ch' el Principe d'Oranges disse in publico, che S. Mtà. doveria far impiccar tutti quelli che hanno ardir di parlar contra ne i suoi sì importanti bisogni*); and the Marquis of Berghes added, that as they denied their consent to the request, his Majesty would put a good guard of Spaniards in the said town, and that he would perhaps erect a fortress there, to their very serious detriment. The reply of the deputies was, that they who justly sought to preserve their property, did not deserve to be hanged, but rather those ministers who wished to usurp it from them, and that if his Majesty knew how ill served and well robbed he is, he would not think so badly of the deputies; and they wish him to go to Brussels, that they may show him plainly things which he does not know; and that provided he take off the duties on wine, beer, and bread, as promised by the Emperor when he laid them on, they would give him the money which he asks. Another reason for his Majesty's going to Brussels is that should the King of France, as threatened by his ambassador, break the truce unless the Duke of Alva cease molesting the Pope, he would be nearer the frontiers, and secure himself against the population of Brabant, being apprehensive lest in that case they make some insurrection. Subsequently the Prince of Orange aforesaid came to the King, who sent him off immediately with orders to keep in readiness to give commissions to several commanders of cavalry and infantry to the amount of 6,000 or 8,000 men, should the King of France chance to commence war on these frontiers, as is greatly feared here, King Philip's ambassador in France writing of the great preparations and despatch of captains to assist the Pope, in conformity with what is said here by the French ambassador, who yesterday publicly blamed the governor of Hesdin-fort for the sentence passed by him on 15 Englishmen, whom he banished these provinces on suspicion of their intending to give that frontier to the French, saying that the Governor did this more to conceal the Count de Mega's plot against Metz, which was discovered, than because they were the delinquents. The Canons of Cologne have elected the brother of the late Archbishop and Elector of the Empire as his successor, much to King Philip's satisfaction, his brother having always been the Emperor's dependant, whilst another brother is in his Majesty's pay, with an annual stipend of 4,000 dollars.

Ghent, 4th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

694. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the courier Tassin arrived here from the French Ambassador at Venice with letters to the King from Constantinople, and as I was able to discover at the time when the stir with the Duke of Alva commenced, his most Christian Majesty sent word to Sultan Soliman through his ambassador, that he perceived in the King of England a commencement of his not intending to maintain the truce, so he inquired whether, if war broke out, the Sultan would send his fleet for the service of his most Christian Majesty. The ambassador writes that his Turkish Majesty

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(quella maestà) will send 60 galleys in aid of his most Christian Majesty, should he need them; so a dispatch was written thanking the Sultan and accepting his offer, and praying him that the fleet be in these waters of the west by the end of next May at the latest, with an express order for it to winter in such ports as his most Christian Majesty shall appoint. It was also determined to send off M. de Brissac, who yesterday took leave and will depart to-morrow. Ludovico Birago departed postwise for Piedmont immediately, having the post of lieutenant-general of the Italian infantry, and Francesco Bernardin Vilmercato also took leave, but having to provide victuals and ammunition for the army, he stays here until to-morrow, having already sent his orders. But as the line of march to be taken by the army in the direction of Romagna will not be decided until the arrival in Piedmont of the Duke de Guise, though it will either be by way of Asti or by the Po, supplies have been sent in both directions with orders and facilities, when the decision is formed, for the one convoy of provisions to join the other. It is said that the Duke de Guise will at any rate depart on the 15th instant, but journeying by day (*ma a giornate*), together with his whole staff, and it is heard that the French troops are beginning to assemble, and will for the most part go into Piedmont by way of Grenoble and Mont Cenis. The first 6,000 Switzers have already commenced their march, and the Diet has voted the subsequent 3,000, who are now being raised. It is not yet heard that the cavalry has commenced marching, though after the muster they cannot long delay doing so; yet notwithstanding its being said that the army will be in order (*ad ordine*) on the 20th instant, persons the most experienced declare that it cannot be united into one body much before Christmas. There is no intelligence from Ferrara, but the Duke's ambassador is expected from day to day.

The Queen of England has several times requested his most Christian Majesty to settle a certain dispute about boundaries between Boulogne and Calais, relating chiefly to a place called St. Engelvert* (*Zinivert*); and although the Constable wished to delay until the spring, because as measurement has to be taken of a considerable extent of country, the floods at this season might cause impediment, nevertheless for the Queen's satisfaction it has been determined to send commissioners, three having been appointed for each side, and they are to assemble on the spot on the 18th instant.†

Paris, 6th November 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 71,
&c.

695. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial army having decamped from Savello and Albano, marched to Monte Ciriaco on the Tiber, two miles from Hostia; and persons who know the country say that the site is well adapted to the construction of a bridge, and that by taking the artillery

* See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.

† There is a letter from Dr. Wotton to the Queen about this business, dated Paris, 29th October 1556, in Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 272, 273.

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thither as they have done, they will be able to cannonade the other side of the river, thus keeping at a distance those who might seek to dispute their passage, which they are nevertheless not expected to attempt until the arrival of the troops embarked at Spezia, which has been so long delayed owing to contrary weather.

On Thursday Marshal Strozzi went to Hostia, which he says can hardly be kept, though it might stand a brisk cannonading; and that at a cost of 2,000 crowns, by making three bastions with fascines, it could be rendered secure. On the same day Cardinal Caraffa went out to hunt across the Tiber, and saw the army in battle array (*in ordinanza*) at the foot of Monte Ciriaco. Yesterday also he reconnoitred the river with horse and foot, to provide for its defence in case of need, and he and Marshal Strozzi proposed erecting a fortress four miles above Hostia, but Camillo Orsini proved to them that by commencing such a work now, the enemy would thus receive warning; and I hear that everything is being done to strengthen Civitavecchia. Here they are intent on provisioning "Borgo," and the palace is already well supplied; and it is said that the Borgo is in a state to resist any force whatever. Much timber is being wrought for the purpose of making a bridge to succour Hostia. In order to find money the "Colleges of the Offices" have been ordered not to pay the salaries (*la portion*) of absentees; and they have also suppressed the perquisites (*l'utilità*) of the "Cardinals-Protectors" of Spain, France, England, and others, who derived considerable profit from proposing the benefices of those kingdoms.

These things increase the discontent of the city, as the "offices" were purchased under promise of payment of the profits (*utilità*) even to absentees. These odious measures increase the scarcity of money, it being also said that the French have paid half the garrison of Castle St. Angelo; and I know this, that with the last courier from Venice there came five men from that city with 40,000 crowns belonging to the French. The Cardinals of the Congregation for the peace say they do not anticipate any good result, as the Duke of Alva answers those who go to him in like manner as he does Placido, the messenger from Cardinal Santa Fior, that these lords have no foundation for their promises; but their right reverend lordships know not what to say, having no authority from the Pope, who on Thursday in the congregation of the Inquisition spoke more violently than ever against the Emperor and the King of Spain, threatening to proclaim them accursed and deprived of their kingdoms. And those right reverend lords say, that although they believe he expresses himself thus to intimidate the enemy, yet knowing his nature they are afraid lest one day or other on the sudden, in the consistory, he may publish some bull of this sort, to ruin everything, not only removing all hope, if there is any, of agreement, but subverting the religion, both in Spain and in England, and perhaps in Poland, (though it seemed that for that last-named country, through the ability of the Nuncio Lippomano, there was some hope,) but assuredly ruining what little religion remains in Germany*, it being already seen that the Bishop of Liesina has

* "Ma ruinando la religione, et in Spagna et in Inghilterra et forsi in Polonia, se ben pareo che per virtù del Rev^{do} Nuntio Lippomano vi fosse qualche speranza, ma al sicuro in quel poco che resta in Germania."

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come hither in the name of the King of the Romans to protest, that should his Majesty wish for aid against the Turks, he is compelled to allow his subjects to live according to their appetites (*secondo il loro appetito*); and that as the Diet was to reassemble on the 15th instant he knew not what to do, unless an opportune remedy were sent from hence; and the Cardinal who told me this added, that as the aforesaid term will have expired before the bishop can have made his report to the cardinals, spiritual matters will proceed as badly as possible; and that with regard to temporal affairs, the Pope, *de jure*, will deprive the King of Spain, who, on his part will, *de facto*, seize the cities of the See Apostolic; yet is the coming of this bishop supposed to be for some greater and more important cause. The ambassador from Florence does not fail to encourage the agreement, in accordance with the orders of his Duke, and says he told the Pope that if the war continues, his Holiness will be compelled to give the French some Papal fortress, as security for their expenses; whilst on the other hand the enemy will fortify what they have taken to avoid any subsequent restitution, and thus form a bastion for the defence of the kingdom of Naples, so that he would remain in poverty, and without repute, wherefore it would be well for him to adjust matters as he best may, to prevent these greater inconveniences; to which the Pope replied, that the Imperialists by their insolence and impiety compel him to wage war.

Rome, 7th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

696. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King will depart for Brussels to-morrow, and on the day after I shall follow him. Besides the reasons assigned in my last for his going into Brabant, there is also that of making certain towns there swear allegiance to their governor the Duke of Savoy, the royal authority being requisite in this matter, there being many lords (*signori*) of these provinces who in secret oppose him, and especially the Prince of Orange and the Count d'Arenberg.*

By several letters from Castille it is heard that the Emperor, neither before his arrival at Valladolid nor after he got there, would allow anyone to meet him; nor would he allow himself to be treated with any sort of ceremony by any of the grandees, nor by other Spanish subjects (*nè altri di Spagna*), having chosen to lodge in a private house and not in the palace;† and although the Prince‡ (*Principe*), the Princess,§ the Constable [of Castille], and others, prayed him to give his attention (*a voler intender*) to several important affairs of those realms, it appeared nevertheless that at this commencement he would not apply his mind to any business, merely giving it to be understood that he thought it would be well for the Queen his sister|| to go as superintendent of the viceroys of

* Jean de Ligne. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

† Compare with Mignet's "Charles-Quint son Abdication, &c.," pp. 138-141, 145, 149, 152, ed. Paris, 1868.

‡ Don Carlos, then in his 11th year?

§ Doña Juana, Princess of Portugal, the Emperor's daughter.

|| Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary?

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Aragon, Valentia, and Catalogna, his Majesty intending to proceed to his monastery as soon as possible.

I have heard from a person of quality that certain princes of the Empire, after seeing the "power" (*l'auttorità*) given by the Emperor to the King of the Romans, have given it to be understood that they wish to hear more distinctly from his Imperial Majesty whether he believes he shall ever be able again to return to Germany, because for the benefit of that province they desire that it may not only have a principal head (*un capo principale*) but also its King of the Romans; and that the present one being unable to supply its need, being so much occupied in his own hereditary states (*ne i stati suoi particolari*) on account of Sultan Soliman, it follows as a matter of necessity that on his royal Majesty's succession to the Empire another King of the Romans must be elected; which news was confirmed to me by certain Spanish gentlemen, who added that these were operations of the King of France, either because he aspires to that grade, or to favour some prince averse to the House of Austria.

A gentleman has arrived from Palermo with a present of 20,000 crowns from that city for the King, and to receive from him the oath to observe its privileges as King of Sicily, asking of him also as a favour to make a declaration assigning precedence to Palermo before Messina; but it is supposed that he will do like the Emperor his father, who swore both to one city and the other, without prejudicing their rights. The ambassador from Naples has proposed to the King that if he would promise no longer to confer any office or dignity in that kingdom on Spaniards, or others of any other nation, but to give them solely to Neapolitans, they will bind themselves to free all the revenues which the Emperor mortgaged for about 400,000 crowns; but as yet has nothing been decided. There have also arrived here the Prince of Sulmona and the brother of Cardinal Cicala, the one to remain here at the court to look after some of his estates near Brussels, and the other to ask for the arrears of pay due for the two galleys with which he served the King in Sicily, the sum amounting to 28,000 crowns, which, if not paid, he says he shall either go and serve others, or disarm them, from inability any longer to bear the expense.

The Cardinal of Trent has written a very earnest letter to King Philip requesting leave to renounce the government of Milan, complaining in general terms that his authority, as also his means for serving his Majesty efficiently, have been impeded. The King answered his right reverend lordship verbally through the agent and by a very loving letter, that he would not grant it him, being very well satisfied with his fidelity and ability, especially having heard how much he is beloved and appreciated in the Milanese. I have understood that the cause of the Cardinal's anger proceeds from the chief ministers here having deprived him of several jurisdictions which other governors usually exercised, such as promising to promote sundry individuals to colonelcies, and other similar prerogatives. The Cardinal of Burgos has also sent hither one of his gentlemen, chiefly to demand his dismissal, as on account of ill health it does not suit him to remain Governor of Sienna any

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longer. The ambassador Vargas came to see me yesterday, and after narrating what had been written to the King about the replies made, first by the Duke of Alva and then by the Pope, to your Serenity's messages to them, he added that his Majesty was no less gratified at having proved his goodwill by referring everything to your Serenity, than displeased to hear that the Pope, both from his natural haughtiness, and the great hopes derived lately from the King of France, showed himself averse to the agreement. Don Ruy Gomez uttered this same conceit to the Mantuan ambassador and others, saying that in the midst of so much mischief as may be anticipated hereafter from the Pope's proceedings, there was nevertheless this advantage that your Serenity would know his King had not failed to desire an adjustment with the Pope, and to refer all his disputes with him to you.

Ghent, 8th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

697. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concerning the despatch of that courier from the royal court to which I alluded in my last of the 2nd, it is not understood to have been for any extraordinary affair of importance, as reported, but merely for the ordinary correspondence between the Queen and her consort, there continuing between them the greatest confidence and reliance (*confidentia et sicurezza*) that can be desired between wife and husband, nor does anything of importance pass without their giving each other reciprocal notice of it, as demonstrated by the frequency of messengers and couriers who pass to and fro when anything occurs. Since the last courier there also returned hither, three days ago, the courier Gamboa with an interpreter of the English tongue, both of them bringing very copious letters dated the 3rd instant from the King to the Queen and to the Cardinal, full of apologies for this delay of his return, as caused solely by the quality of the affairs, which increase more and more daily, their despatch being attended to diligently for no other purpose than to speed his coming, though he cannot affirm when it will be, but it is hoped soon (*ma si spera presto*). Though this indeed saddens the Queen, yet nevertheless, considering that such is the fact, and that his not coming does not proceed from neglect, nor from little will (*nè da poca volontà*), but from necessity, owing to the nature of the times and his important business, the Queen has of late been pacified, and hope remaining to her, she endures this delay better than she did (*meglio che non faceva*).

The pages arrived with the King's stable, and good arrangements were made for lodging and boarding them, and the like will be done by all the others on their arrival at the Court.

The French ambassador had his first audience on, being received with the usual honours both by the Lords of the Council and by her Majesty. They nevertheless denied him a lodging at the cost of the Crown, as concoded to his predecessors, with the excuse that the royal palaces wherein they had been housed are and reserved, and required for the King and the others (*et*

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delli altri), making amends to him (*rimettendo a lui*) for the service (*del servitio*), availing themselves of this pretext to dispense * last summaries in letters of the 16th ult. to your Serenity.

London, 9th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

698. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King arrived three days ago at St. Germain, whither I went yesterday, to communicate to him the Turkish news-letters, received on the 6th. He said his own ambassador had sent him well nigh the same advices, and his Majesty then expatiated much on the anger evinced by Sultan Soliman against Hungary, saying that next year he would raise a powerful army; it being also said that he would go in person on that expedition. When I expressed regret for the misfortunes of Christendom, saying that from his bringing so strong a military force into the field it might be inferred that he would again send out a fleet, as usual with him, his Majesty replied, "Thus may it be supposed; for Sultan Soliman's forces are very great, and were he aware of their full power Christendom would fare badly; but to say the truth he seems to become more and more acquainted with the fact daily, as formerly he was not used to send a fleet to sea annually, and now it may be said that he does so as a matter of course; but by his mode of negotiating also, it is evident that he has renounced his former barbarisms (*quelle barbarie che già si conosceva*), and a few days ago when I ran over certain letters of his addressed to me since my accession, I found a very great difference between those written at the commencement of my reign and the present, these last displaying much more judgment than the others; but to say the truth, I am unable to assert positively whether the fleet will put to sea next year or not; *though I will tell you frankly that my ambassador writes me that Sultan Soliman had determined to send me a 'Chiaus' to urge me to make war on the King of England, with orders to offer me conditions should I choose to do so; but I have not yet news of his departure from Constantinople.*"

I then asked the King what advices he had from Rome, as it was understood that the King of Spain had sent a gentleman of his chamber to Rome to negotiate terms with (*per accordare*) the Pope. His Majesty replied, "At the court of the Catholic King they continue proceeding with fair words, but at Rome there is no sign of corresponding deeds. His Catholic Majesty sent a gentleman of his chamber to make an agreement (it is said) with the Pope, but I know not what will come of it, though I do know that a courier arrived in Flanders from Rome, the fact being concealed for four days, nor despite the diligence used by my ambassador could he learn anything about what he brought; but his news remaining unpublished it may be supposed that they were not pleased with what he brought. I have not failed to do my utmost for quiet, and I swear

* The blanks are caused by corrosion in the original.

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to you on the word of a gentleman, that I will not cease doing the like as long as I can, but I will not allow the Pope to be coerced (*ma non voglio permetter che sottomettino il Papa*). The Marshal de Brissac, as you will have heard, has departed, and the Duke de Guise will leave on the 16th instant, having already sent off the greater part of his horses, and other necessities; the men-at-arms are commencing their march, and the infantry likewise will soon be in order, but I believe that the Switzers will be the first to arrive in Piedmont, although in truth they have not commenced marching, notwithstanding my having received advice that the first [corps] had been raised, but subsequently more sure intelligence reached me of their having determined to march all united; and according to their custom they have chosen me to take more than I required, as the Grisons likewise insisted on giving me a part, so that they will be 10,000 in all; but as I told you on other occasions, God grant that the Pope may make terms, and according to the advices received by me, the secretary sent by the Signory to his Holiness had performed a most excellent office, and I hope that from this suggestion likewise he will adapt himself (*si disponderà*).” I rejoined, “Should his Holiness consent to an adjustment, your Majesty likewise will have shown your goodwill, and you will also terminate this turmoil.” The King replied, “As I told you heretofore, I shall not regret having incurred this cost to effect the agreement, and so far as I am concerned, should it take place, I shall have wherewithal to do something else (*ne haverò da far altro*), but I repeat that I got words, of which there is no lack. You will have heard of the journey of the Count de Chalon? (*di Schialans*) who is still at the court in Flanders, and wrote a letter to an agent of his here, ordering him to show it to the Spanish ambassador, to M. de Brissac, and also to me; that he remained there awaiting a reply, and that he hoped to bring back something to the general satisfaction; and I always listen willingly to anyone who speaks to me on this subject, and amongst all the others [to?] the Abbot of San Saluto [Vincenzo Parpaglia], who, as I think you have heard, is also negotiating these treaties; and I tell you the truth that I have known few men more upright than him; not only is it impossible to find him leaning more towards one side than the other, but he is also devoid both of ambition and avarice, being solely very desirous that one and the other of us should make a good peace.” I said that everybody entertained this same opinion of him, and that whenever I had conversed with him, the identical good qualities mentioned by his Majesty displayed themselves to me; and when I asked the King why (as he told me at my last audience) Don Ruy Gomez had not come, his Majesty, frowning and shrugging up his shoulders, added, “Know that all that I told you was perfectly true, but those ministers have assuredly a mode of proceeding which makes me remain in great suspense;” and without saying anything farther on this subject he continued, “You must have heard of the death of the poor Duke de Bouillon” [Robert de la Marck, Sire de Sedan and Duke de Bouillon], “Marshal of France?” “Yes, Sire,” said I, “with much regret.” His Majesty rejoined, “It was in truth a very strange case and worthy

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of great consideration (*et molto da considerare*),” and his Majesty commenced narrating all the ill-usage received by him, and amongst the rest that the ambassador resident here [Simon Renard, Lieutenant d’Amont] had proposed to him to rebel; and at length they agreed to accept for his ransom 60,000 crowns, which were paid, and shortly afterwards he died, not without great suspicion of poison, for after they changed his apothecary he went constantly from bad to worse; the which apothecary is a Piedmontese who for some days was ordered to sleep in his chamber, and the Duke after he had taken a certain medicine at his hands became worn to the bone (*si havea consumato sino sopra le ossa*) and then died, without fever or any other ailment; and the like was expected to ensue with regard to one of his secretaries, who is going the same road that he went; “and I will tell you,” said his Majesty, “another great sign which frightens me about this poison. His wife and daughter went to bring him away from Flanders, although I greatly exhorted Madame de Valentinois, who is his wife’s mother, not to let her go, suspecting that they also would be detained, but the women being too tender, and she wishing to see her husband, chose to go; and on arriving they made them draw up an instrument, including also the daughter, to the effect that in case the Duke died before the ransom was paid, they bound themselves to pay it, whereupon he was released and they took him to Guise, where after having seen his children he died on the 4th instant, without either fever or any other malady, as I have already told you, but I have not yet heard whether the body has been opened, as perhaps then the truth will be better ascertained. The affair took place thus, and they have had the money.” I then asked his Majesty if he had any intelligence from Ferrara, and he replied, “I have not, although it would be now time; but the Duke cannot fail to be satisfied with what is fair, as besides our other mutual dependencies I have too great a pledge in my hands, namely the Prince his son, who went this morning to Paris to arrange his affairs, and he also will depart with M. de Guise.” After this, having returned the usual thanks to his Majesty in your Serenity’s name, I took leave; *nor will I omit to mention that I endeavoured to allude to the affairs of Sultan Soliman, to make sure if possible of what I wrote in my last, about the putting to sea of the fleet for his most Christian Majesty’s service; in addition to which I must inform you that the King is also troubled about this treaty of agreement with the Pope, and by so much the more as he understands that Cardinal Caraffa is no longer so ardently inclined towards his most Christian Majesty as he was at first, (non è più così ardente di volontà verso sua Maestà Christ^{ma} come era prima), and should the Pope make terms, they consider it well nigh certain here that neither the Duke of Ferrara choose to declare himself (che nè anche il Duca di Ferrara si vorrà dechiarire); so some persons believe that the Duke de Guise will not depart until after the arrival of fresh advices from Rome, which come so seldom that everybody is surprised at it, and that even should the Duke depart, he will travel so slowly that before crossing the Alps he will know the result of these negotiations; the general opinion being that if the Pope makes terms the King of France*

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will renounce hostilities, should the agreement not be prejudicial to him (quando lo accordo non sia con suo preiuditio), of which, however, they are not without some suspicion, and the Papal agents here already allow it to escape them that the King's too long delay in openly declaring his intention of assisting the Pope, may have caused his Holiness not to show himself utterly abhorrent of the agreement (che Lei non si havesse dimostrata in tutto abborrente dall' accordo).

The Dauphin has had a relapse of quartan ague, but the paroxysms diminish; the Constable also has been ill from colic for four days, and remained at Ecouen, but will be at the court to-morrow.

Poissy, 10th November 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Nov. 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 73.

699. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday morning Cardinal Caraffa, Marshal Strozzi, and these other lords went out of Rome with 5,000 infantry, four standards of cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, saying they meant to build a fortress at Magliana and to halt there, the site being convenient both to prevent the enemy from crossing the river, and for succouring Hostia, for which latter purpose they made the bridge mentioned in my last, with the intention of laying it across the river according to circumstances. Then at an early hour yesterday they decamped from Magliana to go to Porto (opposite Hostia), where they say they will raise the fortress. *One of the chief captains here tells me that should these lords build this fort he fears they will commit a gross blunder, because on the arrival of the Duke of Alva's reinforcements, they will throw a bridge over the river between Porto and Rome, and cross at their pleasure, it being impossible to prevent them, as the banks of the Tiber on their side are so high that they can batter the whole of the opposite shore, which is a mere open plain, so that being masters of both sides of the river, the garrison of the fortress must either die of hunger or abandon it and retreat to Rome, thus renewing the terror and dissatisfaction of this city, which, when the troops went out, expected them to prevent the march of the enemy and to succour Hostia, neither of which things being done they would be more alarmed than ever, as already seen by experience,* for it is heard to-day that 400 Imperial harquebusiers have crossed the Tiber between Porto and Hostia, which, showing the Romans that they cannot prevent the passage, has caused them not to commence building a fortress anywhere, the foot soldiers who were at Porto having halted at Magliana, and the cavalry burning what victuals they can find in this direction. The day before yesterday M. de Montmorency, son of the Lord Constable, arrived here with 40 posters (40 *poste*), and is lodged in the apartments of the Cardinal, with whom he went out yesterday. The Bishop of Liesina has told me that the Diet of Germany, which was to assemble on the 15th, is put off until the end of the month, and he hopes for a further prorogation until Christmas. Amongst the other supplies made for

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Castle St. Angelo and the Borgo, from hen-holders they take one out of every five.

The Florentine Ambassador, after exhorting the Pope not to place his fortresses in the hands of anyone, proposed to give Camerino to the Duke of Paliano, recompensing the Church with the state of Paliano, but dismantling the fortresses to prevent their seizure at any time; nor did the Pope resent this, though he said his wish was to preserve for the Church the whole territory received by him; and to-day the said ambassador made the same proposal to Cardinal Caraffa, who answered him that there were many difficulties, and when he rejoined that they would all be removed if the Cardinals consented, as they would readily, from their wish to quiet the present disturbances, the Cardinal ended by saying he would consider the matter and then send for him, and reply on better foundation. The negotiation of the agreement between the Cardinals Caraffa and Santa Fior advanced so much that Caraffa has been twice to Santa Fior in his own house, and told him the French demand such exorbitant security that they want even his shirt (*che vogliono fin la camiscia*); whilst on the other hand he hopes to get here (*spera haver de qui*) the Archbishopric and Priory of Naples, which, both together, yield an annual revenue of 10,000 crowns, and that they have promised him another 10,000 from the King of Spain in the kingdom of Naples, and perhaps in the principality of Salerno; and that the duchy of Camerino is also proposed to the Duke his brother (*et che anco al Duca è proposto il Ducato di Camerino*); with which terms they are beyond measure satisfied, and firmly believe that the College of Cardinals will very joyfully assent to them; wherefore Caraffa desires the peace, and expressed himself so earnestly that Santa Fior feels sure he is not deceived, but nevertheless suspects the Pope of being otherwise inclined, so that notwithstanding Caraffa's reasonable desire, Sforza does not see anything solid on which to base his hope and wish for peace; and the more as even yesterday the Pope said to the Cardinals Decano [*de Bellai*] and Morone, that he hoped to live long enough to expel these treacherous Spaniards, the enemies of God and of Italy.

I hear that a conference is being negotiated between the Duke of Alva and Cardinal Caraffa, from which, if effected, much good might be hoped.

Rome, 11th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

700. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After what I wrote on the 6th about the King's intention to send a despatch to Constantinople for the fleet to put to sea, and as I wished to make more sure of the fact through another channel, I cautiously obtained such confirmation as to ascertain that the decision about the despatch was formed, and its bearer was to have been M. de Cambre; but when he was on the eve of departure, his most Christian Majesty received advices about the mission of the gentleman sent to Rome by the King of England, with a report of his going to settle the agreement; other intelligence warning the King

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of France, moreover, of certain proceedings on the part of Cardinal Caraffa, from which he might be suspected of some change of mind; so the journey of the said Cambre was delayed until the receipt of fresh advices about the aforesaid agreement, and according to their tenor his Majesty will decide more positively.

The Duke de Guise will depart on the 16th, but will not travel with such speed as was said at first, for the reason aforesaid; Madame his wife, with another numerous company of ladies (*con altra grossa compagnia di dame*), going as far as Lyons.

Poissi, 11th November 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 14.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 74.

701. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial army, having occupied the island opposite Hostia, threw their bridge over the Tiber below Hostia, towards the sea, thus crossing over to the said island (*col qual passa sopra la ditta isola*), so that his Holiness' troops under Marshal Strozzi could not recover it, though they passed the neighbouring stream, and skirmished for a long while, doing the enemy some mischief, in which encounter they say that the German and Gascon troops behaved well, but the Italians very badly. These forces receive their victuals from hence by mules, taken from cardinals and persons of every other grade, and Cardinal Caraffa has been to inspect matters on the spot, where they have made a trench along the stream, *but the general opinion is that the enemy's army cannot be prevented from crossing.* To-day the Imperialists commenced battering Hostia with five pieces of cannon, which were distinctly heard all over Rome. The firing ceased at 10 a.m. but recommenced at 2 p.m. *Here they greatly fear that the place will be lost, and by so much the more to the shame of these Lords, the place being taken in the face of their army.* A person present at the consultation tells me that Marshal Strozzi demanded of Cardinal Caraffa eight companies (*insegne*) of infantry, in addition to those he has, and Aurelio Fregoso in person; but the Cardinal determined to give him neither one nor the other, so as not to endanger Rome, and sent him a few Gascon *harquebusiers*; it being also told me that Strozzi refused to take the command of these troops and act here until he was ordered to do so by the King of France. This evening the marshal's head-quarters were to be at Campo Salino, four miles from Magliana; and at no great distance from Porto, as convenient for safe retreat, and for such operations as may be indicated by circumstances. *Strozzi's troops are not more than 2,300 foot and 200 horse, and in this direction off the island the force does not exceed 700 men, so that in fact the amount is less than was reported.* Yesterday at 10 a.m. some 700 of the enemy's cavalry showed themselves on an eminence half a mile from St. Paul's, under the command of Marc' Antonio Colonna and Ascanio della Cornia, they having come to escort the foragers, who plundered a grange (*un casal*) near at hand full of

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hay. Aurelio Fregoso went out with 50 horse and commenced skirmishing, being reinforced by the rest of the cavalry, in number 200, including the Cardinals Caraffa and Sermoneta, both in camp attire (*alla corte*), and with 500 infantry in their rear. The skirmish lasted three hours, both sides having had some of their men wounded, four horses being taken from the enemy, who after plundering the grange retired, and the Signor Aurelio pursued them, behaving bravely.

A proclamation has been issued to the effect that all persons bringing grain into Rome shall receive 5 *giulij* per rubbio, *which shows that this city is not so well provisioned as was hoped*. On the day before yesterday a Gascon soldier who had stolen a horse, being reproved by the Prior of the Aldermen at Rome, had the insolence to strike that gentleman with the flat part of his sword, so the Roman populace seized and took him to the Campidoglio, arming themselves lest the Gascons should attempt a rescue, as they intended to do, so they gave the alarm; but Cardinal Caraffa went in his coach to the Campidoglio, and had him hanged from one of its windows, for which he was greatly commended. The effects in Rome of the Cardinal della Cueva, who is at Naples, and of the Cardinal of Burgos, who is at Sienna, have been registered. On Thursday, in the congregation of the Inquisition, it was determined that unfrocked friars (*li sfratati*) may neither hold offices nor celebrate the mass, and that they must bear a badge by which to be recognised, the monasteries not being bound to readmit them, and the bull will soon be published.

The negotiation for the peace, which was being treated by the Cardinals Caraffa and Santa Fior, has somewhat cooled, because the Pope will not hear of peace, and Cardinal Caraffa being unable to oppose him, has evinced and continues evincing to the Imperialists how dissatisfied he is with the French, and his wish to adjust matters so as not to remain at utter enmity with the Imperialists. Cardinal Sermoneta said the agreement must not be thought of, the Duke of Alva persisting in his demand for Paliano, or that it be dismantled, and that no fortresses be erected in the Papal territory; the Pope on the contrary being determined that nothing shall be said about his towns or his subjects, of which he chooses to be the free prince (volendone esser principe libero); and whilst on this topic I will quote what the Pope said in the congregation of the Inquisition above mentioned, viz., that the Imperialists by proceeding to hostilities had offended two (haveano iniuriate doi), the Majesty of God for one, and the person of his Holiness for the other; that for the injury done to himself he would and did pardon it readily; but that he neither ought to pardon the injury done to God, nor could he do so, and that he hoped to avenge it. Notwithstanding this, Cardinal Pacheco continues sending his messengers to the camp, and Fabricio di Sanguine is gone to the court of Spain, taking with him (according to report) from Cardinal Morone an opinion (un consiglio) founded on many reasons, persuading his Majesty to make the Duke of Alva retreat. I am assured that he is sent by his father, Signor Ferrante, to give account of affairs

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here, and the Cardinals with whom he spoke before his departure tell me that he does not convey anything of importance, as there is no hope of concluding an agreement without the Duke of Alva, between whom and Cardinal Pacheco there is evidently not a good understanding.

Rome, 14th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

702. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday on my arrival in this town I received two sets (*mani*) of your Serenity's letters, dated the 27th ultimo, with the copy of King Philip's letter to Don Francisco de Vargas, late ambassador in Venice, and with a clause sent by his secretary to the Duke of Alva; so being unable to have audience of the King, who is in bed with fever, I went to Don Ruy Gomez, communicating to him, instead of to the King, your Serenity's wishes that peace with the Pope should be made immediately. I said that to render your mediation effective, it would be fair and very necessary for the Duke of Alva, or others commissioned to treat this negotiation, to come to juster terms than had been proposed hitherto, the which could not be accepted by the Pope without compromising the dignity of the See Apostolic; and that your Serenity thought his Majesty would act most prudently, in conformity with his other sage resolves, by making the Duke adopt the best expedient he could for the remedy of so many evils, which threatened not only Italy but the whole of Christendom; and in conclusion I said that the Almighty having conceded his Lordship such great grace as to be the most important and beloved minister of so great and good a King, he was also bound on occasions so momentous as the present one to perform the best and most important offices with his Majesty, as I firmly hoped he would do; suiting action and gesture to words, so as to impress him, and in this I think I succeeded, for he listened to me very attentively, *and moreover, contrary to custom, I saw him several times lower his eyes*, answering me precisely as follows: "Lord Ambassador, I know not what more the King my lord would answer, nor what more those most illustrious lords should desire. His Majesty has not only evinced his desire an infinite number of times to promote (*di voler*) the peace with his Holiness, and made many submissions, but by several letters expressly commanded the Duke of Alva to do as commanded by their Lordships, who, had they chosen to make the experiment, would have found in fact what the King has said several times; but as they have not chosen to accept the offer made by his Majesty with such great goodwill to the Signory, in whom he put so much trust as to place himself in their hands, knowing them to be just and most prudent, let his Serenity [the Doge] at least do this, that his ambassador with the Pope be present at the negotiation without ever saying a word, but that he may nevertheless be able to write who is ill-intentioned, whether my King or his Holiness." He then added, "The Pope in short would wish to take from his Majesty the kingdom of Naples, nor

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can he conceal the fact, as we saw the treaty (*capitolazione*) made with the King of France, with the Duke of Ferrara, and with the Switzers, whereby it is known that their designs tend to the ruin of the affairs of the King my Lord, as may be well known to the Signory, through the requests made of them and the offers to give the State [of Venice] Sicily, or Cervia and Ravenna; and from their goodness so well did those lords conduct themselves, that neither to his Majesty nor to Italy and Christendom would they cause so much trouble and detriment as would have ensued had they stirred." Then with great earnestness, and in fluent language (*preste parole*), he continued, "My King from the goodness of his nature, and by reason of the trust he is pleased to place (*che vuole haver*) in the Signory, owing to his opinion of their sage government, as will be [thus] made manifest to the whole world, will also bind himself to abide by their judgment of his disputes with the King of France, and would to God that the said King would say the same word (*che esso dica questa medesima parola*) as it would give a long peace to Christendom, and simultaneously take the road for maintaining the said peace, by the Signory's example, availing himself of their prudence and good suggestions, as of those of a [political?] mother and instructress (*come madre et maestra*), for my King would consent to whatever the Signory might say was well done." *I pledge my faith to your Serenity, that these words were uttered with so much mental energy as to warrant the inference that they proceeded from the most perfect goodwill, or from great necessity, or from both one and the other, rather than from craftiness (astuzia).*

After thanking his lordship for such loving expressions, and commending extremely his ardent desire for a general peace, I exhorted him to effect it by devising what his Majesty should again write to the Duke of Alva, desiring him to propose more reasonable terms than those already offered; whereupon he interrupted me very forcibly, saying that your Serenity yourself should be the person to give the Duke such commands as seemed fitting to you, and assume the management of this negotiation in earnest. I replied that your Serenity being convinced of the great prudence and goodness of the Cardinals who are treating this agreement, and that they were his Majesty's confidants (*confidenti*), it was unnecessary for you to perform any office of that sort, although indeed for the conclusion of this business, the many and very stringent instructions given by you recently to your ambassador and secretary with regard to the Pope were extremely useful; and that in a matter of such great importance, it did not seem fit to you for your personal respects (*per suoi convenienti rispetti*) to interfere in any other way; and in conclusion I said your Serenity was anxiously expecting to hear that the King through his rare prudence and goodwill would soon find means to effect this peace.

Brussels, 15th November 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.
Nov. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

703. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day had audience of the King; congratulated him on having risen from his bed, and on being in better health than had been said; and then commenced telling him that, although I considered it certain that Don Ruy Gomez would have communicated to his Majesty in detail all that I said to him, I would then repeat it, and remarked that in the course of my statement his Majesty seemed now and then pensive. He then answered me precisely as follows: "Ambassador, I have told you several times, informing the Signory likewise, that I greatly desire peace with everybody, and especially with his Holiness, who willed to have these difficulties with me, and not I with him, so I will do all that can be expected from me, so far as is compatible with my dignity and with the security of the kingdom of Naples. You know that I desired nothing else save that the Signory should be the arbitrator to hear and judge these disputes (*differentie*), and I again pray the State, and request you to persuade those lords, to have one of their agents present, that they may know whether the defect is on my side or on the Pope's; if his Holiness fails, let them perform such offices as to make him condescend to fair terms; if I fail, all their commands will be obeyed by the Duke, who has been thus commissioned by me repeatedly;" and again the King said to me, "I pray you to persuade the Signory to have an agent of theirs present at the negotiation, and that he do perform a good office, and I am willing to believe that they, knowing how I for my own part do not cease desiring the peace, will choose to continue in that good friendship which they have always had with the Emperor, my father and Lord, and with myself."

The King then remaining silent, I rejoined that I would speak with him as of myself, with such frankness and freedom as I thought he desired in those who might be able to tell him a thing to his advantage and honour, but that I was not going to do so without an express command from his Majesty, who answered me, with a smile, that he would listen to me willingly, and he prayed me to speak freely; so I continued, "Your Majesty has always assured me that the real object of your intention is nothing but the wish for peace with every one, and especially with his Holiness, and I firmly believed it, thinking it excellent and most prudent," but that the proceedings of his ministers did not afford such testimony to the world as these present times required, his Majesty being at war with the holy See Apostolic. I therefore told him that what was passing required his steady and prudent attention with regard to future events and to his title of Catholic King, and that having heretofore made to me his profession of being the obedient son of the holy See Apostolic, it behoved him to act precisely as the son truly good and prudent does by his father, tolerating ill looks and words rather than do any deeds against him, to which he never has recourse save at the last extremity. I said that I believed his Majesty had really a mind to be this true son of the holy See Apostolic, but that by reason of the great and alarming progress made by his troops against the said See, it did not seem to me that his ministers had equally well understood this very just

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mind and most prudent opinion, as invariably expressed to me by his Majesty in reply to me, as the said troops continued doing many bad deeds, whereas he, being a Catholic King, was bound to defend it against those who sought to occupy its territory; so I would tell him ingenuously that when writing to your Serenity I knew not what form of words to employ to convince you fully of this his goodwill, and at one and the same time to satisfy the State that the many offices enjoined me had produced the desired effect, and I prayed him to believe me that your Serenity also desired that he should keep the kingdom of Naples and preserve his honour; and as I saw that his Majesty looked on me kindly, I then added my opinion that the son had less cause to stand upon his dignity with his father than the father had with the son; so as the Pope and the Church are the common parents of all Christian princes they must all respect them, and not wait to be respected; and in conclusion I requested his Majesty to take my words in good part as they came from a sincere heart, by birth naturally inclined towards peace, and that they were uttered in the course of duty by a great lover of his welfare, owing to the so many truly regal virtues which since a long while I had known him to possess.

His Majesty replied, "I am much pleased with what you have said to me, because I know you to be a sincere and prudent nobleman, and in consequence of your discourse I will consider with my councillors what fresh commission can be sent to the Duke of Alva, and will then let you know the whole;" and in conclusion he again repeated to me, "I earnestly request you to persuade the Signory, as they will not arbitrate, to have one of their agents present at the negotiation." I rejoined that I hoped firmly that when consulting with his council he would find an expedient for removing the difficulties of this matter, and that I left his presence cheered by this auspicious announcement, trusting the resolve would be in conformity with the service of God and for the benefit of your Serenity's affairs and those of all Italy, this result being your chief wish at the present moment, and that on receiving his Majesty's message I would communicate it in detail to the State.

With regard to the difference between the words written at the commencement of the King's letter to the ambassador Vargas and those uttered to me by his Majesty and Don Ruy Gomez at divers times with so many particulars, as notified by me to your Serenity, I now inform you that two days after the despatch of the said letter Don Ruy Gomez told me that the secretary Saya had evinced but little prudence in its composition, and that he had caused this his error to be corrected by writing other letters to Vargas' secretary resident with your Serenity, and that those which had been written on this subject to the Duke of Alva did very well (*stavano bene*), and would not cause any doubt about his Majesty's goodwill. I heard subsequently from the Regent of Milan that the said secretary had been blamed and reproved by Don Ruy Gomez, and that his ignorance and pride, or that of the person who ordered it in such a form, for the sake of maintaining, to use his own expression, too much repute, had been too great, and that these were not the times to

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bind his King to such punctilios about dignity, as these fashions would prove very detrimental to his interests; and he prayed me most earnestly to take the business in hand, and (to use his own words) take the road for performing good offices with my natural prudence, as he swore to me by his life that King Philip would bear the most illustrious Signory as much respect as if they were his mother. As I did not precisely understand what sort of error this had been, I answered both one and the other civilly that what the King and Don Ruy Gomez said to me I had written word for word, and that your Serenity retained me amongst the servants employed by you on account of my sincerity, and not because any of my other qualities entitled me to such honour.

This secretary Saya* some two months ago was introduced into the council of state, secretary Gonzalo Perez having gone to Louvain for change of air on account of his indisposition, and knowing in how imprudent a form he had written the letter to the Viceroy of Sicily about the damage done by the galliots in the waters of Cyprus, I went to Don Ruy Gomez and showed him certain passages purporting that in my memorial things were said such as I had never thought of. Don Ruy Gomez sent for him, and made him write the letter over again in my presence, I telling him that had he inspected my memorial carefully he would not have written the conceits and words that he did of his own accord (*come da se*), and he apologised for having erred, he knew not how; so that everybody attributes the blame to the said secretary. Thus in particular what I wrote to your Serenity about the words uttered to me by the King was true, as also what was written in conformity by the King to the Duke of Alva, as appears by the paragraph in the letter of Secretary Capella which your Serenity condescended to send me; and I have to add that at various periods the Cardinal of Mantua sent hither three dissertations to Don Juan Manrique, in each of which he constantly counselled King Philip to refer himself spontaneously to your Serenity (*a rimettersi di propria volontà sua a vostra Serenità*), and to appoint you judge, and that it should be sought to deposit Paliano in your hands. Since then the Lord Hieronimo da Correggio† and the Regent of Milan have repeatedly exhorted the King and Don Ruy Gomez to their utmost to end the war well and fairly by appointing your Serenity arbitrator, and you may rest assured *that here you are alike feared and esteemed* (*che qui è di pari temuta che stimata*).

I hear from Antwerp that all the chief merchants are beginning in great haste to wind up their affairs and return to France, the French ambassador resident here having giving them warning to that effect, and a number of Germans in that town have sent their agents to King Philip requesting him most earnestly to repay the loan of

* The name is written "*Saya*," but in Sir William Hackett's Index (Foreign Calendar, Mary) I find the name "*Aa, Secretary Van Der*." This secretary was at Vienna, 25th January 1554. Sir Richard Shelley does not state distinctly *whose* secretary he was, but the name being Dutch, it is probable that he was the Emperor's subject, and that it was borne by a secretary in the service of King Philip in 1556, when Badoer mis-spelt it "*Saya*."

† The Correggios were the feudal lords of Correggio, but it is not known whether they gave the name to that town, or took theirs from it. (See Alberti, "*Descrittione de la Italia*," pp. 325-331, ed. Bologna, 1550.)

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about one million and four hundred thousand crowns, with which they supplied the Emperor a long while ago, and for which they say they have never received either capital or interest. The agents were dismissed with fair promises, and Don Bernardino de Mendoza has been despatched to treat this matter with the intention of promising them as much as 25 per cent. interest for the future.

The deputies of this province of Brabant persist in their determination not to contribute the sum demanded of them unless the three new taxes on wine, beer, and bread are repealed.

The Emperor left [Laredo*] for Valladolid on the 3rd ultimo without transacting any of the business proposed to him by the grandees of Spain, and has proceeded to his monastery of S. Yuste.

Brussels, 16th November 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

704. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have nothing to tell save to acquaint your Serenity with the auspicious progress made in the matter of religion through two additional monasteries, the most illustrious Legate having on this very day to his infinite pleasure gone in person together with the Lord High Treasurer and the Bishop of Ely eight miles hence to the ancient Carthusian place (*luogo*) of Shene (*Sci*) on the banks of the river near the royal palace of Richmond, to replace in possession, as he did by the royal authority, several fathers of that order, the remains for the greater part of those who were there heretofore, and at the time of the devastations (*delle rovine*) not choosing to renounce the habit were compelled to depart and retire to Flanders, from whence they now return, besides some who remained here and have resumed the habit.

In the same locality (*nel medesimo loco*), but on the opposite side of the river, at Sion—an ancient and most notable monastery of nuns which was suppressed at the time of those devastations (*in quelle rovine*), and which the Duke of Somerset appropriated to himself, converting it into one of the most beautiful palaces in this neighbourhood, it being subsequently confiscated by the Crown at the time of his execution—† they replaced some of the aforesaid nuns, who have returned to their habit and ancient [religious] orders; so that not a day passes without discovering persons who replete with zeal and piety do not hesitate to renounce both liberty and their many conveniences, and to retire to monasteries there to live in subjection, want, and poverty, thus increasing the service and worship of God.

Three days ago, much on the sudden and in great haste, Francesco Piamontese was sent to the King with orders to return immediately, and as there was no apparent occasion for this, another messenger

* Compare with Mignet, pp. 141–145. (Charles Quint, &c. edition, Paris, 1860.)

† From an entry in the Domestic Calendar, 1547–1580, p. 26, it seems that in October 1549, the Protector Somerset held the two religious houses of Shene and Sion. Sion was originally founded by Henry V. for 60 nuns and 25 *religious men*, according to Dugdale; and in vol. 3, Venetian Calendar, 1527, July 30, it is seen that the scholar and diplomatist Richard Pace was then the guest of those "*religious men*," and studying at Sion, but they were not reinstated by Cardinal Pole.

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having been sent off only two days previously, it has seemed strange, nor as yet have I been able to discover the cause, about which it will have been more easy for your Serenity to obtain some information.

Dr. Martin has brought word on his return from Antwerp that the English [merchants-adventurers] there will no longer prevent the Londoners from exporting anything at all times, but some claims urged by one side and the other remain undecided.*

London, 16th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

705. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, when the King had dined, and after the Duke de Guise had taken leave of the Queen and of the other ladies, they mounted on horseback together, and followed by the Constable, by the Cardinals, by all the Princes now at the court, and by a very great number of gentlemen, they set out, and the King having accompanied him to a plain about half a mile from the castle [of St. Germain?], gave him leave, and his Excellency departed for Paris, accompanied by the greater part of the aforesaid persons, and will remain two days in that place and then set out for Lyons, where he will arrive in the course of the present month, as he travels leisurely, his wife [Anne d'Este] accompanying him as far as that place. His brothers, the Duke d'Aumale and the Marquis d'Elbœuf, departed with his Excellency, and the Duke de Nemours [Jacques de Savoie], who will have the charges in the army already mentioned by me, and besides the infantry and cavalry, all of which have commenced marching, he will be followed by upwards of 400 gentlemen without any allowance or stipend, but merely by reason of his great name and the extreme affection borne him by this entire kingdom. The said Duke will stop at Lyons for some days to make many arrangements required for the war, and chiefly to take a considerable sum of money which he will find there, thus giving more time for the march of the army, which, although they say it will be ready by Christmas, the belief is that it cannot take the field before the middle of January at the earliest. It seems that, according to the commission received by his Excellency, he is at liberty to assist the Pope in such ways as shall be deemed by him most opportune (*per quelle vie che da lui seranno giudicate più opportune*), but it is foreseen that there are understandings in the Milanese, which it is said will be more matured from day to day, through the presence of his Excellency, and many persons believe that the war will be limited to those parts, but of this I cannot now give such confirmation as I hope to do hereafter. The King has made considerable donations to these lords, and to many gentlemen who accompany his Excellency, which gifts have all been diminished by the Constable, who thus openly discountenances (*così apertamente disfavorisse*) all the provisions to be made for this expedition, thus making many persons suspect that the commander-in-chief and the army may suffer some

* Part of this last paragraph is illegible, but I have gathered its meaning from the letter of the 21st July, alluding to the competition between the merchants-adventurers at Antwerp and the staplers in London.

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inconvenience, although the Cardinal of Lorraine speaks very loudly in favour of his brother, and the Duke de Guise himself has told many persons that he is sure of having fixed supply for the payment of the army during six months, to which effect the Guise brothers have accommodated the King with a good sum of money, in addition to which they have borrowed some from several of their friends at interest, under promise [of repayment], and it is heard that the Duke's father-in-law, the Duke of Ferrara, has given him his word to supply him largely. Notwithstanding these resolves, it nevertheless seems that the hope of the Pope's coming to terms is not yet extinct, nor does the Nuncio deny this, though it is apparently true that Cardinal Caraffa, rather than his Holiness, would consent to an adjustment, but knowing that your Serenity has been already and more authentically informed about this matter, it is not my province to say anything more about it. The despatch for Constantinople is not yet gone, and M. de Cambre having fallen ill, M. de Vigne will go in his stead, with the same resolve as written by me four or six days ago, but from what I hear he will join the Duke de Guise on the road, and not proceed on his journey until his Excellency be more positively determined about the affairs of Rome. The Prince of Ferrara, who, as I wrote, had prepared to depart with M. de Guise, is not gone, having determined to await the return from Ferrara of his ambassador, who to the great surprise of everybody delays from day to day his coming, with which it is hoped to have the decision formed by the Duke.

I wrote heretofore to your Serenity the reply given by the King to the Duke of Mantua about the revenues of Montferrat, and the other day, when his Excellency's ambassador pressed for the settlement of this matter he obtained nothing but general expressions; so on hearing that the King had given to some Mantuan rebels certain mills and other property belonging to his Excellency, the ambassador complained of this, and assured the Constable that the Duke will accept of no recompense whatever, showing him his commission to that effect, but as yet he has accomplished nothing.

Poissi, 16th November 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Nov. 16.

Lettere Segrete,
Capi Cons^o X.,
File No. 5,
Venetian
Archives.

Legatis solus.

706. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the BAILIFF OF PADUA (*Potes-tati Paduæ*).*

After the death of Lord Courtenay at Padua, the reverend ambassador of the most serene Queen of England [Peter Vannes] requested your predecessor to effect the sequestration of the letters and writings

* On the 16th November 1556, the "Podestà" of Padua was Bernardo Giorgio, he having assumed that post on the 2nd of the month, as the successor of Piero Morosini, from whom therefore on the preceding 3rd October, and not from Bernardo Giorgio, Peter Vannes "obtained consignment of the writings that were found in the Earl's chamber after his death," as recorded in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar. (Foreign Series of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 260, date 3rd October 1556, entry No. 542.)

The precise dates of these two appointments were discovered by me lately in the Register "*Segretario alle voci Elez. M. C. 1553-1562.*" and I am thus enabled to correct a mistake in a footnote, Venetian Calendar, vol. i. preface, p. xxxvi.)

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belonging to his said late lordship, and to hold them in custody. This your said predecessor caused to be done, and having had them sealed in a casket, they were deposited in the Paduan archives (*in quella cancellaria*).

The said reverend ambassador has now demanded of us the said writings, concerning which demand of his, wishing to have a little consideration, and suspecting that in the meanwhile they may be in like manner demanded of you, we have chosen to send these present letters to you immediately to warn you that, until you receive another order from us, you must not allow them to be given to anyone, and should they be asked of you, you will excuse yourself, as it were spontaneously, saying you are not informed about this affair, which happened under your predecessor, gaining time adroitly, as you will know how to do, without showing that you have had any commission from us, and giving advice of the receipt of these present letters, and of any request that may have been made to you in this matter, to the Chiefs of our Council of Ten.

Lecta Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

No. 7 B. p. 75.

707. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

*A cardinal, who shows himself much the friend and servant of your Serenity, said to my secretary, with regard to the present disturbances, that "in this year and half of his pontificate the Pope has spent much more than a million of gold, and all to the detriment of the See Apostolic, and now at the commencement of the war he is in want of a thousand crowns, and therefore has recourse to such violent measures as would scarcely be adopted had it lasted ten years, and it is very evident that he cannot sustain it without assistance from others who are at a distance; yet will he not give ear to peace, which is the sole remedy for impending ruin, this side departing more and more from the means whereby it might be effected, as for instance, coming to details, leaving generalities aside, and saying 'this clause I reject,' 'this other is unfair,' 'it might be done thus,' 'and this would not displease,' for, to say the truth, discussion removes difficulties. Here they talk solely of dethroning kings and emperors, although the King of Spain is not a king of cups; * to me it seems that since hundreds of years there has not been a greater prince in Christendom than he is. When the Pope shall have deprived him he will have done the last he can do, and his Majesty from necessity will go over to the schism; whereas at present he dares not declare himself openly, and it might come into his mind to occupy the patrimony of St. Peter and never give it back, with the intention of having Rome as a frontier for the kingdom of Naples, annexing it to Sienna and the state of Florence; and do you suppose that in order to keep Rome he would have to increase his present expenditure? His ordinary paid forces of horse and foot in the kingdom of*

* Cups were emblems on Spanish and Italian playing cards.

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Naples would suffice him. But supposing that this do not take place, there is the danger of the Pope's giving the French the fortresses of the Church, as security for the expenses they will incur in the war, it being told me (*horresco referens*) that they demand even Ancona; nor do I know whether worse news could be imagined for the whole of Christendom, but especially for the most serene Signory, by reason of the existing friendship and confederacy between the King of France and Sultan Soliman, besides the league he has with the Duke of Ferrara, the state of Venice being thus in the midst of them; nor is the world in the dark about the will (*animo*) of the French, and their insolence; which things the Pope ought to see, and avoid them by making the agreement, as he might effect it on very honourable terms, and not persevere in a war which will ruin the world, and for which no cause can be discovered. 'Oh!' [says the Pope] 'I choose to drive the Spaniards out of the kingdom of Naples.' To do this it would be requisite first of all to know why, and then how to be able to do it, to have made arrangements and formed understandings. I, for my own part, believe that the King of Spain before commencing war against the Pope imagined that he might be attacked by the King of France and others, and thought how he should defend himself, and were it to be said that he has no experience of military matters it may be rejoined that he has no lack either of councillors or of military commanders; but, in conclusion, unless the Almighty stretch forth His arm we shall first of all remain encircled and deprived of part of our territory by the enemy, and of the other part by (thus will I call them) false friends, and the rest of Italy will not fare well, not to say worse; *et utinam sim falsus vates.*"

Rome, 17th November 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout.*]

Nov. 17.
Parti Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 9,
Venetian
Archives.

708. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by FRANCESCO FOSCARINI and ALVISE GRITTI.

That the bailiff of Padua be written to, to send hither immediately, to the chiefs of this Council, the casket containing the writings of the late Lord Courtenay, for such purpose as shall subsequently seem fit to this Council, the which casket the said bailiff to send in a wrapper (*in un imboglio*), in a cautious manner and secretly, without communicating it to anyone.

Ayes, 20.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17 ?*
Parti Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 9,
Venetian
Archives.

709. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by the Councillor FILIPPO CAPELLO and the Chief PAOLO CONTARINI.

Will (*vol*) that the present matter be delayed until a reply be received to the letter sent to Padua last evening, and another request be made by the ambassador of the most Serene Queen of England.

Ayes, 7. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

* In the Register No. 6, "*Parti Secrete*," C.X., page 164 tergo, this motion is placed immediately beneath the one made by Foscarini and Gritti, and I therefore assign the same date to it.

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Nov. 17. *Legatis solus.*

Lettere Secrete,
Capi Cons^o X.,
File No. 5,
Venetian
Archives.

710. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the BAILIFF OF PADUA (*Potes-
tati Paduæ*).

By the authority of our Council of Ten and Junta we charge you to send hither immediately to the chiefs of the said Council the casket containing the papers (*scritture*) of the late Lord Courtenay, the which casket you will send in a wrapper (*invoglio*) (*sic*), so that no one may know what it be, and this you will do cautiously and secretly, without communicating it to any person, advising the said chiefs of the execution by letters in your own hand.

Vigore partis.

Endorsed: Ser Philipp. Capello, cons.
Ser Paulus Contarini, caput.

———— 7.

Ser Franciscus Fuscarenus,
Ser Aloviusus Gritti, cons.

———— 20.

———— 0.

———— 1*.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 76.

711. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The battering of Hostia continued Sunday, Monday, and yesterday morning, and in the afternoon they made two assaults, the first by the Spaniards, the second by the Italians, both of which were repulsed, many of the assailants being killed, amongst whom were the sergeant-major of the Spaniards and two well-born Neapolitans. The Signor Vespasian Gongaza, captain of the Italian infantry, had his upper lip carried away by an arquebuse shot, and a ball struck Ascanio della Cornia, but the gorget over his corslet saved him. The Duke of Alva then ordered the third assault, but the besieged seeing they could not hold out demanded a parley and surrendered at discretion, and are now in camp, the Imperialists having made their entry at 7 p.m. Hostia was defended by 110 foot soldiers, commanded by a Roman, one Horatio del Sbirro, who is much praised for his courage. On Sunday, by order of Cardinal Caraffa, Cardinal Sta. Fior sent back Placido to the Duke of Alva to treat the conference, and the Duke is supposed to have detained him until he saw the result of the attack on Hostia.

Rome, 18th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

712. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I, this morning, being ill in bed with stone and fever, the King sent Secretary Calderon to tell me that in conformity with my request that he would give satisfaction to your Serenity, he had willingly determined to give very ample commissions to the Duke

* I believe the endorsement to signify that two motions were made in the Council of Ten and Junta, and that the first had seven "ayes," and the second 20.

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of Alva, in order to effect some pacific adjustment with the Pope (*qualche conclusione di pace co 'l Pont^{ee}*), and that Don Ruy Gomez had charged him, Calderon, to show me the draft of a letter written by his Majesty on this subject. I answered him as becomingly as my usual malady allowed of, and subsequently I was visited by Don Francisco de Vargas, late ambassador with your Serenity, who told me that the King had communicated to him what I said, and what he had decided about enlarging his commission to the Duke of Alva, and writing himself to your Serenity about this matter, because the secretary who had remained with you wrote hither, that although the majority of those most illustrious Lords very greatly esteemed his Majesty's spontaneous goodwill as evinced by selecting your Serenity for arbitrator, he understood that a few of them nevertheless deemed it an artifice his Majesty's having written differently at the commencement of his letter to what he said to me, for the sake of taking the step with great repute to himself; Vargas praying me in conclusion to communicate to him frankly (as his Lordship had done by me) all that had reached me through this last despatch from your Serenity. I answered him that not only had no mention been made to me of this circumstance, but that in the first paragraph of the letter I was desired to thank his Majesty greatly for the trust he had reposed in you, and I then imparted to his Lordship all the rest of its contents in the most loving form possible, because (independently of other respects) he seems to me heartily grateful, as proclaimed by him universally, for the loving demonstrations and very handsome present made to him by your Serenity on his departure. His Lordship then said to me the following precise words: "His Majesty writes to the most serene Signory, and will do so again and again, and demonstrate his wish to do whatever the State shall wish, so that not one of those lords will fail to believe that such is the personal desire of his Majesty."

The ambassador from Florence has been to negotiate with the King, without having occasion to do so through letters from his master, and one of my confidants informs me that he urged his Majesty not readily to condescend to the agreement with the Pope.

Don Ferrante Gonzaga has written a very long letter to King Philip, recommending him to adjust his affairs with the Pope in the best way he can, alluding to the many evils which might ensue were these disputes not terminated, and that he knows clearly that none of the potentates of Italy, nor of the rest of Christendom, can ever approve of this continuation of the war against the Church.

There has arrived here the Abbate Gerio, who is in the service of Cardinal Morone, but who is come in the name of the Cardinal of Trent to show his Majesty what is required for the defence of the Milanese in case the French break the truce, but in like manner as the said abbot was the person who in the name of Cardinal Morone secretly commenced the adjustment between the Duke of Parma and King Philip, so is it supposed that he has now also come hither for some great and unknown cause, the Cardinal of Trent having already, three months ago, sent Messer Christoforo Tressino to reside as his agent at this court.

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At this hour letters have arrived from Cambrai announcing that the French had mustered troops thereabouts, and that towards a castle in its neighbourhood they were conveying some pieces of artillery with the intention of taking it, and the people within knowing they could not hold out informed the enemy they would surrender; and a Spanish captain has also come in the name of his comrades and countrymen on those frontiers, with an earnest request for money, and for permission to do by the French what they shall see the French beginning to do against themselves; this captain also confirming the intended attack on the castle near Cambrai; and when the Duke of Savoy and Don Ruy Gomez were asked whether they had any certain news about this, they both answered in the negative, but said they considered it certain that the French on their part would soon break the truce.

The day before yesterday the Marquis de las Navas* and Don Luis de Avila, his brother, departed for Spain, the Marquis, who was *maggiordomo*, being very well satisfied by reason of the many great benefits he has received, owing to the extraordinary favour shown him designedly by Don Ruy Gomez; and Don Luis, the councillor of State, is utterly discontented, seeing that he cannot have such share in the public business as would be to his satisfaction.†

Brussels, 18th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 19.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 76.

713. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Ambassador, and FEBO CAPELLA, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having sent the secretary to Cardinal Caraffa to demand audience for us he replied that we were to choose our own hour, telling him to let me know that the Duke of Alva had stipulated a ten days truce with him, so that in the meanwhile they might confer together, and treat the agreement. We therefore went to him to-day at 12 o'clock, when, in reply to the statement made by us in your Serenity's name, he said God knew that nothing was more desired by him than peace, for which alone he went to the King of France, although on hearing subsequently that war was to be waged on the See Apostolic, he endeavoured to obtain such pecuniary and other aid as will arrive should the agreement not take place; that he would attend to it heart and soul, for which purpose he had made a truce for ten days, and signed the stipulation an hour ago (as your Serenity will perceive by the accompanying copy which he had given us), for the purpose of effecting the interview conveniently, *he having yesterday evening obtained the consent of the Pope, who gave it unwillingly from suspicion of treachery*, but the Cardinal told him he should be perfectly safe as the interview would be held on an island, a place given by God, on one side of which would be the Imperial army, and on the other that of his Holiness, they being separated by a stream, nor would anyone save the persons appointed

* Don Pedro de Avila. (See Sir William Hackett's Index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

† In Mignet (pp. 281, 282), allusion is made to the fact that in the summer of 1557, the historian Don Luis de Avila went to his master the Emperor at San Yuste, but no reason is assigned for his having left the court of King Philip.

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cross over to the island, the Duke of Alva placing one of his own sentries (*un suo homo*) at the bridge made by the Pope, the Cardinal doing the like at the bridge made by the Imperialists; the Cardinal adding, that *his Holiness could not prevent this interview without being reproached with rejecting the agreement*; so he gave him his blessing, and thus in God's name will the interview be held, and perhaps next Sunday. The Cardinal said he should go prepared with reasons, whereby to reply to the proposals made to him, hoping they might be fair, as he will show the world that should peace not be made it will not be his fault, and that it would please him to have Secretary Capella (or any other person I might appoint) present as a witness at the interview. We replied that no witnesses were needed where a personage so replete with goodness and Christian piety as his most illustrious Lordship was concerned; and this we said in conformity with the order received from your Serenity, that I, secretary, was to decline being present at the conference. I, ambassador, added that I trusted his Lordship would bestow on the world this most precious gift of peace, thus obtaining immortal praise for himself, much advantage for his most illustrious family, and long and tranquil life for the Pope, by means of which his Holiness would be enabled to realize those Christian designs expected by the world for so long a while from him alone. The Cardinal rejoined, "Lord Ambassador, I wish it, and God grant that when the reinforcements expected by them arrive the Imperialists may not become more insolent, for should they come to fair terms (as I have said) the desired result will be obtained;" saying he was glad that the Secretary also was here, because should any difficulty arise he might perform good offices, both with the Pope and with the Duke of Alva. We made answer that everything possible would be done to that effect, your Serenity keeping him here for the service of his Holiness and his most illustrious Lordship.

The Cardinal then told us that the Imperialists had bought Hostia very dear (*che Imperiali haveano comprata Hostia molta cara*), both because several brave men had been killed under it, as also because they had discharged about 1,300 cannon shots, showing that they did not know much about artillery practice, by aiming aloft instead of below, where the weight of the wall brings it down sooner, and they also fired aslant instead of point blank, as they ought to have done (*et anco andando per storto, che bisogna andar dritto al traverso*). There were also two other places which could not have stood a hundred shot, for which reason they were abandoned, so as Ascanio della Cornia had been many times in Hostia it caused surprise his not having cannonaded those points, but it is supposed to be by the will of God, in order that provision may be made for some other place (by which we believe he meant Civitavecchia). The Cardinal added that should peace be made he will obtain what he desires; and, if not, he had so provided for the places he wishes to keep, that either the Imperialists will not attempt them, or else they will remain under them longer than they wish, which would also have been the case with some other fortresses taken by them had his most illustrious Lordship been here; and he said that to this Horatio, who defended Hostia,

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he would give such reward as to induce every one to follow his example, as he had also done by the foot soldier who revealed the plot against Paliano, conferring on him a monthly pension of 15 crowns for life, besides a gift of 100 for his hose (*per le calze*).

Rome, 19th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 77,
11.

714. The SAME to the SAME.

We wrote yesterday that by reason of the truce and the interview it was our intention to go to the Pope as soon as possible to exhort him to make peace, and also to see by his words (*et per veder anco dalle sue parole*) what could be hoped about it, and whether he persevered in speaking as he has done hitherto; so to-day we went to his Holiness, who after greeting us with great kindness and familiarity in the presence of the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], to whom (when he was about to quit the chamber) the Pope said, "Stay, Monsignor, for as you know I trust you, and the Magnifico Ambassador will like you to be present." After which words his Holiness continued, "We are going to tell you things witnessed by us and which we remember, none of you three perhaps being then born. Down to the year 1494 this most noble province of Italy was in such a state as to allow of its being said that no greater concert and harmony nor anything more dulcet could be desired. There was the See Apostolic, a King of Naples, my most illustrious Signory of Venice, a Duke of Milan, with a thousand other private Lords of Italy (*particular Signori d'Italia*), who all bore such respect to the Pope as is due to a Vicar of Christ and to a father. Then came, *proh dolor*, those enmities as known to you between Alfonso King of Naples and Lodovico Duke of Milan, who, to be revenged one on the other like two dogs, were always at the ears of King Charles of France, who, content with his own kingdom, had less desire for the States of Italy than for anything else. They called him, and with marvellous good fortune and speed, and with great forces, he obtained the result known to you. He was a King to be remembered (*fu Re memorabile*), for besides his forces he was most generous and most clement, treating his ministers (*li soi*) not as subjects but like comrades. Subsequently Lodovico, being dissatisfied, and perhaps having repented of his scheme, made a league with Pope Alexander, with the most illustrious Venetian lords, and many others of Italy, to expel him.

"Hinc mihi prima mali labes.—(Virg. *Æn.* II. 97.)

Et ex illo omnia in peius ruere.—(Virg. *Georg.* I. 200–201).

"To this are to be attributed all the calamities of Italy, past, present, and future, although the counsels of that bloated Pope Leo (*di quel Papon di Papa Leon*),* (nor from the life he led could anything else be expected), and moreover those of Clement, constantly increased our miseries, which will not only last but will become greater, until Italy return to her former harmony and liberty. *Magnifico*

* That Gianpietro Caraffa did not always vituperate the counsels "*di quel Papon di Papa Leon*", is implied by the acceptance at his hands in the year 1513, of the Nunciship in England, and on his departure thence at the close of 1515, he then represented Leo X. as Nuncio in the Low Countries, and in Spain, until the year 1519.

1556.

Ambassador, this beautiful instrument is spoiled, it must be repaired; and what state can be worse than its present one? Any slavery is misery, but the yoke of so vile a race as this which commands us is intolerable. Are we to put up with half a dozen renegade Moriscos? (quattro scalzi Marani si soporteranno?) No, no, my most illustrious Signory, who has so great a share in Italy, will rouse herself; the same race who, for this See, for former Popes, for the liberty of this their country, performed of yore such honourable feats. Should this not come to pass, and that our paternal suggestions fail to take effect, we shall believe it to be the divine wrath which chooses to punish your sins and ours. I pray you at length to rouse yourselves, and with increase of territory, free, free us, your mother, from this servitude. Nothing was ever easier; we and you alone would suffice, and this would be to our immortal praise, that with the sole forces of Italy we should realize these glorious and magnanimous aspirations. Were you merely to show yourselves, all the rest of Italy would follow, and we should not have cared to call others (et noi non si havessamo curato di chiamar altri); and were we to be told that these [Frenchmen?] are also in like manner Ultramontanes, and that what is taken from hence will be theirs, so that we shall not free ourselves, I reply that the descendants of these Ultramontanes, and perhaps they themselves, will in a very short time become Italians. Moreover it would be much easier to expel them than to dream of release, by leaving these ribalds to continue their tyranny, which has lasted for so many years." Then, turning to the Cardinal of Pisa, the Pope continued, "Monsignore, we intend to give Sicily, your birthplace, to my most illustrious Lords, nor could anything more felicitous happen either to you or to them; you will be free, the Signory will receive the Sicilians like her own sons, and under that protection you will sweeten the aloes of all your past wrongs and injuries. We know what we can promise ourselves from the moderation of the most illustrious Republic; they on their part will enjoy all those advantages which have been specified by us heretofore to you, ambassador."*

The Pope having repeated all these things over and over again, with his usual eloquence, I, ambassador said, "Holy Father, this truce, having for object an interview between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva, gives everybody hope of soon witnessing the peace and enjoying it; and if this truce of a few days causes such universal comfort, what will it be subsequently when the prudence, the piety, and the goodness of your Holiness, shall find means to confer so important a gift as this peace on the world, on Italy, and especially on my most illustrious Signory, who are so anxious for this holy result? To this effect they sent hither their secretary and keep him here, and for this same purpose I, their minister and representative, have performed such offices as known to your Serenity." *The Pope replied, "We have chosen to consent to this truce and to the interview, in order not to show that we reject the peace (per non mostrar*

* Scipione Rebiba was born in the mountains of Messina, at a place called S. Marco (See Cardella, vol. iv. p. 347.)

1556.

che ricusiamo la pace), but nothing will come of it ;” and then flaring up (accendendosi), he repeated, “ Nothing will come of it (non sarà niente) ; we tell you, we protest to you, that nothing will come of it (ve lo diciamo, ve lo protestamo, non sarà niente) ; we are informed that this little beast* (bestiola), begotten of that diabolical father (nata di quel indiavolato padre), says that he cannot hope to consolidate his affairs so long as this See possesses territory (che non pò sperar d’haver stabilità nelle cose sue, fin che questa sede habbia stato). See what a disposition this is, and doubt not the truth of what we tell you, for we are advised of it also by way of Germany, and we will interpret to you more clearly what this means. It signifies, I cannot consider my affairs consolidated whilst anyone holds state in Italy, and to speak yet more plainly to you, when talking of us he talks of you. Everybody, except yourselves, who have fallen asleep, sees that your destruction is linked with ours. We shall soon leave you, and we wish to do so, for we have nothing in this life to make us delight in it ; you will then know that our advice to you was good, and you will regret that it did not take effect.” He then repeated as an apostrophe (a caso), “ Not consider his affairs consolidated without our ruin ! and will you wait and see ? Magnifico ambassador, write these words of this little beast (Scrivete, Mag^{co} Amb^{ro}, queste parole di questa bestiola), and then do you, secretary, narrate them, as otherwise we shall complain both of one and the other of you, and we shall hear whether you have done so.” To this we replied that it being our duty to write and relate faithfully, his Holiness should not suspect us of doing otherwise, and he rejoined, “ We well know that the secretary will not fail to do so, in like manner as this Magnifico ambassador has never omitted doing.” Then approaching me, ambassador, and putting his mouth to my ear, he said, “ If you will show yourselves, be it known to you that the Duke of Florence likewise will declare himself ; the Italians in short are Italians ;” and putting his hand to his heart, he added, “ Believe us that it is so,” repeating to me the things about Sicily, as written by me heretofore, and telling me in conclusion that he loved your Serenity so affectionately that he wished and would render you the mistress of Italy, because he knows that you would not desert his nephews and his descendants (perchè sà che non mancheria alli soi nepoti, et alla sua descendentia).

This conversation, which was carried on with great gentleness (con molta dolcezza), having lasted nearly three hours, we took leave, although it seemed that he wished to continue discussing the same topics.

Rome, 20th November 1556.

[Italian.]

* Federico Badoer, in his “ Report ” of King Philip made to the Senate in the year 1557, expressed himself thus :—“ On the 20th of last May King Philip entered his thirty-first year. He is of low stature and small-limbed,” &c. (*Il Re Filippo à 20 di maggio passato entrò in trent’un anno. E di statura piccola e di membri minuti, &c.*) See *Le Relazioni degli Ambri. Veneti. Series 1, Vol. 3, p. 233*, published at Florence by Eugenio Albéri.

1556.

Nov. 20.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**715. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

Having understood that down to this present time his Majesty's resolve to send fresh commissions to the Duke of Alva had not been executed, and considering how much your Serenity may have this at heart, I (as my malady had somewhat abated), went to Don Ruy Gomez and very earnestly exhorted him no longer to delay sending off this despatch to the said Duke, remarking to him how many additional difficulties might arise were the war to continue and the negotiation be farther protracted. I also told him as of myself that I thought he would do well, with his great prudence and the authority enjoyed by him with the King, to anticipate and provide, so that commissions might be given to the Duke of Alva, with such particulars as required for the establishment of a good adjustment with the Pope, lest his Excellency, from fear of reproof for acting of his own accord, omit to conclude this peace, which is so much desired and so very necessary. His Lordship answered me that hitherto the cause of the delay in despatching the aforesaid commission proceeded from the variety of opinions of his Majesty's councillors with regard to it, but that he would go and remind his Majesty again of your Serenity's wish as demonstrated by this fresh office on my part, and that he considered it certain the King would determine to send these commissions in such form that nothing would any longer remain that could reasonably be desired, and that your Serenity would see by facts that he negotiates veraciously; adding that his Majesty had again charged Don Juan de Ayala, who is now at Milan, to go to you postwise, in lieu of the ambassador Vargas, for the performance of such offices as might be required before the return to your Serenity of the said Vargas; and as now at midnight Don Ruy Gomez has sent to tell me that having conferred with the King, he is now despatching the courier with the orders for the Duke of Alva, I have merely time to add that at all these frontiers the French troops are in movement, and that the capture of the castle near Cambrai has not been verified.

Brussels, 20th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20.
Parti Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 9,
Venetian
Archives.

716. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by the Chiefs FRANCESCO FOSCARINI and ALVISE GRITTI.

That by the chiefs of this Council a carpenter be sent for, such a one as shall seem fit to them, and, after swearing him to silence, the said chiefs to have opened, in such manner as shall seem best to them, the casket sent from Padua, so that it may subsequently be returned in the state in which it now is, and the said casket being opened, they to show to have taken (*far pigliar*)* the writings to such persons as shall seem fit to them, *that they may be seen by this Council*, and then to come with them to this Council to deliberate as to the said Council shall seem fit.

Ayes, 14.

* In the original draft the pen is drawn through the words italicized.

1556.

Endorsed: Ser Franc. Fuscareno.

Ser Aloviz. Gritti.

Cap.

14.

Ser Paulus Cont.

Cap.

7.

0.

5.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20 †
 Parti Secrete,
 Conso X.,
 File No. 9,
 Venetian
 Archives.

717. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN by the Chief PAULO CONTARINI.

That the casket be sent back to Padua in such cautious and secret manner as shall seem fit to the chiefs of this Council, with an order to the bailiff there, should it be again demanded of him, not to give it, but to gain time by saying that the persons who consigned the writings to him must be present, the due forms of justice being observed, and other similar things, giving account from time to time to the chiefs of this Council of what may occur (*occorrerà*) in this matter.

Ayes, 7. Noes, 0. Neutral, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20.
 Consiglio X,
 Parti Comuni,
 Vol. 22, p. 175.

718. EMBASSY in ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That of the moneys destined for ambassadors, 300 ducats be given to the agents of the nobleman, Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, for the expenditure of which he is bound to give account on his return, as also of the other sums received for similar purposes.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
 Original
 Letter Book,
 Venetian
 Archives.
 No. 7 B. p. 78,
 tergo.

719. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the Reverend Bishop of *Liesina* came and told me he understood that M. de Sipierre had arrived at the court of the King of the Romans in the name of his most Christian Majesty, and when I asked him if he knew the cause of this, he replied, "I believe that they may communicate with each other (*per intertenersi*), for the present King of France is a very able negotiator;" and on my urging him to speak freely with me, as he had promised to do, and as I expected, he replied, "All that I could tell you would be my own opinion by word of mouth, which if you wish me to do so I will put into writing, in order not to omit any office due from me to you and to those most illustrious Lords of mine;" and so to-day he sent

* This second endorsement confirms my explanation of the preceding one, and shows that the three Chiefs of the Ten were not of one mind about the Courtenay papers.

† In the *File*, this document has no date, but in the *Register*, No. 6, Parti Secrete, C. X., p. 165, tergo, it follows the preceding one, thus confirming the endorsement of the foregoing original draft, so I date accordingly.

1556.

me the writing which I enclose, as also a plan of Hostia. Cardinal Caraffa and Cardinal S^{ta} Fiora were to have left to-day to be near the site of the interview, but when already booted, their departure was delayed until to-morrow at an early hour. With this I send a supplement drawn up by the Cardinal Camerlengo [S^{ta} Fiora] in case of any omission in the form of the truce, and he also wrote that King Philip had written a very bland letter to Cardinal Caraffa, of which I have obtained a copy, as also of the Cardinal's reply, made to-day to his Majesty, which writings† having been given me very secretly and confidentially I request your Serenity to have the utmost silence kept about them.*

Rome, 21st November 1875.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21.
Deliberazioni

Senato,
Secreta,

Vol. 70, pp. 53-4.
verso e recto.

720. COMMISSION for SER MICHIEL SURIAN, Knight, Ambassador accredited to the most Serene King of Spain.

Is to follow his Royal Majesty whithersoever he shall go; and should he cross over to England, Surian will visit the Queen there, with the letters of credence given to him, performing such office as becoming the friendship maintained by them with her Majesty.

He is also to visit the right reverend Legate [Pole], presenting him also in like manner with their letters of credence; and to perform the like office with such other personages of the Court as shall seem to him opportune, and to the Signory's dignity.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

721. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the deputies of these towns of Brabant had determined not to say another word in reply to the demand made of them about the money, and having said that they meant to depart, certain members of the Council interfered to induce the King to withdraw his demand, and the deputies their refusal, they making it appear that should the latter accommodate his Majesty with two tenths at present he might be satisfied with it; and the deputies of this town announced their firm intention of condescending to pay one tenth, and also of conceding to his Majesty the right to alienate to the amount of three hundred thousand crowns' worth of his patrimonial estates, which have been long mortgaged, a thing he cannot do of himself by reason of his compact with these people (*con queste genti.*)

To-morrow the deputies of Bolduc and Antwerp will give their answers, and should they be in conformity, the sum derived by his Majesty from Brabant will amount to 150,000 crowns. Don Bernardino de Mendoza is returned from Antwerp, having arranged with

* Not found, which is much to be regretted, as this "writing" would perhaps have thrown light on the real state of affairs between the Emperor and his brother, when the former was embarking for Spain in September 1556, and which cannot be ascertained by the last letter in the "Correspondenz des Kaisers" (vol. 3, p. 711).

† They do not exist in the letter-book.

1556.

the German merchants who demanded payment of one million and four hundred thousand crowns due to them, to delay it for a yet longer period. He has also contracted with the Fuggers and other Spanish merchants for three hundred thousand crowns, assignments being made them in Castille, the product to be subsequently remitted to Italy, for which purpose a courier was despatched yesterday to Spain, from whence there are advices purporting that the Emperor had arrived at the monastery of S. Yuste.*

The day before yesterday a courier arrived from England with letters written by the Queen to King Philip, praying him very earnestly that, to provide against so many evils which might easily befall that kingdom, owing to the diversity of opinion of the Lords of the Council and other principal personages (*altri signori principali*), he should prepare to return to her, as there he might equally well attend to the despatch of his orders for Italy; Cardinal Pole having also written in like manner to Don Ruy Gomez, but so strongly as to imply that should his Majesty any longer delay going thither he might soon hear of something disagreeable and detrimental (*potria tosto sentir cosa dispiacevole et dannosa*), hinting at several practices secretly on foot amongst certain leading individuals of that realm (*alcuni principali di quel regno*). His Majesty replied that at present he does not see how he can comply with the Queen's wish, not only by reason of what the Pope may do to the injury of his affairs (*delle cose sue*), but also from the suspicion entertained by him of the other Italian potentates and of the King of France, owing to what is heard about his most Christian Majesty's preparations.

Count Marco di Megli, ambassador from the Duke of Ferrara, came to see me to-day, saying that to-morrow he is to take leave of the King and return to the Duke immediately, although no successor has come to replace him; and he told me besides that through Don Juan Manrique he had obtained from his Majesty in reward for services rendered by him to the Emperor during the war, and on account of a certain claim he has on a castle in the Milanese, six hundred thousand crowns (*sic*) annual revenue for his life, without being bound to render him any service.

A merchant who arrived here to-day from Denmark brings word that certain maritime towns, from disputes between one and the other of them about boundaries and other matters, had prepared a number of merchantmen for the purpose of fitting them out as ships of war, and from this cause, and owing to the war which still continues between the King of Sweden and the Muscovites, the usual supply of corn (*formenti*) from those parts has not been sent hither, so that the scarcity here is becoming very great indeed.

Brussels, 22nd November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 12th November 1556 the Emperor arrived at Jarandilla, and took up his abode in the beautiful villa of the Count of Oropesa, from which he had a *view* of the monastery of S. Yuste, but he did not establish himself there until the 3rd of February 1557. (See Mignet, pp. 158, 199.)

1556.

Nov. 23.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**722. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

The Duke de Guise left Paris on the 18th on his way to Lyons, and on the morrow the King went with a few attendants on a pleasure excursion (*per sui piaceri*), returning yesterday to St. Germain, and shortly before he left Paris the ambassador from Ferrara arrived and brings the ratification of his Duke's agreement with the King, which report circulated through the court this morning; but as the ambassador remained in Paris to rest himself, all that I have been able to learn hitherto is that he has accepted the agreement sent to him by the King through the Cardinal of Lorraine, as written by me repeatedly, and that immediately on the King's arrival at St. Germain the Constable sent many despatches, urging many persons to depart and join the Duke de Guise, who will give them their orders. During the last few days it has transpired that the said Duke of Ferrara has laid before the King the advantage which his duchy would derive, were the Duke de Guise on his march to seize Parma for him, to which effect he offered a greater amount of troops than was demanded of him by the King for another purpose, demonstrating how much it would be for his advantage to have the Duke of Florence on his confines (as would be the case were that city taken) rather than the King of England. Even before the Duke of Parma arranged his affairs with that sovereign, the Duke of Ferrara spoke to the King of France on the subject, exhorting him to give the Duke of Parma compensation in this kingdom, ceding the said city to him, the Duke of Ferrara, which having come to the knowledge of the Duke of Parma, was the chief cause of making him desert France; but as yet no decision is known, although it is reported that the whole will be accomplished, the design appearing very reasonable, both because the King of France is dissatisfied with the Duke of Parma, and also because, by making himself master of that pass, he would always have free transit towards Romagna; the Duke of Ferrara, moreover, representing the expedition as not very arduous, as it is said he guarantees the King by means of an understanding which he, the Duke, has within the city of Parma. The Duke of Parma's agent, Cavalier Tiburtio, requested the King to repay his Excellency the 120,000 crowns disbursed by Pope Paul III. for the counter-dower (*contradote*) assigned, in the name of the Duke's brother, Horatio, to his wife, the daughter of the most Christian King,* by means of which repayment the Duke promised his Majesty by so much the more to secure his territory without having recourse to others for assistance, his Excellency wishing (so far as in his power) that the King should never witness any result at variance with

* In the year 1553, Orazio Farnese, Duke de Castro, married Diane, the natural daughter of Henry II. by a Piedmontese named Filippa Duc, and Orazio Farnese was killed at Hesdin six months after his marriage; subsequently she became the wife of the Constable's second son, the Marshal de Montmorency. In Venetian Calendar, Vol. 5, p. 416, there is a letter of condolence on this event from Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Farnese, dated Trent, 2nd October 1553. I derive the name of the mother of the Duchess of Castro from the biographical dictionary published at Bassano in the year 1796, and I quote my authority in case it be supposed that she was the daughter of *Diane* de Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois.

1556.

his (the Duke's) goodwill and with his obligations to his Majesty ; but the King replied that for the present he found it inconvenient to give him the aforesaid sum, and Tiburtio, perceiving the King to speak in a certain tone not quite favourable to the Duke, suspects his Majesty of not choosing to give him the money lest the Farneses strengthen themselves yet more against France. Subsequently, when talking about this with my secretary Franceschi, with whom he is very intimate, he said that the refusal to give this money, were his Duke to turn entirely in favour of the King of England, might always give him occasion to say that had the King of France given him his own he would have been able to defend himself without the assistance of others ; which I have chosen to write to your Serenity, that you may know how the suspicions increase in every quarter.

M. de Lavigna, who, as I wrote on the 16th, is to go to Constantinople, has not yet departed, but his commission is prepared, and it is said he will depart in two or three days ; and as he is a great friend of mine Franceschi has visited him in my name, offering him all favour in your Serenity's name.

According to advices received the body of the deceased Duke de Bouillon was opened, and from what is said publicly many marks of poison were found in his intestines.

Poissi, 23rd November 1556.

[Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Nov. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

723. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday last the 18th instant, at one and the same time, Francesco Piamontese returned from Brussels, and from France the secretary of the Queen's ambassador there, both one and the other having travelled with such speed that the one came from Paris to London in 25 hours, and the other out and home from Brussels (although detained there during a day and a half) in five days.

Since their arrival until now the ministers and Cardinal Pole may be said to have been in very close consultation, assembling every day at 6 a.m., well nigh before daybreak, until the dinner hour, and after noon until 6 p.m., or about the second hour of the night according to the Italian fashion. This proceeding is unusual, and Lord Paget having been confined to the house by indisposition for upwards of a month, they even urged him on no account to absent himself from the Council board, and although he apologized as not being in a state to be able to go abroad, I understand that what he could not do by word of mouth in their presence was done by him in writing, and that he gave his opinion about what had been asked him at full length. The speed of the couriers and these long and extraordinary consultations indicate the gravity and importance of the matter which is being treated so secretly that as yet no one has been able to elicit anything certain about it, although from conjecture and conversation rather than from knowledge many things have been and still continue to be said, some persons declaring that some fresh conspiracy in virtue of an understanding with the

1556.

French has been discovered, or some design of the French themselves on the fortresses of certain places either here or across the Channel. Others, on the contrary, believe the business to be some request from the King to the Queen to the effect that should the truce be broken, as is feared, war be also waged by England against France, and if this cannot or will not be done, that at least a subsidy of money or troops be given, by reason of the great preparations of the French, for Italy and all the borders; but be it as it may the deliberation proceeds so silently that to know anything more about it is difficult. It has been determined for the Earl of Pembroke to cross the Channel, and in two days he will go to Calais, nor is it known* [whether he is?] betaking himself to the King. He has ordered his whole household to follow,† and it is said that from suspicion entertained all the guards will be changed. According to report the Admiral also has been sent to France, but it is not said for what purpose, although the people murmur and declare it is to protest war (*per protestation di guerra*), which seems to be considered certain, but those who discourse more authentically neither vouch for the Admiral's departure, nor as yet do they hear of any decision about war, or perceive any signs of it.

Last night the courier Gamboa was sent back in haste to Brussels so possibly through that channel rather than through this your Serenity may be able to ascertain what has been decided.

The Lady Elizabeth is expected here in four days from the country, nor is it yet known whether she will lodge in the palace with the most Serene Queen, or in her own house [Somerset Place], with her attendants.

On Friday last the 20th instant, and not until then, the Black Monks of St. Benedict were put in possession of the Abbey of Westminster, together with all its revenues, as many as 16 having taken the habit on that day, and it was a very beautiful sight, most agreeable to those who witnessed it. The possession was given by the Right Reverend the Lord Chancellor [Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York] and by Cardinal Pole's Datary [Ormanetto], as public persons, both royal and apostolic authority being necessary to legalize it.‡

London, 23rd November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

724. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Ghent, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the King dined in public, which he has not done for many days, owing to his indisposition, and in the afternoon (*et dapoi pranzo*) he remained a long while in the Council of State, the principal matter treated being whether it was necessary at present

* A few words illegible from corrosion.

† In Machyn's Diary, p. 119, there is the following entry:—"The xxv day of November [1556] my lord of Pembroke toke ys barge toward Cales, and" (unfinished).

‡ According to Machyn's Diary, pp. 118, 119, the new Abbot of Westminster, Dr. Fecknam, was "putt in" on the 21st November, "and xiiij moo monkes shorne in, and the morrow after the Lord Abbot with his convent went a procession after the old fashion in their monks' weeds, in cowls of black say," &c.

1556.

to send back to your Serenity Don Francisco de Vargas or Count Chinchon, the one by reason of his experience in such matters as might have to be transacted with your Serenity, and as a person dear to you, according to the testimony afforded by your letters ; the other as a very illustrious nobleman, with an annual rental of 12,000 crowns, and who heretofore went in the King's name to congratulate the Pope on his accession. Don Francisco has told the King and all his counsellors clearly that he cannot return to Venice, being obliged to provide for his children and to transact other business than that of embassies, but if it be imposed on him, he says he would not exchange that of Venice for Rome, still less for others, nor as yet can any hope of greater honour and reward given him or caused to be given him by the King induce him to accept the post ; so his Majesty being unable to employ Vargas, and not wishing to trust so important an affair as the present one with your Serenity is considered, to Count Chinchon, has been counselled to allow a few days to pass, that he may see how Don Luis de Ayala conducts himself, and what turn his negotiations take, *as here they still continue doubtful of what your Serenity may do in case the adjustment with the Pope be not effected.*

Some of the chief French merchants have already left Antwerp on their way home, and the others are selling their merchandise in haste, lest from day to day the truce be broken.

The Prince of Orange will depart this week to attend the Imperial Diet, being sent as commissioner of the Emperor,* and also of King Philip, as Prince of the Empire, in right of some of these provinces, which are situated in the tenth circle of Germany. It is generally said that he is commissioned by the Emperor to refer to the will of the princes the election of a King of the Romans, as he holds his brother in lieu of his Majesty (*tenendo il seren^{mo} fratello in luogo della Maestà sua*) ; but others are of opinion that he is designedly sending so distinguished a personage, and with such orders, as to be calculated to dissuade those who purpose doing so, rather than to permit the carrying into effect of the general opinion now prevalent in Germany, not to leave the Empire with one sole head.

Yesterday Don Alvaro de Sande,† who has been appointed warder at Sienna and colonel of the Spanish infantry, departed hence with pay and authority almost equal to those of a general, and there has arrived here the Cavalier Ardinghella, he having been sent by the Duchess of Parma to provide apartments and other necessities for her coming.

Brussels, 24th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

* For the commission given by the Emperor to the Prince of Orange and his colleagues, see the two last letters in Lanz's collection, the one dated Brussels, 8th August 1556, the other Zutbourg, 12th September 1556 (vol. 3, pp. 707-712, Leipzig, 1846). These two letters merely contain the public instructions ; the private ones probably related to the grade of vicar of the Empire, which the Emperor wished the Diet to confer on King Philip.

† For name, see Sir William Hackett's Index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, "Mary."

1556.

Nov. 24.

Lettere Secrete,
Capi Cons^o X.,
File No. 5,
Venetian
Archives.

Legatis solus.

725. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the BAILIFF OF PADUA (*Potes-
tati Paduæ*).

As the reverend ambassador of the most Serene Queen of England might have inquiry made of you (*potria farvi ricercare*) whether you have answered any letter of ours, we, with the chiefs of our Council of Ten, hereby warn you that in this case you do answer them (*li rispondiate*) that that casket having been sealed with so many seals, and deposited at the request of several persons in the hands of your predecessor, you choose to inform yourself thoroughly about it, to give especial account to our Signory, to whom you will reply speedily; wherefore, should the said ambassador speak to us about this matter we shall answer him conformably, warning you to write on this subject in your hand to the chiefs of the said Council, not communicating anything to any person.

Ser
Ser Aloysius Gritti C.C.X.
Ser Paulus Conts. C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 25.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 79.

726. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 22nd Cardinal Caraffa went to the Magliana on his way to the site of the conference, unaccompanied by Cardinal Sta. Fior, as anticipated, because when released from Castle St. Angelo,* having given security in 100,000 crowns not to quit Rome, he required from the Pope a written certificate to the effect that on absenting himself for this conference the securities would not be molested. This the Pope refused, and therefore, when waiting booted and spurred for Cardinal Caraffa's orders, and to know the hour of departure, he was told that for the present it would be well for him to remain where he was. The hope of any good result from the interview was thus the more diminished, as it transpired that Cardinal Caraffa had not received any positive authority from the Pope to conclude, his commission being limited to listening, and then he was to report to his Holiness what had been said, and in what the difficulty consisted.

Cardinal Caraffa took with him Santa Fiora's dependant Placido, who had been sent several times on this business, remaining Sunday and Monday at Magliana to make suitable arrangements for the interview, and sent first the Gascon Chienchio, and then his secretary Sachetti, to urge the Pope to allow Cardinal Sta. Fiora to come, the Imperialists wishing very much for him, as matters had been brought to their present state through his mediation. The Pope would not consent, saying it did not please him to send a person who was petitioned for so earnestly by the adverse party, and by so much the more as the Cardinal his nephew had nothing to do but to hear the Duke of Alva and then report to him.

* In the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, p. 183, there is a letter from Sir Edward Carne mentioning the imprisonment of Cardinal Sta. Fiora on the 31st August 1555; and at p. 191 his release is recorded, "he being bound in a large sum not to leave Rome without permission."

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Yesterday at 12 o'clock Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva met on the island under a tent, equidistant from the two armies, remaining there alone until after 4 p.m., and departed very cheerfully (*molto allegri*) after arranging to meet again this morning. The Cardinal despatched postwise the "*Auditor di Rota*," Fantuccio, with a letter to the Pope, which his Holiness sent to the Duke of Paliano this morning, and which announced the great satisfaction of one and the other, and the determination to resume the conference on the morrow, which has caused the court again to hope that the agreement so universally desired might take effect, especially as to-day at dinner the Pope said much in praise of the peace, hoping it would take place, and that for this purpose he would have recourse to jubilees and processions, nor would he accept it unless it were lasting (*perpetua*), undisturbed (*tranquilla*), and secure for all parties, and that if it were not effected, he anticipated the most horrible war that had been waged within the last 500 years, adding "*Nonne duodecim sunt horæ diei?*" and if Satan can render a righteous man wicked why should we doubt the power of the Almighty to make a wicked man righteous (*et se Satan può far un bon tristo, perche si de' dubitar che il grande Iddio possi far un tristo bono*); at the very moment when there is the least hope of adjusting every difficulty." I do not know what to hope, nor what to fear, about so great and so ready a change of mind. They are working very hard at the fortifications of Civitavecchia and Cornato (*sic*), and the Imperialists are doing the like at the fortress commenced by them near the sea towards Hostia.

The day before yesterday the Pope sent for Aurelio Fregoso, and recommended to him the custody of this city and of his own person, during this absence of the Cardinal, and has chosen him to go and reside in the palace.

The kinsfolk of the Count of Petigliano,* who was imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, are urging the French agents here to request that he may be placed in the hands of the most Christian King, proposing his transmission to Mont' Alcino, or to the Court, as may be commanded, or else that he will give security to the amount of 200,000 crowns to appear, or not to depart from the residence assigned him.

Rome, 25th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

727. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The bearer of the present letter will be M. de Lavigna, who is despatched by his most Christian Majesty to Constantinople to make the fleet put to sea, as already written by me, and he has given him the title of his ambassador, he being an honourable gentleman and very intimate (molto familiare) with the King's sister, Madame Margaret.

It is also heard that his Majesty has some idea of recalling his ambassador resident with Sultan Soliman, and that he will replace

* Nicolò Orsini, chief captain of the Pope's artillery. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 26th September 1556, and Index.)

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him by this present one, and the Prince of Salerno not being employed in this war in any capacity, it is understood that the King will make use of him in person on board the aforesaid fleet.*

On the 22nd I announced the decision made by the Duke of Ferrara, and its conveyance hither by his ambassador, which was subsequently confirmed, and the courier who took my aforesaid letter was despatched by the King with the ratification of the articles in the letters addressed to his Excellency, his Majesty appointing him general of the league and his lieutenant-general in Italy. The conditions of the said treaty (*capitulazione*) are the same as those repeatedly written by me, with this in addition, that his Excellency is forthwith to disburse at Venice, into the hands of M. de Lodève, 300,000 crowns, for which he is not to receive any interest; and after the Duke de Guise shall have crossed the Alps he is in like manner to pay another 300,000 crowns, for which his Majesty is to pay interest at the rate of 8 per cent., the King giving 40 pieces of artillery, to be brought for safety from Dauphigné by 500 horse, and they will cross with the Duke de Guise, who, being thus conveniently supplied with artillery, will not remove any from Piedmont, and the riddance of this impediment will greatly facilitate his march. The Duke of Ferrara is also bound to provide victuals of every sort for the army, and all the necessary ammunition, receiving due payment for everything. His Excellency will raise 6,000 infantry to join the army, besides the 2,000 for the garrison of his state, 100 men-at-arms, and 200 light horse, to be paid him by his most Christian Majesty. *As to these 6,000 infantry, although it is generally said that they likewise will be paid him by the King, it has been hinted to me on good authority that he will pay them with his own money; and should it be true that his Excellency contribute so largely, the most intelligent persons here suspect yet more that the Parma expedition (l'impresa di Parma), which he greatly desires, and represents as easy, is for his account, although it is said that the army will march straight towards Rome unless it be impeded in the Milanese; in addition to which, M. de Forcovie (sic), when passing through Piacenza on his return from Ferrara, was commissioned by the Duke of Parma to tell the King that should his army have occasion to pass through his (the Duke's) territories, he, like that affectionate servant which he has always been to him, besides giving it free transit, will not fail to supply it with victuals and all other necessities.*

The Duke de Guise is hastening his journey more than seemed to be his intention when he departed hence, and according to fresh orders which have been sent him he will remain at Lyons as short a time as possible, and proceed on his way to cross the Alps with the utmost speed; notwithstanding which, it is confirmed that the body of the army cannot be got together (*unito*) before the 10th of January.

The Prince of Ferrara, who is very glad of the decision formed by the Duke his father, will depart postwise in two or three days to join the Duke de Guise, with whom he will remain during this

* Fernando Sanseverino. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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campaign (*presso il quale starà in questo viaggio, che farà l'essercito*).

I wrote to your Serenity heretofore that this most Christian Queen [Catherine de Medicis] had sent Captain Nicolò Alemanj to Lyons to urge the Florentine outlaws again to offer the King the terms proposed by them to him of yore, and he is returned with a promise from the [Florentine] merchants there, on behalf of the outlaws, that they will pay the King for 2,000 infantry and 400 horse when his Majesty shall know that it is the moment for him to turn his forces against Tuscany, and that for this purpose a gentleman will come from Rome, in the name of all of them, to make his Majesty the aforesaid offer more in detail. It has been determined to double the garrisons on the whole frontier of Picardy and Champagne, both because the like is being done by the King of Spain, as also because, besides the plots already discovered, another has recently been detected at Montreuil, where two Gascons who directed it were quartered.

*Dom. Domenico della Mirandola, who is here to urge the despatch of the affairs of Montferrat on behalf of the lords of Mantua, has come to me, in the name of the Cardinal, of Madame, and of the Duke, his lords, and by express commission received from them, laid before me their grievance, his most Christian Majesty not having restored to them their revenues and judicial supremacy in those places, as written by me to your Serenity heretofore, expatiating to me at great length on the many evil demonstrations made towards them and the prince who resides at this court with the Dauphin.**

He also told me that the aforesaid lords wished your Serenity to know all this, so that if they were compelled to make any fresh resolve, you, as a power to whom every Italian, especially in such calamitous times as these, is bound to defer, might know the cause of it, assuring me that his Duke, who had many more mental endowments than physical forces, desired nothing more than to be able to serve your Serenity. I performed such general office as seemed to me necessary, thanking those lords in your Serenity's name, and told him that he might assure their most illustrious lordships that you esteemed and loved them as much as if they were your own children. He then continued that what he had told me hitherto was by commission of his lords, but that he would tell me as of himself that this resolve formed by the Duke of Ferrara was of great importance, it being evident that he did not intend to remain content with his own, but to aggrandise himself by means of French support, and therefore, through his most Christian Majesty, he sought to get possession of La Mirandola, giving its lord† recompense through the estates held by his Excellency (the Duke of Ferrara) in France on account of his wife's dower, together with something additional to be given by the King; and besides this, something had been heard of his intending to make himself master of Parma; which things seemed to him

* I believe this "Prince" to have been the younger brother of Guglielmo, Duke of Mantua, namely, Lodovico Gonzaga, who was born in the year 1538, and eventually married Henriette of Cleves, Duchess of Nevers and of Rhetel.

† Luigi Pico. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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worthy of consideration. *I replied in general terms, thanking him for this his confidential communication.*

The Lord Giordano Orsini arrived at Lyons on the 18th instant, so he is expected hourly. When he comes I will take a good opportunity for being with his lordship and perform the office enjoined me by your Serenity. The salary paid him by the King is 3,000 francs per annum, 1,200 as his gentleman of the chamber, and for his generalship (il generalato) in Corsica 600 francs per month; nor is his service with his Majesty for any fixed time, as he serves him like a servant in ordinary, nor is it even customary at the French court for this form of service to be stipulated for a term, it being optional with every one (ma ogni uno è in sua libertà); and it is said the King will confer on him his order of St. Michael.

Poissi, 23rd November 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 26.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 80.

728. BERNARDO NAVAGERO and FEBO CAPELLA to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 10 a.m. Cardinal Caraffa returned to Rome with a few horsemen, and went in his boots to the Pope, going back again after dinner, without the slightest particular transpiring. At 6 p.m. we went to Cardinal Caraffa, he having sent us word that he could appoint no earlier hour, having to negotiate with the Pope, and to transact other business, which consisted in a long consultation with the French ministers in the Duke of Paliano's chamber.

The moment we entered his apartment the Cardinal told me he would open his heart to us and disclose the whole business, out of the respect which he and all his family were bound to bear your Serenity, and because he knew that such was the will of the Pope; and he then told us of his going on Sunday to La Magliana, from whence he sent Placido to the Duke of Alva, to hear the site and hour of the conference. He did not return until very late on Monday, nor did he bring any decision, but a writing, whereby it appeared that the Duke considered the island his own, a point which the Cardinal not choosing to dispute, said that part of the island which the Imperialists had occupied was theirs for the present, whilst the other part, which the Papal troops had defended by harquebuse-fire (*a tiro di archibuso*), belonged to his Holiness; and he sent this message to the Duke by Torquato Conte, who brought back word that the Duke would pitch a tent in the centre of the island, where they would speak to each other (*dove si parleriano*); so on Tuesday morning the Cardinal went to dine at Porto, and on hearing that the Duke had come forth from his fortress, he also did the like. He was met by the Count di Populi and other Neapolitan lords his relations, and great were the greetings. He then met the Duke, and after the preliminary compliments, and after embraces lavished on the lords and gentlemen by one side and the other, they entered the tent, where there was a table, a few sheets of paper, and a little bell, with only two chairs. All the bystanders being dismissed they remained alone, with a guard round the tent to prevent anyone from approaching it. The Duke endeavoured to justify the military

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movements made by him (*il mover che havea fatto dell' arme*), as they were for the purpose of prevention, and in order not to be anticipated; for which prevention cause had been given by the words and deeds of the Pope during his cardinalate and pontificate. To this, the Cardinal said, he replied that the cause was a slight one, as what the Pope said was uttered by way of admonition that they might mend their ways, which were improper (*accid che se emendasero delle cose che facevano, quale non stavano bene*), and that he had reason to speak as he did, knowing that they had endeavoured to have him poisoned when he was cardinal, and that during the three last conclaves* they did everything to prevent him from being made pope; and that then after his election they plotted against himself in person and his kindred. To this, the Cardinal says, *dice il Cardinal*, the Duke replied "*es verdad*" (to use the Spanish word), and therefore he was the more afraid, and had chosen to anticipate. To this the Cardinal replied that they had no cause to fear the Pope's forces, as they have been able to ascertain by the fact of their ravaging so great a part of the Papal States without opposition.

After some allusion to the Imperialists now imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, the Duke said that the only thing which remained to trouble him was the territory (*il stato*) of Marco Antonio Colonna, because the King's forces being in their present position, it would not be to his honour to remove them without having his territory (*stato*) restored to one who was his friend and servant; whereupon the Cardinal rejoined, that a demand of this sort afforded proof that they had not commenced the war from fear of the Pope's words, but for the sake of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and that if the Duke persevered in this opinion he did not see for what purpose he had sought the interview, as he already knew that the Pope, having according to law (*per giustitia*) sequestered his estate (*stato*), would not consent to its being restored to him. The Duke inquired, "What is to be done then?" and the Cardinal said, "Although I am not come to counsel nor to propose, but solely to hear and report, I will nevertheless say, that if your Excellency really wishes for peace with his Holiness, you should vacate the States of the Church, restore to the Pope what you have deprived him of, come and render him that submission and reverence which is his due as the Vicar of Christ; and then if you desire anything, ask it as a favour, for I am certain that he will not allow himself to be excelled in courtesy (*che ella non si lasserà vincer di cortesia*)." The Duke then said, "Would you do so were you in the position in which I am?" to which the Cardinal rejoined, "Yes, to make amends (*per emendar*) for the error committed in commencing war on the See Apostolic." The Duke continued that he would be satisfied with receiving assurance that his estate should be restored to Marc' Antonio Colonna, provided the Cardinal's brother the Duke [of Paliano] obtained suitable compensation from the King of Spain; and that on obtain-

* 1549, November, to February 1550 (when Cardinal Pole was his chief competitor); the second conclave was the one held in March and April 1555, when Pole was again supported by the Imperialists; and finally, at the third conclave, Caraffa was made Pope by the French faction, on the 23rd May 1555.

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ing this security he would leave the Papal States and restore what he has taken, dismantling the fortresses, as otherwise he could not do so with honour to his King. The Cardinal replied that if he was anxious about the King's honour, the Pope was no less jealous of his own; and that these demands were such as might be made if they had the Pope in the "Castel Novo" at Naples, and not now when he is in Rome, and has other towns which will defend themselves, and cost the Imperialists dear should they choose to take them, as the Duke might know by his loss at Hostia, which is a mere fortillage (*cassina*) of no importance.

Thereupon, the Duke, praying the Cardinal to keep secret what he was about to say to him (and here his Right Reverend Lordship requested us also, to whom he chose to communicate the whole, to keep it secret, as at any rate in the course of time it would be known), added, "I will content myself with a writing from you, to the effect that when the Duke your brother receives from the King my lord compensation of greater value than the estate of Paliano, that estate shall be given to the nominee of the King of Spain (a chi vorrà il Re di Spagna) without any further mention of Marc' Antonio Colonna, as thus the Pope's honour will be intact." To this the Cardinal replied that although it seemed to him he knew not what ("un non so che"), yet was it in fact the same demand as made by them from the beginning, and being unable to elicit anything else from it, he added that he would do nothing without speaking on the subject to the Pope, and to the Duke his brother, but that he had no hopes of producing any effect. This was all that they negotiated at those two conferences, and on the Cardinal's reporting them to the Pope he made no reply, though everyone might imagine that his Holiness would not allow the Duke of Alva to compel him to do anything by force; and that to-night the Pope would tell him what answer he is to give, so that he may return to the conference to-morrow; yet did the Pope tell him that he would do all he could to bring about the peace, which he, however, chose to be to the honour of God; as to all the injuries done to himself personally as to man, he forgave them.

When the Cardinal had finished, I, ambassador, after thanking him for this confidential communication, said it seemed to me that the whole difficulty reduced itself to Paliano, and that this ought not to be such as to preclude adjustment, for avoidance of the ills which war would cause to both sides and to all Italy, and that I hoped the Duke might leave that place to his Holiness; wherefore if the Pope and his Lordship pleased, the Secretary would return to the Duke of Alva for that purpose. He replied that he should much like it, and that he and all his family would feel immensely obliged to your Serenity for doing so; and that he was certain the Pope would very much approve of this office; but that he would speak to him about it to-night, and give *my* secretary the reply to-morrow morning, so that the secretary (*Capella*) might go to the Duke before the close of the conference; and that he would take upon himself to speak about this to the Pope, as it would be difficult for us to do so in time, consistory sitting to-morrow.

In case (as we believe) the Pope should wish me, secretary, to go,

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I will immediately mount postwise to execute with all speed what he enjoins me.

Rome, 26th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26.
Parti Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 9,
Venetian
Archives.

729. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by the Councillors SER PIETRO LOREDANO, SER ZACHARIA VENDRAMINO, and SER JUSTINIANO CONTARENO.

That the letters of Lord Courtenay now read, addressed by him to divers persons, together with those to his address, which have been marked with the cross,* be taken out of the bundles (*dei mazzi*), and be the others put back into the linen cover (*intemella*) and stitched (*et cussita*), and being placed in the casket, be it nailed and sent with the greatest possible secrecy to the bailiff of Padua, [with order that, being requested by the ambassador, he do consign it to him, having a memorandum made of the consignment by his, the bailiff's, order in the Paduan archives.]

Ayes, 15.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26.
Parti Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 9,
Venetian
Archives.

730. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by the Councillors SER MARCO ANTONIO GRIMANO and SER PAULO CORNARO, and the Chiefs SER FRANCESCO FOSCARINI and SER ALVISE GRITTI.

Will (*vuoleno*) the above-written motion, with the exception of the words within the [], instead of which they will that it be said: with order that, being requested by the ambassador or by his agent (*commesso*), he do let him know that the letters having been sealed in the said casket by his predecessor in the presence of the retinue (*della famiglia*) of the late Lord Courtenay, and sealed with the seal of the said lord, he must make them appear, in order then to do as justice shall require in execution of the decree of the bailiff's said predecessor.

Ayes, 7.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26.†
Parti Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 9,
Venetian
Archives.

731. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA by the Chief SER PAULO CONTARINI.

It being due (*dovendosi*) in this matter of the writings of Lord Courtenay to proceed with such sincerity and rectitude as has always been the custom of our Signory:

* Of the thirty-two drafts of letters from and to the Earl of Devonshire now preserved in the Venetian Archives, and which are dated from 8th May 1555 to 22nd February 1556, not one is marked with a cross, and if they formed part of the contents of the casket, I am at a loss to guess why they were not replaced in it. With regard to the papers on which the Chiefs of the Ten placed a cross, they are no longer in existence, much to my regret, as I suspect them to have been of great political importance, and that they were addressed to the Earl of Devonshire by Henry II., or by his ministers, who sought to place him on the throne of England; and I therefore infer that the Council of Ten seized the entire correspondence at the suggestion of the Bishop of Lodève, then French Ambassador at Venice; nor can I offer any other conjecture in explanation of this act of state larceny, as the Republic of Venice individually had no reason to be inquisitive about the ambitious schemes of Edward Courtenay, which on the other hand were of vital interest for France.

† The original draft is not dated, but in the Register the motion follows the other two of the 26th November.

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Be all the said writings put back into the casket, and after rearranging them (*racconciate*) as they were at first, be they returned secretly to our bailiff of Padua, he to be charged to send for the English ambassador and all those other persons at whose request the said casket was sealed, and after hearing what they may choose to say, in order to colour the matter, having dismissed all the others, *he then to consign the said writings to the said ambassador, regulating himself herein with such prudence, circumspection, and secrecy as this matter, by reason of its importance, requires.**

That he do give notice by his letters to the chiefs of this Council of all that may be alleged (*addutto*) to him, and that shall take place in this matter, and be the whole read to this Council, that it may then determine as it shall think fitting.

Ayes, 2. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

Endorsed:

Ser Petrus Lauredanus.

Ser Zach. Vendramin.

Ser Justin. Contar.

× 15.

Ser Marcant. Grimani.

Ser Paulus Cornelio.

Cons.

Ser Franc. Fuscarenus.

Ser Alovisius Gritti.

Cap.

7.

Ser Paulus Contar.

_____ 2.

_____ 0.

_____ 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 81,
&c.

732. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As Cardinal Caraffa was to depart very early to confer with the Duke of Alva to-day, I sent my secretary to his Lordship before sunrise for the answer about the going of Secretary Capella to the said Duke. On entering his chamber he found the Cardinal in his mantelet, booted and spurred, talking with the "Camerario Commissario General;" then came the French ambassador and M. de Lansac; and the Cardinal, seeing the Secretary, told him it would be well for me, before consistory, to be with the Pope, as he would give me audience, although it is not customary for his Holiness to hear anybody in the morning. The Secretary sent me this message, and remained with the Cardinal, and heard him complain to the French ambassador that the artillerymen in Cività Vecchia had not been paid. The ambassador replied that immediately on returning home he would desire their treasurer (*thesorier*) to pay them. In the meanwhile the Cardinal heard that the Pope was dressed, so taking leave of the Frenchmen he went to his Holiness, with whom he remained about half an hour, and on going out, seeing my secretary in the antechamber, he repeated that the Pope would willingly see me, and proceeding towards the apartments of the Duke of Paliano he added (*li soggionse*) that a messenger sent by him last evening to

* The italicized passage is cancelled in the original.

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the Duke of Alva to let him know that he had been unable to return to his Excellency yesterday, but would go thither this morning, came back with news that the Duke evinced great gladness at the message, being perhaps apprehensive lest the Cardinal should have departed dissatisfied, and would not return again, the Cardinal saying that this gave him hope that the Duke would come to terms, and by so much the more on the reiterated performance of the office by the Secretary Capella, in the name of your Serenity.

Conversing thus he led him (*lo condusse*) to his brother's chamber, and he then said, "I have gained a great point with the Pope, for at first his Holiness would not listen to the Duke of Alva, until he had first of all vacated the Papal States and restored what he had taken; and now he has consented to put to writing what you shall see;" so he then drew from his bosom a sheet of paper, which he gave to the secretary to read, its substance being as follows: that the ministers (*li ministri*) of the King of England having given the Christian Powers to understand that they made war on the Pope for the defence of the kingdom of Naples, from suspicion of being anticipated, his Holiness, to show the purity of his mind (*l'innocente animo suo*), into which there had never entered even the slightest thought of coveting what belonged to others, nor anything unreasonable, he desiring solely to defend the state which the Lord God had conceded him, was willing, for the removal of this suspicion, to assure them by such means as fitting and usual with other powers, and that being placed by God in his present dignity his word was entitled to credit. The writing having been read, both Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano then said that it would now be discovered whether the Imperialists in fact wish for peace, and whether the cause assigned by them for commencing hostilities be the true one, or that there be something else besides suspicion about the kingdom of Naples, and consequently which side fails to make peace; and they requested Secretary Capella to go as soon as possible, as he would very greatly aid the negotiation. The secretary replied that on being despatched by the Pope he would immediately go postwise to the Duke of Alva, and thereupon he took leave.

In the meanwhile Capella and I went to the Pope, who was about to hear mass, and robing himself in his consistorial habits, and when he called me after the mass I stated to him your Serenity's commission in the same form as done by me on the preceding evening to Cardinal Caraffa. The Pope replied that he was very glad that the secretary was going, because it could not but be beneficial, and that he prayed God to assist him in persuading the Duke to do what was becoming; and thus did his Holiness proceed towards the consistory hall, and after accompanying him thither we went home, the secretary mounting postwise, going at full speed to the Duke of Alva, so as to negotiate with him before his interview with the Cardinal, who departed at the same time. I understand that last evening the Cardinal S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] received a letter from his nephew the Duke of Alva, in which he greatly commended Cardinal Caraffa, saying in short that the agreement was not excluded (*che non era escluso l'accordo*); the Cardinal adding, to the person who told it me, that from the Duke's letter nevertheless, and from

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one of his gentlemen by word of mouth, the information was not such as to be able to rely on it assuredly, yet was it not to be despaired of.

In consistory the Pope said that he had summoned their right reverend Lordships about the negotiation for peace, which he had much at heart, and therefore had sent, and was again sending, the Cardinal his nephew to the Duke of Alva; and that as it was necessary to have public prayers offered up to God for the peace, he purposed proclaiming a plenary jubilee, *in curia et extra*, to that effect.

Rome, 27th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

733. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French ambassador went yesterday to Don Ruy Gomez, informing him that the French troops on their march towards Italy were merely going to assist the Pope, and not to break the truce; and he then told him, as of himself, that were King Philip to send an order to the Duke of Alva to suspend hostilities, with an ample commission to make fresh proposals for peace, he hoped some agreement at least would soon take place. Don Ruy Gomez answered him that he did not know what road the said troops could take without infringing the truce, so it would be well to state their line of march, and that to make very sure of this, his Majesty would perhaps send one of his gentlemen to hear the most Christian King's decided will in this matter; and that as to suspending hostilities he would not give such counsel to his king, from doubt lest by doing so he might increase the difficulty of making peace, in addition to which he did not think it fit for his Majesty to have incurred such great expense without any fruit; and that as to sending fresh orders to the Duke of Alva, King Philip had already done so at the request of your Serenity, in consequence of my demand. The ambassador rejoined that to him it did not seem fit for one Prince to ask another what he was going to do for the future in things of such great importance, and that whether the troops went by land or sea they would go to succour his Holiness. Subsequently in the council it was discussed whether anyone should be sent for this purpose to France, nor as yet has anything been settled, but it is expected to be done more for the purpose of having an opportunity to treat the peace with the most Christian King, rather than because they consider King Philip's desire insufficiently proved by what he is doing.

A son of Signor Ferrante di Sanguini has arrived here postwise to inform the King that the Pope, at his last conversation with him, evinced a great inclination to talk about the peace, provided only that his Holiness' repute were preserved; but the ministers here are of opinion that the said Signor Ferrante sent his said son hither rather to render himself meritorious with King Philip, or to remain here for a purpose at the Pope's desire (he being his Holiness' kinsman), than because there is any hope of agreement, nor do any of the chief ministers anticipate it, though they all desire it, being aware that from such a war many evil results are inevitable, owing

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to very great difficulties about money and other requisites for its maintenance.

The "Abbate" Gerio, who came hither from the Cardinal of Trent, has made three statements to his Majesty, the one that the Duke of Ferrara told his right reverend Lordship that he knows for certain of a fair way, whereby to further the peace between him and the King of France, offering to do his best in this matter should he know it to be agreeable to King Philip. The second informs his Majesty that should war with the King of France break out he does not know how he could sustain it in the Milanese, principally because his forces have such an inefficient (*debole*) commander as the Marquis of Pescara,* whom he blames in very strong terms as a young man much occupied with vain and frivolous objects. The third statement had for object to show the King how in Italy he might make good use of the German nation, reminding him how advantageous it would be to appoint a German commander, and hinting that his right reverend Lordship's brother might be better suited to this post than anyone else now in his service. With regard to the Duke of Ferrara's proposal the King did not hold it in any account, and the affair of the Marquis of Pescara was heard and well examined in the Council of State, it being treated to give that post to Gio. Battista Gastaldo or to Antonio Doria, and to call the said Marquis to the Court. The objection to Doria was his extreme haughtiness, and that he knew less about warfare on land than at sea, whilst of Gastaldo they said they could not trust him, he being too astute, the ministry here having discovered that in order to obtain that great reward given him a few days ago for himself and his son, he caused it to reach the King's ears that your Serenity was about to give him high grade in your service.

Don Ruy Gomez has answered the said "Abbate" that King Philip did not intend to diminish the Duke of Alva's authority with regard to placing in his stead in the Milanese such persons as pleased him, and that he therefore left it to his care to provide for this matter, as also whether it was fitting to appoint a commander of the German troops.

It is said that Don Bernardino de Mendoza is very desirous of going as governor to Milan, and that the Duke of Alva will nominate him, he having been reconciled to his Excellency.

Brussels, 27th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Legatis solus.

Nov. 27 †
Lettere Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 5,
Venetian
Archives.

734. THE CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the BAILIFF OF PADUA (*Potes-tati Paduæ*).

The casket which by our order you sent lately to our chiefs of the Council of Ten we send back to you bound (*ligata*) and sealed

* Fernando Franceso d'Avalos; see Sir William Hackett's Index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar (Mary), in which, date 27th April 1557 (p. 298), there is an extract from a letter of Dr. Wotton's, thus: "Believes the report of the Cardinal of Trent's nephew having been slain by the Marquis of Pescara is incorrect." Badoer's despatch shows that there was cause for enmity between the Marquis of Pescara and the Cardinal of Trent.

† No date in the original.

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as it was sent hither, and it will be delivered to you by the circumspect secretary of the aforesaid Council, Zuan Batt^a Ramusio, to whom we have given the order to have it consigned to you secretly. You will keep it in your chamber in such a way as to appear that since its removal from the archives (*di cancellaria*) it has always been in your chamber for greater security, and, with our Council of Ten and Junta, we charge you that in case of your being requested by the English ambassador, you do consign it to him, having a note made in the Paduan archives of the consignment made by your order, and giving notice of all that you have done by letters written in your own hand to the chiefs of our Council of Ten.

Ser Fran^{co} Fuschareno C.C.X.

Ser Aloysius Gritti C.C.X.

Ser Paulus Contarenus C.C.X.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28.*

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7. B. p. 82.

735. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning at daybreak, Cardinal Caraffa's secretary Sachetti brought me the enclosed letter containing the stipulation of the truce for 40 days, and he told me besides that he believed the Secretary Capella had been with the Duke of Alva before the Cardinal, and he added that his right reverend Lordship and the Duke of Alva were to go out hunting together to-day. I then sent my secretary to the Duke of Paliano, who returned thanks to you for this last office performed by Capella, which had singularly aided the business; and said that the Cardinal merely announced the prolongation of the truce for the 40 days, the Government here being of opinion that if unable to stipulate peace, a truce should be attempted, so that the powers of Christendom might be advised of the difficulties about the agreement; hopes being entertained that through their mediation the adjustment would ensue, and a firmer peace be made with the assent of all parties, the only two difficulties here being the security for the kingdom of Naples, and Paliano; the first was adjusted according to the writing which the secretary saw yesterday, nor was the other excluded; as perhaps by time, submission, and intercessions, the Pope's consent would be obtained, by so much the more as the individual chiefly concerned† had offered and again offered, for the common weal, to renounce the said state to the Pope, without compensation of any sort; and in conclusion Sachetti said that he hoped for the best possible effect from this.

A person of authority conversant with these matters informs me that he believes the peace is concluded *in pectore*, and that the delay is [for the sake of giving a sop (*pasto*) to the French, and not leaving them utterly dissatisfied];‡ which, on his return, I expect to

* In the Foreign Calendar, p. 278, allusion is made to a letter sent from Rome on this day to Queen Mary by Sir Edward Carne, but it no longer exists.

† Giovanni Caraffa, Count of Montorio, and created Duke of Paliano by his uncle Paul IV.

‡ Cipher.

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ascertain from Secretary Capella, as the Duke of Alva will probably have opened his mind to him.

Rome, 28th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28.
Lettere Secrete,
Cons^o X.,
File No. 5,
Venetian
Archives.

736. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the BAILIFF OF PADUA (*Potes-
tati Paduæ*).

The reverend ambassador of the most Serene Queen of England is sending *Domino* Paulo Pizzamiglio to Padua, with a letter from himself to your address, to take (*pigliare*) the sealed casket containing the writings of the late Lord Courtenay, which is deposited with you; so, with the chiefs of our Council of Ten, we charge you, on the said gentleman's presenting you with letters from the aforesaid ambassador, to consign the aforesaid casket, making a note to that effect, as memorandum, in the Paduan archives (*in quella cancellaria*).

Ser Franciscus Fuscarenò, C.C.X.

Ser Aloysius Gritti, C.C.X.

Ser Paulus Contarenus, C.C.X.

Nov. 28.
Deliberazioni
Senato,
Secreta,
Vol. 70, p. 54,
verso.

737. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the English Ambassador, PETER VANNES.

The Reverend D. Peter Vannes, ambassador from the Queen of England, having taken leave to return to her Majesty :

There will be put to the ballot, that of the moneys of our Signory, there be given to the ambassador aforesaid 500 ducats, and to his secretary 100.

Ayes, 178. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28.
Consiglio X.
Parti Comuni.
Vol. 22, p. 180.

738. GRATUITY to PETER VANNES, English Ambassador in Venice.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

That to the 500 ducats which it was this day carried (*preso*) in the Senate to give to the reverend ambassador from England, he do receive an additional sum, forming a total of 1,000 Venetian crowns.

And to the 100 ducats which it was carried (*preso*) to give to his secretary, be there added the sum required to make it 100 Venetian crowns.

Ayes, 25. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 82,
&c.

739. Secretary FEBO CAPELLA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last Friday morning, at a little after 10, I mounted postwise for Hostia to do what was requisite with the Duke of Alva, according to your Serenity's order, and was with him so early, that Cardinal Caraffa had not yet arrived on the island to confer with him at the usual place under a tent pitched by the Duke for this purpose, so I had time to tell his Excellency that in like manner as I obeyed him by not giving notice to anyone of what he told me confiden-

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tially on the 2nd instant about his good intention, as to the state of Paliano remaining eventually (*finalmente*) to the Pope, so, as in duty bound, I could not omit writing it to your Serenity, who had therefore desired me to return to him and persuade his Excellency for your gratification freely to leave the aforesaid place to the Pope, so that a matter of minor importance might not be the cause and incentive of so momentous a war as this would prove, for that it would assuredly bring with it such loss and ruin to Italy and all Christendom, as his Excellency, who was replete with prudence, judgment, and goodness, might well imagine. The Duke answered me that from several conversations we had held together, I might know how well disposed he was to witness the establishment of a good peace, to which effect he never had failed doing everything in his power, and would continue to do so, and that for this purpose it was necessary to remove the obstacle, which was Paliano, an obstruction and hostile bulwark to the Kingdom (of Naples), as it had been and always would be, unless it were replaced in the hands of the Colonnas, his Majesty's adherents (*confidenti*), or dismantled, or destroyed (*ruinato*), in such a way as to prevent any fear or suspicion about it. To this I replied that on this subject his Excellency had also said to me what I wrote to your Serenity. He rejoined that such was the truth, but that subsequently he had received a fresh order from his Majesty; notwithstanding which he would still consent to the non-re-establishment of Marc' Antonio Colonna, which was also in conformity with what he had said to me. I continued, that although I was aware of this his goodwill, I must again request him out of consideration for your Serenity (*a contemplation di V. Serenità*), to do as entreated by me in your name, expatiating also at the same time on the calamities which from this slight cause would assuredly ensue, were the war to continue. Talking thus, one of his Excellency's gentlemen came to tell him that the Cardinal was approaching, so we went in that direction, his Excellency telling me that it would not be his fault should this good result fail to take effect; and having taken leave I went towards Hostia (as it was too late to return to Rome, the distance being 18 miles, my horses tired, and the road a bad one), with the intention of returning to him, if from what I might hear about the day's conference it should seem necessary to me.

The interview ended at 4 p.m., and the Duke of Alva told me subsequently that they agreed to make a truce for 40 days, and that as the Roman Government (*questi signori*) believed him to be the cause why this peace was not stipulated, he had been requested to refer such difficulties as were the most important to their respective sovereigns, so that they might hear them and decide, to which he very willingly consented, and was ready to send one of his gentlemen to the King, together with anyone this side may choose to appoint, in which case he said it would be well for your Serenity likewise to send to his Majesty's court. I made answer that your Serenity will never swerve from your maxim with regard to procuring this peace, to which his Excellency could bear good witness by mentioning the offices performed with himself, and that it was unnecessary to send, as you had

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an ambassador there. He replied that it would be well to send a fresh person (*persona nuova*), to which a rejoinder suggested itself to me from my having heard that the most noble the knight Suriano had already set out, so I told him that the ambassador accredited to King Philip departed for his legation a few days ago; and discoursing thus, having asked the Duke what he himself intended to do, he told me he should retire towards "the Kingdom," and perhaps go to Naples.

Yesterday morning, in the act of taking leave of him, he told me he was to confer with the Cardinal again on that day, to stipulate (*per capitolar*) and establish the truce, about which he did not anticipate any difficulty unless it were (saying, "I should not care to make it otherwise") on account of the aforesaid island,* which his Excellency intended to be all his (*che fusse tutta sua*), having acquired it, and to keep his artillery there and his sentries, although Cardinal Caraffa immediately on passing the stream had raised a certain trench. The Duke then told me of the places taken by him, commencing with Mentana and Monterotondo, and went on to say that these lords (*questi signori*) treated this business with him as harshly (*si duramente*) as if they were in the position of his Excellency, and had occupied the fortresses of "the Kingdom," and had their army close to Naples; but that they deceived themselves if they expected the King to swerve from what he the Duke had told them, unless they changed their mind, his Majesty requiring nothing but security against attack in "the Kingdom;" and the Pope not choosing to give it otherwise than verbally, the Imperialists will not trust to that, knowing that the intention and design of his Holiness never had any other object than that of expelling them the Kingdom (*di cacciarlo del Regno*).

The Duke added, "You Venetians know it, and the Signory is very well acquainted with the fact by reason of the demands made to them hourly by the Pope for an alliance, and if the Pope constantly persevered without any cause in his hatred of their Majesties, how can we believe him now, when we have taken his fortresses? Have we perchance thus rendered him some notable service, and shown our readiness to do his bidding, in order by such means to enable him to relax his hatred? (*remetter l'odio*). We therefore cannot, nor ought we to trust to his word, which he will always change as shall seem best to him. From us, he could not have greater security than we will give him in fact (*effettualmente*) by restoring to him the fortresses held by us, which would enable us to make him waste years and years before he could recover even one of them or invade "the Kingdom;" and indeed with the forces now under my command, and those expected by me hourly, viz. 4,000 Germans, 1,500 Spaniards, and another 3,000 on their way from Spain, who had been destined to succour Oran, all excellent troops, I, by besieging Paliano and Veletri, and intercepting their victuals (*vittuarie*), shall obtain those places. I told you heretofore that we were compelled to take these fortresses for our defence, and although

* Sir Edward Carne, in a despatch dated 5th December 1556, calls it "the island of Ostia." (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, p. 279.)

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I was at liberty to take Rome likewise, it being in my power to do so after the capture of Anagni, and that this exploit (*effecto*) might have obtained great glory for me, yet as I knew that it was of no use for the security of "the Kingdom," I did not choose to perform it, so that our cause is justified both before God and man; but the hope which I had of peace no longer exists, unless the most serene Signory principally, and the other potentates (*principi*) of Italy, undertake to give this security, for we desire nothing else, as will be proved by the result; and I should wish you to make this announcement to those most illustrious Lords."

I said that you had not failed to perform such offices as his Excellency knew, and that I was certain you would do the like to see this peace set forward (*introdotta*), as by this mode of offices you hoped to obtain greater fruit, as I said to him at our last meeting, it not seeming fit to your Serenity, on suitable accounts, in such important disputes to impose your arbitration (*à poner l'arbitrio suo*), and that I therefore knew not how to write to your Serenity; and this I said in order to decline the office entirely.

The Duke replied, that the mode of this security would be, that on giving this security, your Serenity would have to declare yourself against those who commenced war. To this I felt bound to rejoin that besides what I had told his Excellency, I could assure him from what I knew, that it was your Serenity's intention to preserve your friendship with every one (*con cadauno*.) His Excellency said, "'Tis enough (*Basta*); I know that this would be the best road to peace, nor do I know how to imagine a better one, and yet I go devising hourly (*et pur vado fantasticando ogn' hora*). Let those Lords take possession of these papal fortresses now held by me, and I will pay their garrison. For this security let the Pope give them Civitavecchia; provided they be secure, we will do everything; and should his Holiness choose to give what remains to him to the French, he will find it more difficult to get rid of them than he thinks. Write it to the most illustrious Signory, as I should like to hear their intention;" and with this I took leave.

On my departure an advice boat (*una fregata*) arrived, giving hopes of the arrival of the galleys on that very day, the wind being very fair. By his Excellency's order, I saw the battery made in the citadel (*rocca*) of Hostia, and the site of the assault; and the undertaking was certainly much more difficult than had been expected, but the valour of the soldiers overcame every difficulty. I in like manner saw the fort which the Imperialists are making at the mouth of the Tiber near the sea, and which renders them masters of the river; of which Gio. Thomaso Scala, a Venetian engineer, having given me a design by his own hand I send it to your Serenity.*

Having done as aforesaid, I yet arrived in this city yesterday at 2 p.m.

Rome, 29th November 1559.

[*Italian.*]

* Not found.

1556.

Nov. 29.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.
p. 84, &c.

740. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I had wished to ask audience of the Pope to-day, that Secretary Capella might report to his Holiness what he had negotiated with the Duke of Alva, but the chapel service at which his Holiness was present having commenced very late, and I understanding that he wished to remain in retirement the rest of the day, having determined to say mass (*di celebrare*) to-morrow, and make a procession for the peace (according to the tenor of the jubilee which has been proclaimed, as your Serenity will perceive by the accompanying printed paper),* it was necessary to delay until Tuesday. In the meanwhile, it not being fit any longer to detain the ordinary post, I will give what little additional news there is, to the effect that Placido wrote to the Cardinal Camerlengo [Guido Ascanio Sforza] that the Duke of Alva had concluded the truce for 40 days, to give him time to let the King of Spain know in what the difficulty of the agreement consists, and to await his Majesty's reply, most especially about Paliano, which is the important point. Cardinal Pacheco says the Pope has given it to be understood that he will not establish anything with the Duke of Alva, but with the King of Spain. Those of the Imperial faction consider the peace settled, not so much from any information received by them about it (and which may be supposed identical with what the Duke told Capella), as to increase the suspicion of the French, who are understood to be dissatisfied on account of these conferences of Cardinal Caraffa, who, having sent some game (*alcune salvaticine*)† and other refreshments (*altri rinfrescamenti*) to the Duke of Alva, his Excellency in return gave him Horatio del Sbirro and all the soldiers taken in Hostia.

The ambassador from Florence has sent me word that on Saturday night he was for a long while with the Pope, whom he found very gentle with regard to the Imperialists (*assai dolce verso Imperiali*), although he told him that should the peace not be made, your Serenity would not fail to assist him; to which the ambassador says he replied, that he thought your Serenity would do as you have done for upwards of 800 years, assisting the See Apostolic whenever anyone sought to seize the Papal territory; but that when you saw the Pope wishing to draw the French into Italy, and omitting to make terms when he could do so with dignity, you will not choose to interfere in the matter; and to this he says the Pope rejoined that he would not fail to do everything for the success of the agreement, provided it be not to the dishonour of God.

Cardinal Medici‡ says he has great hopes that the agree-

* Not found.

† The present consisted of "pheasants, venison, and divers other good meats." (See Sir Edward Carne's letter to King Philip and Queen Mary, date Rome, 5th December 1556, in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, entry No. 563, pp. 278, 279.)

‡ The Milanese Gianangelo de' Medici, sometimes called the Medichino, elected Pope with the title of Pius IV., on the 26th December 1559. In his reign, on the 6th March 1561, at midnight, Cardinal Caraffa was strangled in Castle St. Angelo, his brother the ex-Duke of Paliano having been already beheaded in Tordinona two hours previously. (See Pietro Nores, p. 297, ed. Firenze, 1847.)

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ment will take place, because he cannot believe that the Duke of Alva would grant the Pope 40 days, his Excellency having the fleet and reinforcements so near at hand, unless he had something more than what has been published; by so much the more as Cardinal Caraffa may be supposed to wish for the agreement, knowing by experience that the war can bring no profit to his family, which profit may be supposed to be his aim and object, though possibly the Pope may have some other opinion. Matters are in this state, between hope and fear, nor can any reliance be placed on one side more than on the other (*nè si può far alcun fondamento più in una parte che nell'altra*); we await Cardinal Caraffa, from whom some word may perhaps be elicited to enlighten us a little, he having said to me and to others that he was to return this morning, but as yet, it being now 4 p.m., he has not made his appearance. To-day in chapel, Cardinal Pisa [Scipione Rebiba] told me that the last office performed by your Serenity's secretary with the Duke of Alva was of the utmost benefit; and Cardinal Morone said to my secretary, that any good that had been done hitherto, and all that was hoped, must be acknowledged by the See Apostolic as proceeding from the prudent and opportune offices of your Serenity.

Rome, 29th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

741. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King sent for Count Amerigo da Lodrone into his presence yesterday, and told him that understanding that the King of France had sent a great number of troops to Piedmont, it being reported that they were to serve the Pope, his Majesty was resolved to march 8,000 German infantry into the Milanese, having placed 12 ensigns of Germans in the territory of Trent, to demonstrate his sense of the good service rendered him by the Cardinal bishop there, under the command of his brother Signor Nicolò,* and that he now commissioned the said Count Lodrone to raise the other 4,000, charging him to get ready with all speed, as in three days he would have him despatched postwise, to raise the said troops in the Tyrol or thereabouts; and this morning his Majesty sent Don Alvarez de Mendoza to the King of the Romans to request him to give immediate and peremptory orders to the government of Inspruck to permit the said Count and the Cardinal's brother to raise those troops and muster them at Botzen, or in such places as shall be most convenient, allowing them to export corslets and pikes from his ammunition stores in that county (*dalla munitione che tiene in quel contado*).

Count Lodrone, who gave me this information, said besides that he knew that the King would pray your Serenity to give him the necessary conveniences for crossing either by Valcamonica or Val di Sabbia, assuring me that your subjects would have no cause to

* Nicolò, Baron of Madruccio. (See Biographical Dictionary, published at Bassano 1796.)

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complain of his troops, as he knew had been the case with you on the passage of other Germans, from the fault of their commanders, and that he, Lodrone, would be extremely careful about this matter, for the interest of his own honour, and because he wishes your Serenity always to receive good news of him, not only with regard to all his operations but of the following fact in particular, that he is your most devoted and hearty servant, and hopes some day to prove it by deeds, like his ancestors, vowing that what he had said to me was uttered with all sincerity.

The agent of the Marquis of Pescara has presented a letter to his Majesty showing that he is aware of the ill-will borne him at present by the Cardinal of Trent, and narrating the great need of the Milanese, and the little authority and power had by him; he says that from fear lest the King lose some place (should the French break the truce, of which there is every sign), and that the blame be laid to him, he beseeches his Majesty's permission to come and serve him at the Court, and that his post be given to others; and he gives account of having saved the King 60,000 crowns in the payment made by him to the troops on those frontiers. These personages of the Court are at a loss to comprehend what sudden and important accident can have occurred to change the very good understanding between the parties into so bad a one as is now very clearly manifested.

All the French merchants who went to Mons after the truce have now left the town, which is one day's journey hence, and those at Antwerp go doing the like from fear lest it be broken.

The King has sent commissaries to several places of these provinces to make notes of the amount of corn they possess, owing to the great scarcity, which was increasing, and they have made such arrangements for the people that it will perhaps not go increasing further; but the Dutch who had large supplies complain of having been compelled to sell for nine what cost them ten.

The inhabitants of the other towns of Brabant are as usual determined not to give his Majesty anything unless he repeal the new taxes.

My secretary is in bed with fever and flux, which malady is now very rife in this town.

Brussels, 29th November 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 85.

742. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Early this morning the Lord Camillo Orsini sent for my secretary, who found him alone in the refectory of the Friars of San Salvator in Lauro. His lordship said that he would have come in person to me, but abstained to avoid causing suspicion to the Roman Government (à questi Sig^{ri} Ill^{mi}), because although he does not choose to be the Pope's soldier, notwithstanding the demand made to him again by the Duke of Paliano, yet is he his subject, nor would it be for his own advantage, nor for that of his sons, for him to speak against the designs of his Holiness; yet he does so for the benefit of this See Apostolic, and of all Italy, and especially for the mainte-

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nance of that quiet now enjoyed by the Signory. He then continued, that, contrary to his interests as a soldier, he very much regretted this war, as notwithstanding his profession, it did not prevent him from having been born an Italian, and eminently christian (et X^{mo}). He said he knew that if this war continued it must bring ruin to Italy, and above all to the Papal States, whichever side win, as we may be sure of Spanish arrogance and of French insolence (si pò esser chiari dell' arrogantia Spagnola, et dell' insolentia Francese); so as he did not see that any great trust could be placed in the good result of the 40 days truce, he would not fail to give your Serenity his opinion.

He commended the offices performed by your Serenity's secretary with the Pope and the Duke of Alva, which, he said, had brought a great remedy for this sore, but that the whole would be wasted unless some able physician applied a restraining (un defensivo) to prevent the humours from flowing towards the injured part, and that this would be to perform cogent offices (offitij gagliardi) with the most Christian King in favour of peace, as it is certain that if his Majesty determines on war here the loss of life will be great; and although hitherto by the advice of the Constable the King has proceeded coldly, yet might it come to pass that the youth of France, the incitements (stimuli) of the Guise family, the necessity for providing for his sons, the opportunity afforded by having a Pope so resolutely in his favour that centuries will pass before such another be found, the Emperor's retirement from politics, and King Philip's little experience of public business, might stimulate him to war; in which case, besides the desolation of these provinces, your Serenity would be in greater trouble than you had ever experienced, because to take part with one of the belligerents would be very perilous, whilst to remain neutral, as has been your custom of late years, would render you the prey of the victor; wherefore it seemed to him that the Republic could not fail doing its utmost to quiet matters; so that having brought the sore here to a very good state, you should compound the restraining (il defensivo) through the King of France, and that he thought it would be well to send him an envoy, who orally, by means of the Constable, might induce the King to desire the quiet of Italy, giving it to be understood (as evil counsel requires strong medicines) that these disturbances would molest you, adding certain other words to cause the King suspicion; the performance of which office, he said, ought not to be delayed, as time pressed, it being credible that within two days at the farthest an express will be sent from hence on these subjects.

Rome, 30th November 1556.

[Italian.]

BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome,
and FEBO CAPELLA, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Dec. 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 86.

We went to-day to Cardinal Caraffa, and he said, "We must all value the office performed by Secretary Capella;" and then added, "I will narrate the whole affair as it passed, though I suppose the secretary will have had the like from the Duke, unless he may have chosen to conceal the truth, but if he did so I will reveal it.

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At the conference on Saturday I gave it to be understood that I was there as a churchman (*come persona ecclesiastica*) and the Pope's servant, and that I merely wished to effect the advantage (*far il beneficio*) of the See Apostolic and of my master, without any thought for the interests of my family. Having then commenced discussing the difficulties, and the Duke saying he knew not how his King could trust to the Pope's will (*volontà*), I answered, that in cases of this sort the sureties were the words of Princes; and that if reliance was placed on the word of temporal Princes, yet better might trust be given to that of a spiritual Prince, even were he not to confirm it in writing, as there was no other form of surety unless they perhaps meant to speak of hostages; and in that case let the King send his son, Don Carlos, to the Pope, and I will go to him, but not otherwise; and when the Duke said that whilst Paliano remained in its present state they could not rest secure in the kingdom, and that therefore should they not choose to restore it to Marc' Antonio, nor to any other member of the Colonna family, it might be placed in the hands of a third (*d'un terzo*), to be named by the King of Spain; I replied, that his insisting on Paliano showed the untruth of the cause assigned by them for the war, namely, suspicion of the Pope's mind (*volontà*), whereas it was for the interest of Marc' Antonio, or else a determination to maintain their repute by placing a third in possession, thus diminishing the dignity of his Holiness and of the See Apostolic.

"The Duke said, 'What would you have me do?' I replied, 'What I told you last time; withdraw, restore her own to the Church, and then ask something as a favour; nor ought it to seem strange to you, you having made a very disgraceful truce with the King of France, who is your equal, were you, not entirely to your advantage (*non con tutti li vostri vantaggi*), to make peace with the Pope, who is your superior; and I, provided you humble yourself, offer to be your intercessor with the Pope. Concerning the prisoners, your King's subjects, I hope that his Holiness will grant you their pardon, because ere now he would have been justified in putting them to death. Of his Holiness' own subjects you must not think, because it is unfair; in like manner as neither would you allow anyone to speak to you about reinstating the Prince of Salerno [Fernando Sanseverino],* and many other outlaws.

"'With regard to the state of Paliano, it was not my intention to allude to my family interests, but as you have drawn me into them (*mi ci havete tirato*), I tell you that should anything better be offered us we will not be so mad as to refuse it, but as yet I do not see that anything has been exhibited to us.' 'Oh!' said the Duke, 'the recompense will be negotiated afterwards.' 'Well,' rejoined I, 'when it is proposed to us we will reply, but if you had the wish for peace you say you have, you would not make such great resistance about Paliano, so that you give me cause to believe what the world says, that your King wishes to make peace, but that you do not heartily desire it (*ma non voi di bon core*);' to

* See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, Index.

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which the Duke replied, that to effect this peace he had even rather exceeded his commission, because from the beginning he did not commence hostilities until after the second order, and here showed me a writing (the contents of which I beseech your Serenity to keep very secret, as I tell you the whole confidentially,) signed by the King, commanding him not to retreat, until in the first place his state was restored to Marco Antonio Colonna, unless the Pope disarmed and remained with his mere horse guard (*una semplice guarda de cavalli*) and the ordinary one of Switzers, and unless he released all the prisoners. Having read this writing, I said that if the Pope, the College of Cardinals, and we his nephews, were prisoners in the Castle of Naples, not even one of the aforesaid things would be done, still less all of them, and that since he had these orders from the King, he should send to his Majesty to negotiate with him (*si mandasse a S. M^{ta} per negotiar con lei*).

"The Duke said, 'Send yourself,' and I replied that it would not be fair, the King being in quarantine with the Pope (*in contumacia co'l Pontefice*), and that it behoved his Majesty and not the Pope to request the reconciliation, but that when matters were quieted some one might possibly go, by reason of the Pope's wish for universal peace, and that for the present the Duke should send one of his own agents (*alcun de i soi*). He answered that he was content, and that to facilitate the negotiation he would stipulate a suspension of hostilities for one year. I replied that being so near at hand we did not require so much time. He then proposed six months; I said no, and that it should be a question of days; so it was settled for 40 days, and we arranged to meet the next morning about the despatch for his King. The Duke said that he would send Don Francisco Pacheco, and that I was to send some other person, and this was agreed to by us.

"Such was the whole of the negotiation, and I think I obtained a great advantage through this truce, for to speak freely, had I been the Duke of Alva I would not have granted it, as your Lordships must know (although in war every particular is not made manifest) that it was impossible to prevent him from crossing the river, even had his forces been fewer than they are at present, though it is very true that had he crossed with a small force we might have given battle, but now that they have their reinforcements, with the fleet in Porto S. Stephano, they could cross securely, and if with the troops now at their disposal, they were masters of the 'Campagna' on that side of the river, there could be no doubt but that when reinforced they would be free to ravage the whole of this other part, because the first disorders (*desordeni*) had rendered it impossible to make such provision as necessary, so that with all the assistance we might have received we should have been days and months in recovering what had been lost, and bringing matters to their present state; so on stipulating the truce I raised my hands to heaven, thanking the Lord God for it, and after having assured the Duke of the Pope's goodwill in favour of quiet, to enable him to attend to spiritual affairs, which matter more (*che importano più*), I said that wishing to act by his Excellency like a loyal cavalier

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(*da real cavaliere*), I let him know that during these 40 days I should not go to sleep, but would urge the assistance from France, so that in case the peace do not take place I may receive it in time, so as not to let myself be crushed, of which assistance there is no longer any doubt, as your Lordships must have heard.

"M. de Guise has left the Court, and by this time must be in Piedmont, and in a few days will be in marching order, so that they will no longer be able to coerce us (*si che non ne potranno far far più il latin a cavallo*), as they perhaps might have done. At present it will be their turn to sue for peace; and to conceal nothing from you, I shall perhaps send expresses to the Courts of Spain and France to-morrow (*forse diman io espedirò alle corti di Spagna et Franza*), but as the Pope does not choose to send to the King of Spain in his own name, the messenger will go in mine, and I shall let his Majesty know what I have negotiated with the Duke of Alva. To the King of France, after making the same communication to him, I shall show that I have not in the least failed in what was due to our friendship, having always communicated everything to his ministers, and held the conferences in the presence of Marshal Strozzi and M. de Montmorency. The Auditor di Rota, Fantucio, if able to travel postwise, for he is weakish (*debeluzzo*), will go to the King of Spain, and the Sigr^e Giulio Orsino, who was in Paliano, to the most Christian King."

When the Cardinal had finished, I, secretary, said that the Duke of Alva in like manner had told me of his goodwill towards the peace, and of the difficulty about Paliano, and that he had received orders from his King; and I, ambassador, added, that war and peace being two extremes, and having approached the intermediate point, which is truce, I made sure that it would be followed by a good, tranquil, and necessary peace, and that in like manner as the truce had been concluded by his most illustrious Lordship's ability, so did I trust that through this same ability (*virtù*) I should speedily witness the peace, which was the most important and precious boon that could be expected from so great and noble a mind as his. He replied that he on his part would not fail, neither would the Pope, who as a final and salutary remedy had recourse to Christ, as seen by the ceremonies performed yesterday; and with this we took our leave.

Rome, 1st December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

743. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

From what I hear the despatch of the Earl of Pembroke across the Channel was caused by suspicions about the French, in consequence of their having greatly reinforced their cavalry and infantry on the borders of Calais and Guisnes under pretence and for the purpose, it is said, of reconnoitring a spot on which they intend building a fortress near Ardres, one of their frontier places, but really with a view to a particular understanding which they have got in a fortress held by this Crown beyond sea, besides Guisnes and Calais, by name Hammes, whose present captain is

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Lord Dudley, own brother (*fratello carnale*) of that Henry Dudley who was declared a rebel for the last conspiracy, and is now in France and in great favour there.* I know not whether this is true, or, as told me by some of Her Majesty's ministers, a thing believed by the other English rebels who are with Henry Dudley in France, and which they reveal, to obtain the most Serene Queen's pardon, the English Ambassador to whom it was imparted having announced the fact by despatching his secretary express, as mentioned in my last. To this must be added that a short time previously some dispute arose between M. de Senarpont [Jean de Mouchy], captain of Boulogne, and Lord Grey [of Wilton], governor of Guisnes, about an abbey called Sandingfield† between the borders of those two places, and to which it seems that both the English and French lay claim. Although deserted, and a mere ruin, both sides in the meanwhile, considering it theirs, seek the use of the adjoining land and attack each other in great numbers, so that some lives have been lost,‡ wherefore a few days ago some commissioners were sent thither in the Queen's name, and are yet there with others also appointed in like manner by the most Christian King, to survey those borders and come to a mutual agreement about them. They do not, however, seem hitherto to have made any arrangement, and, on the contrary, high words are understood to have passed between them.

On these accounts, therefore, fearing lest the craftiness and treachery of the French cause them to make some attempt, either through some plot or understanding, or openly by force, owing to the negligence and weakness (*debolezza*) of the English captains and soldiers, the Earl was despatched under pretence (to avoid showing distrust) of being sent to Calais to await the King and receive him when it shall please God that he cross as was settled, but in fact to make sure against the movements of the French, from 300 to 400 soldiers having been sent in a disbanded manner (*alla sfilata*) shortly before Lord Pembroke's departure, together with a good supply of arms and ammunition, besides the lords and gentlemen (*gentilhomini et signori*) of his household, who followed him and are well nigh as many more in number. Of these he can not only avail himself for the security of those places, changing them from one to the other and reinforcing the garrisons at his pleasure, but being also provided with a good supply of money he can, moreover, engage foreign soldiers and will keep the French in fear and check, as from persons who know it I hear that the Queen is determined, should the truce with her consort be broken, and the Low Countries (*li Paesi di Fiandra*) be attacked or molested, to insist on the observance of the treaty stipulated between her father King Henry and the Emperor for the preservation and defence of those States, whereby England is bound to furnish a considerable subsidy of horse and foot without engaging farther in war, although it seems from this that such will be the subsequent result. In the meanwhile the couriers keep going to and fro about these affairs, another

* About these two Dudleys, see also Foreign Calendar, 17th November 1556, p. 276.

† In French, St. Engelvert. For the correct spelling of these names I am indebted to the Foreign Calendar, date 24th June 1556, p. 230, and its Index.

‡ Some words are illegible in this part of the letter, but I think I have rendered their meaning.

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Spanish courier who had arrived express two days previously being despatched after the courier Gamboa; nor has it been possible to learn anything either through their arrival or departure, as they brought letters to no one but the Regent Figueroa, who is frequently with the Queen, secrecy and silence being preserved more than ever.

Three days ago Miladi Elizabeth arrived from the country, 15 miles off, with a handsome retinue, having with her, including lords and gentlemen, upwards of 200 horsemen clad in her own livery, and dismounted at her own house, where she has remained ever since, to the infinite pleasure of this entire population, though she was not met by any of the lords or gentlemen of the court, but many visited her subsequently.* Three days afterwards she went to the Queen, and according to report was received very graciously and familiarly. Yesterday she returned thither to take leave, having at length had an interview with the Cardinal, whom she visited even in his own chamber,† he never having seen her until then, although last year they both resided at the court for a whole month with their apartments very near each other. It cannot yet be ascertained whether she came for any other purpose than that of visiting the Queen, she having with great earnestness solicited to come, and not having been called.‡ With this opportunity I, (according to the custom of my predecessors,) now that she seems to be in good favour with Her Majesty, will not fail to visit her before her departure, not having done so hitherto.

Yesterday, the anniversary of the festival of St. Andrew, in Westminster Abbey, which has been restored to the monks, the most illustrious the Legate and the Royal Council (with all the lords now here and the nobility of the Court, I also being present, with a great concourse of people) celebrated the anniversary of the kingdom's release from the schism, which took place on that day, and the 26 monks and their abbot made a fine show and procession. The Queen likewise would have been present had she not been slightly indisposed during the last three or four days, on which account she has not appeared in public, nor even in her own chapel at the palace.

London, 1st December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
Lettere del
Collegio,
(Secreta),
File No. 20.

744. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

The Reverend Dom Peter Vannes, ambassador from the Queen of England, having been recalled by her, we have willed that he should take with him a letter from us setting forth the great satisfaction received from his Lordship, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy; and as we choose you also to perform an office to this effect

* At p. 120 of Machyn's Diary, date 28th November 1556, there is the following entry:—

The 28th day of November came rydyng thurgh Smythfeld and Old Balee, and thurgh Fletstrett unto Somesset place, my good lade Elisabeth's grace the quen's syster, with a grett compene of velvett cottes and cheynes, her grace's gentyllmen, and after a grett compene of her men all in red cottes, gardyd with a brod gard of blake velvett, and cuttes, and ther her grace tared (*blank*) days till the 3rd day of Dessember or her grace dyd remowyffe.

† Essendosi finalmente trovata con il Cardinale il quale visitò fino nella sua camera.

‡ Non si può fin' hora sapere se oltre l'haver visitato la serenissima Regina sia venuta a far altro, havendo con grande instantia procurato di venir.

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with her Majesty, with Cardinal Pole, and with such other personages as shall seem fit to you, we charge you when with her and their Lordships opportunely to assure them that during the period of the aforesaid ambassador's residence with us, we having received him courteously as becoming her Majesty's representative, he was very dear to us by reason of his own personal merits (*proprie et singulari virtù sue*), which were very well known to us, both through his discreet and becoming form of negotiating and by his innocent and unpresuming mode of life, and for his other good qualities, so that not only do we love and esteem him greatly, but are also convinced that they will very greatly endear him to her Majesty.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
Lettere del
Collegio
(Secreta),
File No. 20.

745. DOGE LORENZO PRIULI to QUEEN MARY.

From your Majesty's letter, and by word of mouth from your ambassador (*legato*), we learnt what your Majesty wished to notify to us about his return; which (letter) was most agreeable to us on many accounts. During a long course of negotiation with us we found him not only prudent but of extreme probity and rare ability, yet do we not dismiss him unwillingly, in order that your Majesty may avail yourself of these the endowments of a man of such trust, prudence, and rare probity, who, in like manner as he has hitherto spoken much about your very friendly mind towards us, so for the future will he narrate no few things to your Majesty about our very great goodwill and loving disposition towards you, which we shall moreover from day to day endeavour not merely to preserve but to increase, relying firmly on its being reciprocated.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 87.

746. BERNARDO NAVAGERO and FEBO CAPELLA to the DOGE and SENATE.

Went to-day for audience of the Pope and to give account of what I, secretary, had transacted with the Duke of Alva, as also to see how, after this prolongation of the truce for 40 days, his Holiness spoke about it, that we might thus ascertain what could be hoped with regard to peace.

On going to the Vatican at 11h. 50 a.m. we found that the Cardinals "Decano" [De Bellai] and Mignanello were with the Pope, and whilst waiting in the antechamber there came Cardinal Saraceno and the Duke of Monteleone, the latter having taken advantage of the truce, to come from the Imperial army to kiss his Holiness' foot, and ask absolution for having taken up arms against him. After waiting a long while, the Cardinals within came forth, and with them, Don Alfonso,* who dismissed Cardinal Saraceno and the Duke, telling them that the Pope wished to rest awhile, and to us he sent word that we were not to depart, as he would hear us; and so at a late

* Alfonso Caraffa, great nephew of Paul IV., who on the 15th March 1557, created him Cardinal. Don Alfonso was then only 18 years. It was deservedly said of him that although young in years he was old in virtue and wisdom. He died at the age of 25, and was buried in the cathedral at Naples, to the left of the high altar, where there is a fine statue of him. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 364, 365.)

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hour, on entering his Holiness' presence, he expressed regret for the inconvenience caused us by waiting, but said he could not do less than rest a little, as he had not slept last night; to which I, ambassador, replied, that his Holiness' convenience was ours, and that we wished him nothing but health and long life; wherefore I requested him never to have regard for anything else when his case was concerned, as I knew this to be the will of your Serenity.

The Pope said, "Well do we know the affection of the Signory and yours towards us; what we have to tell you, magnifico ambassador, is, that although these Imperialists (*questi*) so impiously commenced war on us, as known to the whole world, and availing themselves of the truce made by them with those others (*con quelli altri*), (expecting to occupy the whole of this state, and to take Rome in three days, thinking they might sack it when they pleased,) they pushed forward, and by surprise took all the towns of the "Campagna," (which, however, were not garrisoned,) they having commenced at the time when they had their agent here to treat the peace, namely, that Pirro dell' Offredo, now imprisoned by us in Castle St. Angelo; but on arriving here they had to halt, as we, knowing their thirst for domination and universal oppression, had provided against this, as well as we could, by fortifying Borgo, and doing what little has been done around the city, and by raising troops, from whom in all encounters the enemy received more hurt than they inflicted; and Hostia (after being at first abandoned, and then, after consideration, having been fortified in only three days in order not to leave it so freely at their disposal) cost them dear, and as yet we have preserved those three places, as determined by us at the commencement, Rome, Velettri, and Paliano.

"But to return to the subject, although their impiety is great, and that there be also other things which matter more, and grieve us more, concerning the religion, as they are ready to deny Christ utterly, and perhaps to become open heretics (*perchè sono in procinto di renegar in tutto Cristo et forse aperti eretici*), as, at the fitting moment we will communicate to you, because a Pope such as we are (*perchè un Papa par nostro*) ought not to stir, unless on good grounds, we were content not to close the bosom of God's mercy against them (*omnium convitio efflagitabatur*), and that our Cardinal should go to confer with the Duke of Alva, as some adjustment of the affairs might be devised, although we know their iniquity, notwithstanding which, to show the world that it has not failed through us, we let him go. They discoursed together; the truce was made for ten days and then prolonged for 40 (*e poi prorogate per 40*), although the Duke of Alva wished to have it for a much longer term (as our Cardinal will have told you in detail) to enable him to advise Philip his king about these things, and to receive his reply and decision, which we pray the Lord God (who can do what to us seems impossible) to inspire them to form according to their duty, granting them such repentance of their very grievous error, and causing them to make such amends as to put it in our power, without detracting from our dignity, to pardon and absolve them from the censures they have incurred, restoring to them *in integrum* what they have forfeited, for they are deprived

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not only of the fiefs of the Church, which are the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, England, Ireland, and of so many privileges (*gratie*) in Spain, conceded them by the prodigality of our predecessors (God forgive them for it), and which yield more than the kingdom of [Naples], but moreover of all that they have and possess in the world; and they are unworthy to remain on the earth;” and here his Holiness dilated on what he has said so many other times about the Emperor’s avidity, and his pride, saying that the Lord God chastised him, by making him die in life, because he is a lunatic, or possessed of a devil, as his mother was, and as his sisters also are (“*perchè sono privi non solamente delli feudi della Chiesa, che sono li Regni de Napoli, Sicilia, Sardegna, Inghilterra, Hibernia, tante gratie in Spagna concesseli dalla prodigalità delli nostri predecessori, che Dio li perdoni, che vagliono più che’l Regno; ma anco di quanto hanno et possedeno nel mondo, et non meritano di star sopra la terra;*” et quì si dilatò Sua Santità in quel che ha detto tanto altre volte dell’avidità dell’Imperatore et sua superbia, dicendo che’l Sig.^r Dio lo castigava facendolo morir in vita, perchè è lunatico, ó demoniaco, come era sua madre, et sono anco le sorelle); adding, “His Divine Majesty cannot tolerate the proud, as demonstrated by Him against Lucifer, so that Christ said, *Videbam Sathanam sicut fulgur de cælo cadentem*; which word “*videbam*” could not have been uttered by a mere man, born of a virgin, unless he were God; and afterwards the deceived and deceiving Satan (*et dopoi l’ingannato et ingannator Diavolo*) persuaded our first parents to pride, which had so much injured him, saying, Eat of this apple, because *eritis sicut Dij scientes bonum et malum*. Of good, poor people (*poverelli*), they had knowledge; and they must needs know evil, *cum ipsorum et nostro maximo malo*; so that the Emperor is chastised; his ill-begotten son (*qui male interibit*), following his footsteps, lives in the Lutheran fashion, making no distinction with regard to diet or days, and for his first exploit he commenced war against the See Apostolic, which it may be supposed was permitted by the Lord God, by these means, and with this opportunity, thus to punish him for his grievous sins.

“The Duke of Alva, according to what we hear from Brussels (*de là*), and as confirmed here, merely erred by obeying the orders received from Philip, but he ought not to have obeyed, because he was not bound to do so, as not only should temporal princes not be obeyed, but not even the Pope, were he to order anything contrary to the honour of God, as in that case, he does not act as the vicar of Christ, but like a sinful man. The Duke of Alva ought to have answered that he was ready to do his Majesty’s service, by the sacrifice of his life against anyone else; but that against the See Apostolic, which signifies against God, he did not think himself bound to do it, and that therefore he should provide himself with other commanders. The Duke, as we told you, erred by obeying. At present, should it please God (we having prayed him, inviting also all Christians to pray with us, by availing themselves of the jubilee, as known to you) to bring them back to the good way (*redurli alla bona via*), and make them live like Christians, they, moreover, performing suitable penance for the impious error committed by them, we will be very liberal in pardoning them, *et relinquemus testatum*

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Deo et hominibus, that we desire the peace and quiet of the world; but should it be otherwise, we hope in God to chastise them, and that the wrath of heaven (*il baston del cielo*) will fall on their heads.

"We shall wait and see what these 40 days will bring forth, and we tell you that they will find us *parati in utrumque*). It will suffice us to have justified ourselves with everybody, but above the others with the Signory, by reason of the ancient and natural love we bear them, bequeathed us as an heirloom by our ancestors, and then increased in our own person by the obligations under which we are to the memory of Messer Agostin da Mula*, who, being with your fleet in these waters, after the sack of Rome, having ordered Messer Z. Batta. Zustignian, governor of one of your galleys, to take us where we pleased, he landed us very kindly and conveniently at the mouth of the Arno, from whence we proceeded to your magnificent and blessed city (*nella magnifica et benedetta vostra città*), sole haven and refuge in our calamities. We therefore wish those lords to be certain that it is not us who wish for war, for we assure you on the contrary that we desire peace, because we also know that such is their wish, they having so often expressed it to us through you, but if from the fault of others, a contrary result take place, we hope (as already said by us) to chastise them. The thing is brought to such a pass, that should peace not be made, there will be the greatest war ever known. Rely upon it that the powder is prepared and the guns shotted, and that if ignited, everything will be consumed in all directions.

"To our very great satisfaction, we have heard that your Signory holds to her *repute* (*stia sù la sua reputazione*), and begins to rouse herself a little, for as things are going, were she to remain without saying anything, and persisting in too much timidity, it could not but be to her great shame, having such considerable forces, and so great a share in Italy; but by providing for her interests, without waiting until on fire at home, she does what is for her own welfare, upholds the honour of Italy, and gives assistance to our affairs; in like manner as the Popedom, when in credit, renders the Signory very illustrious (*illustra assai la Signoria*). Once for all, our affection for the Republic is manifest; historical works abound with what your most sage forefathers did of yore for the service of the See Apostolic, so that should the State hold to its dignity, it will keep everybody in alarm (*in gelosia*); for in short they are all Barbarians, and our enemies; these Imperialists (*questi*) most inimical, and the chiefest of them (*capitalissimi*); and those others (*et quelli altri*)† but little better. Would to God that we could be all Italians in Italy, and the Barbarians in their own countries (*et li Barbari nelli lor paesi*). He then spoke about the ancient harmony of Italy, of a King of Naples, a Duke of Milan, as he did on many other occasions, saying that the mere thought of such things possibly coming to pass some day, made certain venerable old men who discussed the subject with him at Venice go into raptures from delight, adding that were they alive, he should have no doubt (*dicendo*, *che queste cose à pensar solo, che potessero à qualche tempo esser*,

* Commander of the Venetian galleys in Civitavecchia, at the time of the sack of Rome in May 1527.

† Meaning the French.

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faceano uscir l'anima da dolceza ad alcuni vechioni che in Venetia ne discorevano seco, soggiungendo, che se fossero vivi, non dubiteria); *nor, if the war continues from the fault of others, will he doubt your Serenity's doing (to use his own expression) your duty.*

I, ambassador, then said that I thought I could assure your Serenity that his Holiness, by means of his goodness and ability (*virtù*), would vanquish every difficulty, and rejoice the whole of Christendom, but the most serene Dominion beyond the others, by a good peace, of which the last truce of 40 days gave not only hope, but almost certainty. He replied that he desired it, and would wait to see what these 40 days produced, as if the affairs here adjusted themselves, he hoped to hear of universal peace, because there being three Princes of importance amongst the Christian Powers, namely, the two Kings and your Serenity, whose object is the peace, provided the other two quiet each other, the desired result will be obtained, viz., universal tranquillity and perpetual peace, *but that should others fail (as he suspected), yet was his Holiness very certain that your Serenity for the honour of Italy, for your own security, and for the special love you bear him, would imitate the valour (la virtù) and prudence of your forefathers.*

When the Pope had done speaking, I, secretary, narrated to him my recent negotiations with the Duke of Alva, in the same form as represented by me on the day before yesterday to Cardinal Caraffa. His Holiness evinced great satisfaction, and said that this office had been the cause of making the Duke come to the point arrived at by him, and that he therefore thanked your Serenity for it, repeating what he had said about the love he bore you, and his wish to do you some signal service, and that he thought of nothing but adding to your territory, as he knew it would be well placed, *reiterating that in the midst of such great turmoil your Serenity should provide for the maintenance of your dignity and your State; calling to mind the league of Cambrai, the army of Maximilian, the avidity of the present Emperor, towards which King Philip was advancing, and other things uttered and written again and again.* What he said had been often said by him previously, almost in the same terms, yet it seemed to us that he spoke in a lower tone, and with more sedate gestures (*et con gesta più sedati*), than he had ever done before.

Rome, 4th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

747. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cause of M. de Lavigna's departure being delayed was because it has been decided that he is to go as his Majesty's ambassador-resident at Constantinople, *and on his arrival there he will perform the office about the putting to sea of the fleet;* and he will be the bearer of the present letter, and will bring you letters of favour from his most Christian Majesty.

The Prince of Ferrara has departed postwise on his way to the Duke de Guise, who was to arrive at Lyons to-day; the Constable's son, M. de Damville, and many other lords and gentlemen having done the like, so that now they are almost all gone. The Admiral



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also has left for his government of Picardy, for the purpose it is said of inspecting that frontier; but it is also seen that fresh provision for that quarter increases daily, M. d'Enghien and the Prince of Condé, brothers of the King of Navarre, having been appointed generals of the light horse, the one in Champagne and the other in Picardy; and a certain amount of men-at-arms is ordered to march, besides which they are sending seven Scottish captains to raise 700 horse there. His Majesty has also ordered pontoons to be made for the passage of rivers, and other supplies of artillery destined for the said parts of Picardy and Champagne. Concerning the affairs of Ferrara, it is confirmed that although the Duke will disburse the money required for the infantry, yet the King has promised to repay it him. They are also treating the military engagement (*la condotta*) of Don Francesco of Este, the Duke's brother, at his Majesty's request; but the particulars are not yet settled.

The Marquis de las Navas [Don Pedro de Avila] and Don Luis de Avila [Marquis de Mirabel] have been here on their way from Flanders to Spain, and in the name of his Catholic Majesty saluted the most Christian King, and without having brought him letters of credence said how irksome it will be to their King to hear of these preparations for war, as he had always wished to live in good friendship with his most Christian Majesty, and that there being no cause for disturbance between them, he will greatly regret that on account of a third person his Majesty should have recourse to arms. To this the King replied that he had always been equally desirous of his Catholic Majesty's friendship, but that he was determined not to abandon the Pope. Don Luis rejoined that had the Pope chosen to be content with what was fair, his King had offered him terms with which he ought to have been satisfied. The King replied, "His Holiness must know this, nor will I in any way fail him;" and after other general conversation they departed. From what I hear, they have written in strong terms to their King about the arrangements and preparations for the war, as seen by them here, and to the persons with whom they spoke, they demonstrated clearly that until their departure his Catholic Majesty had made no preparation for his defence, having been unable to bring himself to believe that the King of France would in fact march his forces.

The commissioners who were appointed by the most Christian King, and by the Queen of England, to settle the matter of the boundaries between Boulogne and Calais, have met on the spot, but have not yet determined anything.

M. de Bonnivet [François Gouffier], general of the French infantry of Piedmont, has died here at the Court, to the great regret of the King and the whole Court, by reason of his noble lineage and great valour, he having been also included amongst the most Serene Republic's noblemen,* and in his stead the King has appointed the Vidame of Chartres [François de Vendôme], who will depart in five or six days. Your Serenity will perhaps have heard that M. de Termes [Paul de la Barthe] in his most Christian Majesty's name has taken possession of a place in Piedmont by name Gagianino,

* Amelot de la Houssaie in his list of Frenchmen on the Golden Book does not mention that of Gouffier.

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belonging to the Marquis of Masserano, which some months ago was fortified by his Majesty's ministers, and left in the hands of the said Marquis, he being under the King's protection; but being now somewhat suspected owing to the resolve of the Duke of Parma, with whom he is closely connected, the said M. de Termes, under pretence of doing something else, has taken Gagianino, exhorting the said Marquis, who is expected, to come hither to justify himself.

Last evening a secretary of M. de Lansac arrived at the Court from Rome, with the news of the loss of Hostia and of the suspension of hostilities. *The Lord Giordano Orsini has also arrived, and he told my secretary, Franceschi, whom I sent to visit him, that he will come to see me as soon as possible, nor shall I fail to execute your Serenity's commission.*

Poissy, 4th December.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

748. The SAME to the SAME.

By my letter dated to-day I announced to your Serenity the arrival here at the Court of a secretary of M. de Lansac. Subsequently the King sent for the Nuncio, and in adroit form of speech, but with some mark of resentment, told him that he had advices from Rome that this suspension of hostilities was stipulated for the purpose of effecting some agreement, to which he understood that the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa were inclined, but that as his forces were already on their march, for the Pope's benefit and assistance, he could not believe that his Holiness would come to any adjustment, especially as the negotiation had not been imparted to his Majesty; wherefore he had not even thought fit to stay the advance of his troops. The Nuncio replied that it was true that by letters from Cardinal Caraffa this suspension of hostilities was made, with the report of its facilitating the discussion about the agreement, and that he was charged thus to represent it to his Majesty, but that no particulars whatever had been written to him, and that the Cardinal indeed charged him to urge the King to continue sending on his forces, as he prayed him to do; but I have discovered that this commission about hastening the provisions is given to the Nuncio in very cold terms, the scheme of adjustment being much talked of at the Court, and many persons thinking it may take place.

*The Lord Giordano Orsini came to sup with me this evening, and in the best way I could I performed the office enjoined by your Serenity, and he answered me that of the obligations under which he was to your Serenity this one of holding him in such account was not the least, so that he greatly regretted being so situated that he could not correspond according to his wishes, because in the military profession (*fra li homeni di guerra*) nothing was considered more dishonourable than to quit the service of a master without legitimate cause, and that having served the Duke of Florence for 12 years he left him on so reasonable an account that everybody approved, and he then entered the service of the King of France, from whom he had received so much honour and benefit, besides what have been*

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recently offered him without any request on his part, that he did not see how in honour he could find means to leave his service ; so if the Archbishop, his brother, had said anything to the Venetian ambassador at Rome, it was to demonstrate the intensity of his affection and gratitude for the obligations conferred upon him by your Serenity, whom he shall always wish to have it in his power to serve, and not because he felt inclined to leave this service without any cause. As his Lordship is an old friend of mine I did not fail to lay before him, as of myself, his own advantage, the fine opportunity which presented itself to him for serving your Serenity, and such other inducements as occurred to me, but again repeating his wish to serve your Serenity if he saw the way to do so, he told me that he never more should dare show himself amongst soldiers were he without any cause to renounce the service of France, and with this our conversation terminated.

Poissy, 4th December 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher ; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 89,
&c.

749. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday last (St. Andrew's day) the Pope said low mass in chapel, and then went in solemn procession to St. Peter's, where, after visiting the altars of the most holy sacrament, of the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Holy Visage (*volto*), he made an oration for the peace, to the great satisfaction of the city, which witnessing so devout a ceremony, and hearing it said that Fantuccio was to be sent to the King of Spain, together with Don Francisco Pacheco from the Duke of Alva, the population began to have great hopes of peace ; but yesterday morning, when I saw Don Francisco conversing at the court without Fantuccio, who had not yet been despatched even to-day, his departure apparently cooling (*raffreddando*), the Romans again fear lest the French movements, of which advices have arrived here, exaggerated, perhaps, for their own interests by the King's ministers far beyond reality, disturb the agreement. I hear that the Cardinal "Camerlengo" is dissatisfied, and has no great hope, and says that Cardinal Caraffa no longer shows such trust in him as he evinced previously. The French ministers here have sent M. Dumont (who accompanied M. de Montmorency hither) to their King to give him account of what is passing at Rome, where the troops are receiving pay, nor is anything said about disbanding any part of them. The artillery which was at Porto has been brought into Rome, whither the greater part of the soldiery have returned, the Pope's fortresses being garrisoned solely by Matheo Stendardo with his mounted harquebusiers, and some 800 infantry. The Duke of Alva, on the other hand, is disbanding the Italians left by him in the fortress he is building at Hostia, and in another fortress commenced by him on the island at the mouth of the Tiber where it forms the stream. He leaves about 600 Spaniards, so as to render himself quite master of the river, and having garrisoned the other places of importance taken by him, he is returning to Naples with the greater part of the cavalry, the other part remaining with Marco Antonio Colonna in his territory

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(*nel suo stato*). For the valour displayed by him at Hostia, Cardinal Caraffa has given Horatio del Sbirro 500 crowns and a company of 300 infantry. On Monday a secretary arrived from the Duke of Alva, and in the afternoon went to the Pope with Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal of Compostella], who asked leave to go as far as Hostia to see the Duke his nephew. His Holiness consented, so next day the Cardinal went down the river in a boat conveniently, and returned late to-day, so I have been unable to hear anything farther.

Rome, 5th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Secreta),
Vol. 70, p. 55.

750. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

The ordinary term of two years during which you have resided at the Court of England having been now exceeded by some months, and as you have several times asked our leave to return home, we, to grant your request, most especially having heard by your letters that the King's pages and stable equipage (*la stala*) have arrived there, which warrants a belief that his Majesty will return thither, have despatched our beloved noble Michiel Surian, knight, to reside with the King as our ambassador; having also given him our credentials to the Queen, for presentation to her Majesty, and that he may perform with her the office enjoined him, after which he will from day to day transact the necessary business at that court. In the meanwhile, acquaint her Majesty with what is afore-said; and after taking leave of her, and of the right reverend Cardinal Legate, and the other Lords of the Court, as shall seem fit to you, we are content that you return home, remaining very well satisfied with the assistance and diligent service rendered by you on that legation.

And our five sages of the Board of Trade and the proveditors for the factories within eight days to elect a Venetian Consul in London, according to the Act passed lately in this Council.

For the letters: Ayes, 146. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

751. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At the very earnest exhortation of Cardinal Santaflora [Guido Ascanio Sforza], his Majesty had it deliberated (*havea fatto consultare*) whether he should send some personage into Italy to treat the peace with the Pope, and which of his ministers was best suited to that purpose, having heard from his right reverend Lordship that the Pope was again disposed to have the agreement discussed, and it was asserted that the King would send postwise Don Antonio de Toledo, who is a member of the privy council; but when the news came of the Pope's consent to have the negotiation treated even with the Duke Alva, that Ostia had been taken, and that there was a suspension of hostilities, he determined not to send him. Owing to the arrival here of five couriers in two days, the whole Court evinces no less hope of peace than desire for it, which last is very great indeed. From these advices and from what is heard

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from France, purporting that the most Christian King's preparations for Italy were more for show than reality, his Majesty has suspended the despatch of Count Almerigo da Lodrone, and the French merchants who remained at Antwerp make no further show of departure.

The coming of the Earl of Pembroke to Calais by order of the Queen of England has caused great satisfaction, as he is proceeding against the French in the matter of boundaries very spiritedly (*con gran bravura*), a thing which many persons say is a sign that the said Queen has a mind to favour the King her consort by causing suspicion and doing deeds against the King of France, should his most Christian Majesty choose to break the truce.

The Duke of Ferrara has given King Philip to understand through the Cardinal of Trent, that he should wish the Prince his son to marry his Majesty's sister, widow of the Prince of Portugal, and from what I have heard from Dressino, his right reverend Lordship's agent, who departed yesterday, the answer purported that he was to have his Excellency thanked in loving terms, telling him that for the present no further answer could be given him, because in such a matter his Majesty deemed it necessary to give notice to the Emperor, and to see whether the Princess consented to it. This announcement from the Cardinal of Trent is believed to have no foundation (*è tenuto esser senza fondamento*), it being not only supposed that the Duke of Ferrara is not so well disposed towards King Philip, but quite the contrary, and that even were his Excellency thus inclined the members of the privy council have hinted that the King would not condescend to form such a relationship; and the day before yesterday the Duke's ambassador departed on his way back to him, nor has any farther notice been received of the appointment of his successor.

Two days ago the Signor Claudio Malopera was despatched by the Duke of Savoy, as ambassador in ordinary to your Serenity. He came to me before his departure, by his Excellency's order, to give me notice of this, praying me in his own name to give him such loving hints as might render him the more acceptable to your Serenity, telling me besides, that he was commissioned to show me the letter of credence addressed to your Serenity, that I might warn him in case it required any correction; I transmit a copy of it, and from his discourse I comprehended that the title of the signature would be "*servant*." I used all such civilities with the Signor Claudio as your Serenity could desire, and to-morrow I will visit the Duke and perform a similar office with him. The principal cause of his sending this ambassador to reside with you, seems to me to be for the purpose of being favoured by your Serenity on any occasion that may arise in case of a negotiation for peace between King Philip and his most Christian Majesty with reference to the Milanese. The said Signor Claudio is desired first of all to convey several orders about the administration of justice in the Duke's territory, for the satisfaction of his vassals, so he will stop a fortnight in Piedmont.

The Herald of the Fleece departed this day to carry the Order to the Duke of Brunswick, to the Archduke Ferdinand, to the Marquis of Pescara, to the Signor Antonio Doria, and to the

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Count of Santafore, the knighthood having been conferred on them by his Majesty a year ago at the chapter held at Antwerp; and the King, the Duke of Savoy, the Duchess of Lorraine, with almost the whole Court, have gone to hunt two leagues hence.

Brussels, 6th December 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the paragraph in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

752. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday, scarcely had the courier Gamboa arrived on his return from Brussels, ere three hours afterwards on that same night Francesco Piamontese was sent off, but notwithstanding the frequency and speed of the couriers nothing as yet transpires about these matters, the secrecy still continuing greater than written by me in my last letters of last month.

A report circulates through the Court and over London, nor yet ascertained whether true, that the Earl of Pembroke at Calais, suspecting a certain individual there,* sent for him into his presence. The individual thus summoned told the messenger sent for that purpose to wait whilst he went to put on his gown, and on entering his chamber he discharged a small harquebuse into his breast and killed himself, which being immediately known to all Calais, it came to the ears of a Frenchman,† who was wont to resort thither, going to and fro; and being perhaps in communication with the deceased and aware of his danger, nor knowing how to save himself, he on that night let himself down from the ramparts, some saying that he has escaped, others that not knowing how to get out of the moat, he remained there the whole day, but being unable or not knowing how to conceal himself from the sentries, he was seized and taken to the Earl, who is also said to have arrested five others, and continues discovering the plot.

The Legate is this day despatching to Rome in haste his privy chamberlain, Monsignor Henry Penning, of whom alone he avails himself for the current embassies between himself and the Queen (*del qual solo si serve nelle ambasciate tra S.S. Illustrissima et la Regina*). He told me (*mi a detto*) that the sole cause of this mission is his having been many months without ever receiving any reply of any sort from the Pope or his ministers to any letters and offices performed by him; the Cardinal thinking this strange, and being of opinion that such constant and prolonged taciturnity is derogatory to the post of Apostolic Legate; and seeing that letters produce no effect whatever, he determined to send a person express to give account of the affairs of this kingdom, and especially of the prosperous progress of the religion; proposing simultaneously that if by reason of his position (*luogo*) with these Princes, the Pope should consider him of any service for his release from those troubles in the midst of which he

* The name of this person was Tuckfield, *alias* Touteville. (See Foreign Calendar, date 13th January 1557, p. 281.)

† By name Devisat. (See Foreign Calendar, as before.)

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perceives his Holiness to be, his Holiness would be pleased to command him. Perhaps also, which matters more, he sends to disclose a certain resolve, which, if not already formed by the Queen, is about to be made by her in favour of her consort, so as to give the Pope warning of it, hinting in a certain way (*in certo modo*) concerning war with the French, to the universal detriment and disturbance of Christendom, as also of his Holiness, who might be the cause of its not taking place. He will thus have complied with the office of Cardinal and with that of a minister of the See Apostolic in this kingdom; and by this same agent he is sending to provide (*a far la espeditione*) for certain vacant bishoprics, and to regulate the affairs of the English hospital at Rome, as recommended to him, and which is under his most illustrious Lordship's protection.*

Many persons here say, though it is not yet quite confirmed, that all the knights and lords of the kingdom and all the salaried pensioners and stipendiaries of the Court have been summoned hither for the day of the Epiphany, nor is it known for what purpose; but this assembly being half a parliament (*un mezzo parlamento*), causes it to be suspected that to these individuals, as the chief personages of the kingdom, it is intended to announce some decision on behalf of the Queen about giving assistance to her Consort, or, as believed by others, to declare open war, specifying the causes which induce her to do so. Should this be true, the result of it will soon be witnessed.

The Lady Elizabeth departed so suddenly that I had not time to pay her my visit, which will be reserved for another occasion.†

The Queen still remains without going abroad, distressing herself about her husband's troubles, as your Serenity may suppose; although his Majesty writes that he is intent on nothing but despatching his affairs in order to come, showing yet greater wish for this than she does (*mostrandone maggior desiderio di Lei*), as confirmed by all his attendants.

On the 6th instant the ship Contarina and Moceniga (*la nave Contarina et Moceniga*) arrived off Dover.

London, 7th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The English hospital at Rome for English pilgrims, founded by John Shepherd, was originally under the direction of a "custos" or warden, elected by the members of the confraternity resident in Rome. Henry VIII. usurped the nomination, and Robert Sherburne, Dean of St. Paul's, his ambassador to Julius II., was the first governor appointed by royal mandate. He was succeeded by John Clarke, Bishop of Bath, ambassador to Adrian VI.; then came Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, and last of all, Sir Edward Carne, ambassador from Philip and Mary, was governor of the English hospital. In 1538 all the members of the English confraternity had ceased to exist (except one aged and infirm person), and Paul III. confided the administration of the hospital to Cardinal Pole, and during his absence to the Bishop of Old Sarum, Peter Peto, for fear (to use the words of the papal rescript) that it might fall into other than English hands. The English hospital was despoiled of all its treasures at the sack of Rome, where it was ultimately deprived of its resources through the Reformation. (See "*Reminiscences of Rome*," by a member of the Arcadian Academy (vol. 2, pp. 13, 14. London, 1840).

† The departure is recorded by Machyn thus :—

"The iij day of Desember cam rydyng from her plasse my lade Elizabeth's grace, from Somersett place downe Fletstreet, and thurgh Old Bayle, and thurgh Smyth-field, with a grett compene; and her servandes alle in red gardyd with velvett; and so her grace toke her way toward Bysshope Atfeld plasse."

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Dec. 7.* 753. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

MS. St. Mark's Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x., p. 220, verso.
No date of time or place.
Printed in vol. v. pp. 22-25,
Epistolarum, &c., without any date of time or place.

Pole, and all persons of piety, are greatly disturbed by the strife which has arisen between the Pope and King Philip, nor could the Christian commonwealth, and especially England, hear of anything more grievous than dissension between such a father and such a son, and that the Papal territory, and Rome itself, were harassed by war.

It was also felt the more by reason of the many causes for love and union between the Pope and the King, and most especially because at the beginning of his reign he, together with the most Serene Queen his Consort, from their zeal for the Catholic religion, renewed the obedience of the kingdom to the See Apostolic and to his Holiness, who on that account deservedly evinced the greatest love for him. Pole, however, having no orders from the Pope, knew not what to say or do, but would not remain idle, and, knowing King Philip to be very desirous of peace, wrote to him on the subject, but unsuccessfully, so he can but send a messenger to the Pope to hear his will. He has hitherto acted of his own accord and in the dark, but should he have a special commission from the Pope he would despair of nothing, most especially through the mediation of so pious a Queen, whom God deemed worthy of bringing back this realm to its obedience to the See Apostolic and to his Holiness, to which it had been so very averse during so many years.

Pole hopes that this momentary disagreement will eventually yet more demonstrate the piety of the Pope towards Christ and His church, and the filial obedience of the King towards his Holiness, and revert to the glory of God.

With regard to the state of the church in England, the Pope will deign to receive information from Pole's messenger,† who is one of Pole's intimate attendants, who is also the bearer of recommendations for four vacant churches, which ought not any longer to remain without their pastors. Requests the Pope to name the four persons recommended, as by reason of their piety and doctrine they are admirably suited to bear this burden. May God preserve his Holiness in safety for His honour and the profit of the Church.

London, 7th December 1556.

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 8.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

754. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No other advices having been received from Rome since those of 20th ultimo, announcing the suspension of hostilities, the suspicions of this court about the arrangement of peace seem to subside, and fresh expeditions and provisions continue to be made, and the Marshal de Brissac having a serious attack of gout with some slight fever at Lyons, as also M. de Termes in Piedmont, the most Christian

* The date is derived from the foregoing despatch addressed to the Doge and Senate by the Ambassador Michiel on the 7th December 1556.

† Henry Penning. (See Michiel, as above.)

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King has sent fresh orders to the Duke de Guise to hasten his journey; no advices have as yet been received of his arrival at Lyons.

In Picardy the provisions are being increased, as besides the Scottish captains two Englishmen have been sent to raise two cavalry companies of their nation;* and 17 other captains of French cavalry have been appointed, and they also will be despatched shortly.

Your Serenity will have heard of the intended flight of Don Luys,† the second son of the Duke of Ferrara, to the King of Spain, and from a person who heard it from the Constable I have been told that he gave the Duke notice of this scheme many days ago, and that he seemed not to believe it; but then pondering it better he had his son's proceedings silently watched, and at length discovered it, and by letters from the Cardinal of Ferrara the Duke is very greatly troubled and displeased at this. The cause which put this thought into the young man's head, does not seem to have been anything but the excessive penury in which his father kept him, he himself being of a very generous nature, and he preferred going to the King of Spain to coming to this court, and the aforesaid Cardinal writes that when Don Luigi was examined he said it was merely from fear lest the most Christian King should send him back, owing to the fresh agreement with his father, and that he would rather be a soldier than a bishop.

I hear that the engagement (*condotta*) of Don Francesco da Este with his most Christian Majesty is concluded, but I have been unable to ascertain the conditions. A gentleman has arrived here at the court from Count Nicola da Pittigliano, now a prisoner in Rome, as your Serenity knows, and in his name requested the King, as the Count is not subject to the Pope on account of his territory, but in his Majesty's service, and a knight of his order, that he be pleased to induce his Holiness to send him hither as a prisoner, to be judged by his Majesty on the charges brought against him, offering to give security in Rome to the amount of 300,000 crowns for his coming hither; and as this demand is much favoured by his relation the Lord Giordano Orsini, who is of the same family, it is understood that the King will gratify him, though others suspect that this imprisonment took place with the concurrence of the French ministers in Rome.

Poissy, 8th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 90.

755. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, and Secretary FEBO CAPELLA, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The letters from your Serenity and the most Excellent Senate dated the 5th instant having charged us to let the Pope and his nephews know what the King of Spain wrote to you on the 20th

* In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," there is a letter from Dr. Wotton to Queen Mary, dated Poissy, 30th November 1556, from which it may be inferred that one of these captains was "Tutty, who served before with 50 light English horse," [and] "has now his commission renewed for the 100."

† Don Luigi of Este, second son of Ercole II., Duke of Ferrara. Although only 17 years old he was already a bishop. (See Frizzi, History of Ferrara, vol. 4, p. 543.)

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ultimo about his Majesty's goodwill towards the peace, and the fresh orders sent by him to the Duke of Alva, we went at 1 p.m., when his Holiness was still at table with Cardinals Morone and Armagnac,* and in the audience chamber we found the Cardinal "Decano" [De Bellai], with whom I, ambassador, discoursed, and he said that the Pope had been beyond measure offended by the Imperialists, and that for so great a sin great reparation was required; that Cardinal de Tournon had always given assurance here of the King's wish for peace with the Emperor and others, more than he, De Bellai, would have done; that the King had always been the obedient son of the Vicars of Christ, and that he would now show himself such by deeds; and then his Holiness, having entered the chamber, accompanied by the two cardinals aforesaid, who had dined with him, and by Cardinal San Giacomo, who joined them afterwards, withdrew to a window with De Bellai, I, ambassador, in the meanwhile discussing various topics with Morone and Armagnac, who both evinced a great desire for the peace, Cardinal Morone saying, "Would to God, lord ambassador, that everybody was of the same mind as Cardinal Armagnac, for in that case *non laboraremus*;" in confirmation of which words Armagnac said, "With my substance, my life, and my honour I would fain procure this peace, for the conclusion of which there is no better mediator than the most illustrious Republic;" my reply being that your Serenity had not omitted any office suited to so pious and very Christian an end, and both of them then said that it was impossible to do more than had been done. We then entered upon various subjects, including literature and the affairs of Constantinople, and in the meanwhile there entered the chamber the Duke of Paliano with the Marquis Montebello, who had just arrived, and came in his boots to kiss the Pope's foot, after which they departed.

His Holiness, on dismissing De Bellai, having made the cardinals draw a little aside, called us to audience, still leaning at that window (*pur appoggiata a quella finestra*), where I, ambassador, having stated the contents of the aforesaid letters in your Serenity's own words, *the Pope said*, "If you choose to let yourselves be deceived by those Imperialists (*da costoro*), so much the worse for you; they will not deceive us; they are rogues (*sono tristi*), renegade moriscos (*marani*), children of the devil and of iniquity (*figlioli del diavolo et della iniquità*), for that youth [*Philip II.*] (*quel giovine*), as we told you heretofore, is already living in the Lutheran fashion. We know them, and would to God that you knew them for what they are before they teach it you by some example very greatly to your detriment. They have not done the mischief they were unable to do, nor will they do that which will not be in their power. You are witnesses that we on our part have not failed to do everything for the peace; we even sent them our Cardinal as often as was needed; but to speak freely with you, as we always have done, we tell you that the way to give peace to Italy is to expel these barbarians (*à cacciar questi barbari*), and we and you together alone, without those others, would suffice for it, provided we had a good under-

* Georges d'Armagnac, uncle of Henry IV., the future King of France, then in his 4th year.

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standing together. O God! where are those heroic spirits, those good and venerable old men who when I was in Venice presided over the government of that Republic, and desired nothing but such an opportunity, and instead of allowing it to escape them would have seized it by the forelock (ma pigliata per li capelli che ha in fronte), for centuries will pass before the accession of a Pope determined to free Italy as we are, or of one who loves the most illustrious Signory more than we do, even were he a Venetian by birth (perchè passeranno centenara d'anni, che non verrà un Papa, che habbi il pensier de liberar Italia che habbiamo noi, nè che più ami quella Sig^{ria} Ill^{ma} di noi, anco che fusse nato Venetiano). If we could speak with those lords about this matter, and consult and rejoin, we should hope to bring them over to our opinion by strong arguments, demonstrating to them the common weal of Italy, their own honour and greatness, and might it not perhaps be effected with little toil? A kingdom extremely discontented with its government, harassed and distressed in a way to move stones to pity; the Imperialists (loro) having few forces, little money, and an army fatigued and discontented, for the Marquis of Montebello, whom you saw here (we having sent for him), might have passed by the Abruzzi without any resistance even to the gates of Naples, but we stopped him, because he had no army in his rear to enable him to retain acquisitions:—should the Signory decide the undertaking would be accomplished before being mentioned. Were the Republic to send 50 galleys into the waters of Puglia, while we pushed on from here, there would be an end of the Imperialists (actum esset di loro), and we would divide the kingdom of Naples with you, giving you the best part of it, which is all gold, reserving for the See Apostolic (as we will not have anything for our relatives, because Christ will provide for them) the territory here at hand called Terra di Campagna (sic) (Terra di Lavoro?), where Naples is situated. In discoursing with you we overstep all bounds, and open our heart with the certainty that everything will be kept secret, and that neither you nor the Signory, by revealing it, will deceive God, us, and yourselves, although we know that there are some who from opinion, and others from passion, think contrary to us (senteno contra di noi). To those who do so from opinion we wish them well for it, because they suppose themselves to be serving their Republic, but those who do so from passion, and are bribed by the Imperialists (da costoro), do not find any favour with us, nor do we consider them worthy to be styled Venetian gentlemen (gentilhomeni di quella Rep^{ca})."

I, ambassador, then said I could assure his Holiness that the object of each of those Lords was the common weal of their country, but should anyone sell himself and his country to any sovereign, he would be disgraced by the Republic and deprived of life, property, and honour, he and all his posterity, wherefore I should do the greatest service to your Serenity by letting you know the individual. He replied, "What we have told you would suffice, and we tell you besides that we know it for certain, and that with us they gain nothing whatever, for by God we would not appoint such men to a game of snowballs (che per Dio non chiamassamo questi tali al gioco della neve), still less to any dignity or government office. Sed redeuntes

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unde digressa est oratio, we repeat to you that with very little toil we should rid our shoulders of this calamitous yoke and unbecoming servitude, provided my Signory (mia Signoria) determine speedily to take pity on the tears of this afflicted Italy, who has turned her sorrowful eyes to that dominion, asking their aid as from the sole power capable of releasing them, thus increasing their own state, and with the certainty of maintaining it, for nothing could be more just than the deprivation of these Imperialists (perchè la privatione di questi non potria esser più giusta). There are a thousand causes for it, and the investiture of the Signory would be perfectly just, as it would be made in recompense for assistance rendered by you to us; and then, as the territory borders on the See Apostolic, there would never be cause for apprehension, the Signory always having some cardinal there, and we, for the better establishment of the Republic in those parts, would not have any scruple (rispetto) about finding individuals amongst your nobility good and suited to that charge, and giving that red hat to many of your patricians. You must, however, act speedily, for the opportunity is escaping us, and also with secrecy, because if it were known we should be tricked (burlati), and give cause to these renegade moriscos (marani) to practise on you with their diabolical artifices. They are well aware of what you can do, and how easily we might annihilate them, and therefore they cajole you with fine words and false promises. What could they reproach you with if, when Sultan Soliman and all Christendom is arming, you also arm, both by land and sea, without giving it to be understood what you mean to do, and then, when the point is sharpened, you might turn your forces where you pleased, and in a moment the mortar-piece would be fired; and besides the immortal glory you would gain as the liberators of Italy, you would place under your dominion a territory exempting you from fear of famine at any time, as it yields grain, wine, oil, and fruit, and comprises certain cities which belonged to you of yore, and desire to be yours. We should wish (as we told you heretofore) to be able to make you masters of all Italy, because we are certain it would be for the general good (de beneficio universal), but it is requisite to give a small share of it to the See Apostolic, lest it seem that we are unmindful of her. Why does not God make us find mental reciprocity in those from whom it is due? Why, O Lord, hast Thou made me know what a great benefit this would be to Italy, if Thou wouldst not manifest it to the others likewise? My grief would be less not to know it than to see and be unable to effect it. Lord, if (as I am certain) Thou hast already determined, delay no longer enlightening those who are to be its chief ministers; show the Republic of Venice what her obligations to Thee are for having made her the greatest and most durable that ever was, for having defended her for 1,100 years and upwards against civil strife and foreign invasion, and inspire her at this season of Thy most holy Nativity to favour Thy cause, to release this miserable Italy, and to embrace her welfare (et ad abbracciar il suo bene)." And here, lowering his eyes, which whilst uttering the aforesaid words had been raised to heaven, he added, "We will open our heart to you, because in you, magnifico ambassador, in this faithful secretary [Febo Capella], and in this

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other good son,* we place confidence, and we are certain that you will write it to his Sublimity, the secretary [Capella] reporting it moreover by word of mouth, and that the Signory will not allow it to get abroad and be divulged, as otherwise we should consider ourselves deceived by them; nor do we choose to have to reproach ourselves with not having told you the whole.

"We spoke to you heretofore about the kingdom of Sicily, and we persevere in the project, and have written account of it to the King of France, whose reply we are expecting, but this was in case he came in great force (gagliardo) to invade the kingdom of Naples, so as to leave him a fat part (una parte grassa), but his affairs requiring time, as to fly is impossible, although he does his best, and is an obedient son, he alone having been constant in wishing to assist us,—for, as you must know, the chief lords in France are always tilting against each other, and for the maintenance of their opinions, and, to worst their rivals, they do not mind turning the kingdom topsy-turvy (sotto sopra), so that they delay,—and the business requiring despatch, we determined to show you what we could do of ourselves, and to offer you such share as we have done, and the Almighty perhaps wills it thus for the best, as it would suit us to make the French halt in Piedmont, whilst we do our own business here; and were it to be said they will take the Milanese, God speed them, as if they take it we will then again turn them in our fashion (a modo nostro).

"But to return to the partition of the kingdom of Naples between us, it will not seem strange to you, for, as you must know, it was made of yore between King Lewis [XII. of France] and the Catholic King [Ferdinand of Aragon], and had they not made a mistake about the names of the provinces, in like manner as the division was pacific, so would the possession have been tranquil; but they reckoned only four provinces, whereas they are six or seven, so when fixing the boundaries difficulties arose, and they came to blows, each party laying claim to the territory not mentioned in the partition treaty. The French were victorious so long as they blockaded in Barletta (on your Gulf) Gonsalvo of Cordova, who was half pounded (mezo apestado),† but when he got out he routed them. With us, however, the partition would be made in such a way as to render it stable, and should a foreign power choose to attack either of us, our united forces would not fear anyone, the skilful form of government in the next place guaranteeing us against the subjected inhabitants in such a way that we should close the gate against the barbarians (la destrezza poi del dominar ne assicurera dalli populi soggetti, talmente che venissemmo a serrar la porta a barbari). We will moreover tell you that should the Duke of Florence see you determined, he would gladly implore our protection. This would be the way to consolidate a good peace in Italy for many years according to the desire and entreaty of the most illustrious Signory,

* The secretary of the embassy; Capella having been sent on a mission extraordinary.

† The Duke of Wellington, in a letter to Lord Bathurst describing the battle of Waterloo, wrote, "Never did I see such a *pounding* match." (Selections from the Despatches, &c. of the Duke of Wellington, p. 875. Edition, London, 1842.)

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so may God open your eyes and make you know what is for your profit and honour. For the present we have nothing more to tell you, except that the French will soon be in marching order, and that the Duke de Guise is coming, a personage of importance, who is bringing with him, besides many other lords, his two sons, the two cardinals of Lorraine and Guise remaining about the King's person, and they will always support their own faction. M. de Termes is coming as lieutenant-general, a man no less brave than good and honest, and a good Christian, as we know him to be, for whilst we were yet cardinal he told us that he was most faithful and devoted to his King, and that in one thing only would he disobey him, namely, were he commanded to arm against the Vicar of Christ ;” and here the Pope dwelt on his praises, as usual with him, and as he knows how to do, adding, “ *If you choose to form a famous resolve, in conformity with that greatness of mind which ought to be in you, we alone will effect it here, and stop the French in Piedmont, as we told you* (et li fermaremo, come vi habbiam ditto, di là).”

The Pope then remained silent, and I, ambassador, said, “Holy Father, through the Almighty, the King of Spain will give such satisfaction to your Holiness that you will be enabled with dignity to let Italy enjoy that profound peace which is so much desired and sought for by my most Serene Signory, and all the benefit to be derived by the world from it (nor can greater be imagined) will be attributed entirely to your piety and prudence.”

He replied, that the way to make peace was what he had told me above, repeating the same things, nor did he yet show any wish to end ; and seeing so many cardinals waiting in the chamber, besides the ambassadors from Florence and Ferrara, who were outside, I said to him, that your Serenity had sent me some advices from Constantinople with orders to communicate them to his Holiness. I had them read to him, after which he again resumed the same topics, having kept us upwards of two hours, saying, “We shall always give you precedence over all the cardinals and ambassadors.”

Thereupon we took leave and went to Cardinal Caraffa, who was in the chamber, with his brothers the Duke and the Marquis. I, ambassador, congratulated the Duke on his convalescence, and the Marquis on his return, and repeated the contents of your Serenity's aforesaid letters. The Cardinal replied, that every day increased the obligations of his family to your Sublimity, and that in like manner as Don Carlo Caraffa [the Cardinal himself] told the Emperor and the King of France, when in their service, that for them he would stake his life against anyone, except against the most illustrious Signory of Venice, from no other tie than because he was born an Italian ; how much more now, when he and his brothers have been accepted by your Serenity, as your sons and servants, may it be believed that they are ready to do service to that most excellent dominion, declaring that in any case, either of peace or war, your Serenity will find the Caraffa family not useless to you, although certain persons had endeavoured to prove the contrary, as for instance, when he went to France the Emperor sent for your Serenity's ambassador, and told him that he, Caraffa, had

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gone to France, not for peace, but to endeavour to make war upon his Imperial Majesty, wishing to make one of the two sons of the most Christian King, Duke of Milan, and the other King of Naples, and to make the Queen cede to her consort the claims laid by her to the Duchy of Urbino, to take it for the House of Valois;* that it would be proposed to your Serenity to make a league, offering you Sicily and Puglia, which they did not possess, but that should the Signory choose to make a defensive league with his Imperial Majesty, he would give them what he is in possession of, and can give. The Cardinal added, "That prudent ambassador replied that he would make the communication to his Lords. I very soon heard this thing, and before telling the King of it, I announced it to the Signory's ambassador, as I did every other event, and as I always have done here with you, magnifico Ambassador, and as I shall do for the future. These words of the Emperor had solely for object to make the Signory distrust us, and to persuade them that the King, after making himself master of the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, and having deprived the Duke of Urbino of his state, their affairs would be in a bad way, he not perceiving that what he said was impossible, by reason of the Pope's love for the Republic, and of our obligations to the Signory. Then with regard to the Duke of Urbino, we have cause to remain satisfied with him, because he has always done what he could for our service, nor was it by the Pope's will that he resigned, for, on the contrary, he detained him many days, not choosing to give him leave; but then at length he would not compel him, having first conferred on him the dignity of Prefect of Rome, with descent to his eldest son and successor in the duchy, which post his Holiness might have given to one of my brothers, who at the time were without any grade. But enough of this; those words were uttered with craft, as used by the Imperialists in all their affairs. But to speak to the point: I say that God knows (and your lordships can bear witness to it) the desire of the Pope, and of all of us, for peace, and that the interests of our family would never disturb it; may His Divine Majesty grant that they speak the truth, and not do as they did when they commenced war, having their agent Pirro dell' Offredo here to treat peace, and when they were sending Molza to the powers of Italy (*alli principi d'Italia*) to pray and exhort the Pope in favour of quiet. Should they speak the truth, and if the agreement can be made to the dignity of his Holiness, we shall obtain what is wished for; if not, everybody will know that the failure does not proceed from us, as the Duke of Alva, having had fresh orders from his King, can no longer excuse himself on the plea of not having liberty; so let him come to particulars, let the difficulties be discussed, as we shall soon see what may be hoped about them; nor may they think to find us unprepared, for during these days, whilst the truce lasts, we shall incur the same expenditure as before."

He then whispered in the ear of me, ambassador, "I should

* The pretensions of Catherine de' Medici were based on the seizure of Urbino by Leo X., in favour of her father Lorenzino de' Medici.

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not wish for barbarians in Italy; the Pope and the Signory would suffice to free her. We shall not be at a loss (as I believe) for a prolongation of the truce, to enable us subsequently to do as the Almighty may inspire us;" and with this we took our leave.

Rome, 11th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 11.
Lettere del
Collegio
(Secreta),
File No. 20.

756. DOGE LORENZO PRIULI to QUEEN MARY.

This is the third year in which our beloved noble, Giovanni Michiel, fills the post of ambassador from us to your Royal Majesty; so as he has often asked leave to return home, the demand seeming to us reasonable, we have thought fit to grant it; and as he has terminated his legation to your Majesty, we request permission for him to come back to us forthwith.

[In virtue of an Act passed in the Senate on the 5th December, and read to the sages on both sides (*utriusque manus*).]

[*Latin.*]

Dec. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p.
93, &c.

757. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Liesina [Zaccaria Dolfin] tells me that he lately received advices from Germany that one Aurelio Cicuta of Veglia, having been sent by his most Christian Majesty to the King of the Romans, assured the latter that he had never been the cause of inducing Sultan Soliman to invade his territories, and informing him that the said Sultan proposes coming into Hungary; so he the King of France counsels King Ferdinand to fortify his frontiers, and to adjust matters in Germany, persuading him to move King Philip to cede the duchy of Milan to one of his sons (*ad alcun delli soi figlioli*), and form some matrimonial alliance; to which suggestion the King of the Romans replied in general terms.

Rome, 12th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p.
93, tergo.

758. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal S. Giacomo says that the Duke of Alva could not be better inclined towards quiet than he is, *and that he did not commence the war until after the third order from King Philip, in which (nel qual) he was gently reprovèd (era ripreso modestamente) for this act of disobedience; and having entered upon it unwillingly, he easily condescended to what Cardinal Caraffa desired, so as to arrive at some fair adjustment, which his Excellency hoped for because Cardinal Caraffa desired it, and much more after the Duke by strong reasons had convinced him how injurious the war was for this See Apostolic and his family, and on the other hand, how advantageous and honourable the peace would be to them, unbosoming himself to him entirely; which so moved the Cardinal that he told the Duke clearly, that the Pope had been the cause of many things which he (Caraffa) was unable to prevent.* Cardinal S. Giacomo also says the Duke showed him the letter written by him to his King, than

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which nothing could be more Christian and forcible in favour of the adjustment, so that *unless this side fails in what the Cardinal seems to wish, and discussed with the Duke of Alva*, he hopes peace will ensue, Cardinal Pacheco being of the same opinion; Cardinal S. Giacomo saying, moreover, that should the war continue, he does not think that his nephew the Duke will again take the field.

Aurelio Fregoso told me that the chief reason he saw for the peace is, the Pope's small means for making war, as even were the assistance sent him by the French as considerable as they represent it (which he does not admit), and if it were to come to Rome (a thing they could not do easily, having to traverse many difficult passes), yet would it not suffice to take the kingdom of Naples, though it might indeed furnish Rome; for if during the past months it has suffered with these few troops, what would it do hereafter on the arrival of ten or twelve thousand men, with so many horses. Besides this, the Duke of Florence, with some German regiments, sent for by the Cardinal of Trent, falling on their rear, and, in front, they finding the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples well guarded as far as the gates of Rome, some important reverse might take place; so that the Pope being informed of these dangers, and assured that the design against the kingdom of Naples is not so easy as he believes, it may reasonably be supposed that he will choose the safer course and make terms.

Cardinal Sermoneta told my secretary that the Duke of Alva seems to him very courteous in words, but less so in substance, as they could never make him say that he would abandon Paliano; and facts, moreover, do not look well, as he has commenced a fortress on the island, to make himself master of the whole of the river, and Count Pepoli, who remained in command of the places in the Campagna, lately stopped the post on his way from hence to Naples, taking the letters and opening them. These proceedings cannot be commended, nor do they indicate goodwill.

Cardinal Caraffa told a very great confidant of his that he is sending Giulio Orsini to France, not merely to ascertain the King's intention, but to let him know through an eye-witness what preparation and provision have been made, and thereby determine on war or peace. The ambassador from Florence, after having had a very long conversation with the Cardinal, told me it seemed to him that he wished for the agreement on account of his family, and said as it were (et li ha in certo modo detto) that what is being done at present is now for the satisfaction of the French; and although this is contrary to what the Pope has always said to me, and last of all yesterday, his nephews speaking in like manner, I nevertheless mention this to your Serenity.

Giulio Orsini departed on Thursday morning for France, and Fantuccio last evening for the court of King Philip, and on the morning before last the latter told my secretary he was coming to me to request I would write to your Serenity to perform fresh offices with the King of Spain to induce him to do by the Pope what is in accordance with divine and human law, and with all fairness, namely, to restore to him his honour by submission and reverence, so that his Majesty may be thus enabled (to use Fantuccio's own

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word, which I consider worthy of consideration) to cheat the Pope (ingannar sua Santità), without which no good will be done; adding, "Here the Duke of Alva has promised much, but when over there (*de là*) I suspect I shall find the contrary." Fantuccio subsequently came to me, preferring the same suit, to which I replied that your Serenity never had failed, nor would you fail to perform every possible office for quiet, and that I was certain your ambassador with King Philip would aid it to his utmost, and that I prayed God to grant him (Fantuccio) the grace to bring this business to the desired end, as was anticipated from his prudence and ability. He rejoined, that he in truth had need that prayers should be offered for him, both to God and man, as he was going on an expedition easy and impossible; easy, because according to all reason a war, commenced it may be said in jest, ought not to have such deep roots as to prevent their extirpation, which would be effected, provided the King humbled himself; impossible, owing to the nature of the Princes with whom the negotiation has to be transacted, and their distrust of each other, the one holding to his dignity, the other to security. So all he can say is that he will do his duty and depart hence, although not quite ready, that the vulgar may no longer have cause to talk, and that he shall go to Bologna, his birthplace, there to await what he is short of, and that he expects to arrive at the court of King Philip in 16 or 18 days. I thanked him for his visit, and assured him that the more important and difficult the business, the more would his consummate ability distinguish itself; and so much the greater would Italy's obligation to him be for his having obtained the desired result.

Here they have imprisoned a courier who was on his way from the King of Spain to Naples, seizing his despatches, to retaliate for what the Imperialists did by the post (*procaccio*), saying, that if they stopped the post because he had no licence, and that a clause in the truce forbids the post to enter garrisoned places without a license, they detained the courier for the same cause, as he had no license to pass through Rome, and that on the release of the post they would release the courier; but on the same day, the latter, by order of Cardinal Caraffa, was set at liberty and allowed to proceed on his journey. The day before yesterday they sent sappers from hence to complete the fortress they are building there, and they mustered the infantry and cavalry now in Rome, which proved to be of very small amount, it being said that more than one third of them had deserted. Yesterday they commenced paying the infantry, and gave the cavalry one hundred ducats for each company, sending them very discontented to Orvieto, Bagnarea, and those environs, where they can be conveniently supplied with victuals and forage.

Flaminio da Stabio has brought Cardinal Caraffa the design for the fortification of Civitavecchia, which is commended, and he says it is so advanced that at little cost, and in a short time, he will finish it. The Duke of Ferrara has written to his ambassador that the Marquis of Pescara went lately to Piacenza to make Duke Ottavio resolve to be Imperial, and that Cardinal Farnese answered him that they shall regulate themselves according to the resolution of the Duke of Ferrara.

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Gobbo the courier has come from France in 13 days, bringing news that the most Christian King has issued fresh commissions for captains; that he has letters from the Duke de Guise at La Charité, saying, that about the middle of this month he will be in Piedmont, where he hopes to have the army in marching order; and the courier says by word of mouth that the six thousand Switzers had set out, and the four thousand would be ready to march in four or six days, these last remaining in Piedmont.

The Duke of Alva continued his journey (*viaggio*) towards Naples, having left garrisons in the fortresses of Hostia and the other places, putting Spaniards in them and disbanding the Italians. He has divided the cavalry between Frascati, Tivoli, Anagni, and the territory of Marc' Antonio Colonna, dismissing the noblemen and barons who had followed him and are styled "*continui*," as also the rest of the cavalry, which has suffered from staying in the open country (*in campagna*). The Imperial fleet, which was in Porto S. Stefano, and together with all the troops on board suffered from scarcity of provisions, and of everything else, is gone to Elba to recruit, and from thence will steer such course as shall be commanded.

The Duke of Monteleone, who, as I wrote, was unable to obtain audience in the Pope's chamber, determined to kiss his foot at table, and did so, accompanied by the Duke of Paliano; the Pope scarcely looked at him, and on his presenting himself at the table in the hall where he was eating, his Holiness said in a rage to Cardinal d'Armagnac, "In the presence of this excommunicated man (*questo escommunicato*) we are unable to perform any Christian office, not even to say our usual grace to God;" to which the Cardinal having replied, "Holy Father, the greater their sin the more abundant should your Holiness' grace be," the Pope thereupon said grace, and had the Duke introduced into his chamber, where some cardinals and many other persons were, in whose presence he reproved him so sharply for having come armed against his Holiness and a vicar of Christ, that the poor Duke threw himself upon his knees dumbfounded; and then the Pope calling him alone, near his person, absolved him, and was so appeased that the Duke did not depart utterly dissatisfied.

Rome, 12th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.

759. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 3 p.m. Cardinal Caraffa sent me the enclosed autograph note (*polizza*), to which I replied as you will perceive by the accompanying copy.* At 7 p.m. his Lordship sent me word to send him my secretary, to whom immediately on his arrival he said, "This morning I communicated to the ambassador the Pope's intention to send me to Venice, which I have not yet told the Duke my brother, so were it by bad luck to get abroad I should be ruined with the Pope, for as you know one must not depart in the least from the orders of his Holiness, who told me not to mention this thing to any

* Neither of these documents are preserved in the Navagero Letter Book, No. 7 B.

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living soul. The Duke of Alva has received the order from his King about the agreement, of which mention is made in the Signory's letters, so it would be bad at present, when they are perhaps preparing to complete the agreement, to let them hear of my going, but at any rate his Holiness will not have words (*non vorrà parole*), and has determined that the Signory shall hear everything from me, who am well informed about it; but to-morrow at the furthest what is to be done will be decided, and I will let the ambassador know. In the meanwhile I pray him to send another courier express, to come up with the one who departed this morning, to beseech his Sublimity by reason of my consummate reverence for him, and the very great desire I have to do him service, not to allow this mission to be divulged, lest (as I have said) it prove my ruin."

Rome, 13th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

760. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, when with Don Ruy Gomez, he told me that the King had just received several letters from Italy and France, which made him firmly hope that the peace with the Pope would be effected, in which case that result should be principally attributed to your Serenity's strenuous mediation, and especially to the last offices performed with his Holiness, as minutely detailed to his Majesty. The language of Don Ruy Gomez, his eyes, and all his gestures, indicated how much his King was satisfied with your Serenity, and that it greatly pleased himself individually that the peace was about to take place; this being earnestly desired by the rest of the court, as mentioned in several of my letters to your Serenity. In reply to his Lordship, I said that my satisfaction on hearing that the peace was to take place equalled his own, and that it pleased me that his Majesty and his Lordship should have this consolation, which was in truth due to the very prudent mode of proceeding adopted by your Serenity in so important a matter.

Shortly afterwards I heard from the Florentine ambassador that he had received two autograph letters from his master addressed to King Philip, and when on his way to present them they were first of all taken and read by the said Don Ruy Gomez, and in one of them the ambassador told me that the Duke narrated several mistakes made by his Majesty's ministers, which had produced and might give rise to many evil consequences. In the other he said, (swearing by the consecration he received as bishop),* that if his Majesty wishes to preserve his states in Italy, and to have repose in all the others, he recommended him by all possible means to maintain the goodwill of your Serenity, which he would do by negotiating with you sincerely, and that he affirmed this because he knew himself to be speaking with some foundation. He told me besides that at the commencement Don Ruy Gomez answered him with no little anger that the Duke wrote too sharply,

* In the biographical notices of the Grand Duke Cosmo I can find no mention of his having held a bishopric; so the Florentine ambassador was, perhaps, alluding to his own consecration.

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though it was very true that the hint given by his Excellency to the King about your Serenity would be acceptable to him. To these words the ambassador made answer that his Lordship ought to put a favourable interpretation on all the things written, because they proceeded from true love borne towards his Majesty's affairs, and the great interest which it seemed to the Duke that he had in common with him.

The merchants at Antwerp have disbursed a part of the money on account of the 150,000 crowns with which the Queen of England has accommodated her consort, and it was immediately taken to these frontiers to pay the Spanish infantry, who were creditors for 12 arrears of stipend (*dodeci paghe*).

Subsequently the King sent to Antwerp for Messer Silvestro Cattaneo, who is considered the chief among the Genoese merchants, for goodness, prudence, and authority, in the great negotiations for letters of change,* and with kind words requested and compelled him to accept (as he did) the charge of his "factor" at Genoa, with an annual salary of 2,500 crowns, and ample authority to fix the exchanges (*di far i cambij*) for the affairs of Italy, to which effect the King urged him greatly to depart forthwith postwise; and it is said that his Majesty will send some one to reside in ordinary at each mart,† so as more easily to raise money, and at a lower rate of interest than he has done hitherto.

The Flemings who accompanied the Emperor to Spain are returning (from what they write to their relations), having been dismissed by his Majesty at a village [Jarandilla?] where he had stopped, distant two leagues from the monastery of S. Yuste, he retaining only 14 persons in his service‡ (*tenendo seco quattordici sole persone*); and according to the French ambassador his Majesty had been very angry with its friars, because when they came to receive him they said they returned many thanks to the Lord God, for that he had willed to go and end his days with them, the ambassador saying he answered them, that although his mind was entirely inclined towards the service of God, he had nevertheless not determined to stay more than a year or two in that monastery, in order to lead a quiet life, and on account of the salubrity of the climate in that neighbourhood, should he find it such as it had been represented to him, but that according to fresh reports then received he had heard the contrary.§

The Duchess of Parma has sent a gentleman to King Philip to give him notice of her arrival at Worms, and that within ten days she hopes to come accompanied by her son to kiss his hand.

I have been to visit the Duke of Savoy for the performance of

* "*Nelle grandi negotiationi di cambij.*" In the present instance, these great negotiations chiefly concerned the rates of interest at the *marts* or *fairs* of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries; and in this correspondence the word "*cambij*" generally signifies *loans*. For the term "letters of change," see the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Mary, p. 87, Gresham's contract for payment of moneys to the Queen's agents in Spain.

† "*In ogni pazza,*" at each town in which the great fairs were held, whether in Spain, Italy, or the Low Countries.

‡ "*La maison de Charles Quint se composait de cinquante personnes.*" (See Mignet, p. 221.)

§ Compare with Mignet, p. 159.

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such office as seemed fit in return for the loving message he sent me through his ambassador, to the address of your Serenity.

Here the cold is so intense that the poor people die in the streets, and at Antwerp the river is frozen, which has not come to pass for many years.

His Majesty has amused himself lately in the park by seeing several of his gentlemen play various games on the ice, and on the night before last he masked with them at a banquet given by M. de Lalain.

Brussels, 13th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

761. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday, by letters from Rome dated the 29th ultimo, the most Christian King received advice that the truce had been prolonged for 40 days, and that as the Pope purposes sending hither a gentleman to give account of the particulars which have occurred, he will also send one to the Catholic King, to negotiate with both their Majesties the means whereby to conclude the peace; and by other advices it also seems that Cardinals-Legates will be sent to these Princes, and that Cardinal Caraffa will come hither. *This intelligence has greatly disturbed his most Christian Majesty, who has shown many marks of anger and mental suspense (suspensione di animo), and the more so, as some persons are of opinion that the Pope has in fact made a secret agreement, although he announces his intention of making these demonstrations, to show that he holds his most Christian Majesty in account, and the King for some while has had doubts of Cardinal Caraffa's goodwill. The arrival of this gentleman is anxiously expected in order to hear the details to be communicated by him in his Holiness' name, and in the meanwhile I understand that they are considering what should be determined, whether, as agreed, the Duke de Guise with the army should continue the expedition or be recalled, and the truce continue valid; and although it seems for the King's advantage, as his army is in order, to continue the war, yet nevertheless the wants of the kingdom, most especially of money, should the war be a long one, and the constant opinion of the Constable, that this is neither the fitting nor convenient moment for his Majesty to go to war, are held in great account. The Cardinal of Lorraine, from fear of this resolve, is in suspense, he and all his family, ever since his return from Italy, having favoured the war; it also seeming to him that were his brother the Duke de Guise recalled without attempting some exploit, it would not be quite to his honour (con intiero suo honore).*

The Duke de Guise did not reach Lyons until the 7th instant, and having had orders to speed his journey, he was to proceed postwise yesterday, on his way to cross the Alps, as he has informed the King through one of his gentlemen; and the Marshal de Brissac being better will leave Lyons in four days for Grenoble, to make the muster of the troops who are to descend into Italy, should they be ready; if not, his Excellency will cross and the musters will be

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made beyond the Alps, which inspection would have been performed by the Duke de Guise, had not the occasion arisen for his speedy departure. M. de Termes also is much indisposed, both physically and morally, first from gout, and secondly because a marshalship being vacant through the death of the Duke de Bouillon, he hoped to succeed to it, and had well nigh the sure promise to that effect, but the Duke d'Aumale, the brother of M. de Guise, having stepped in between, asking it for himself, and being also favoured by his mother-in-law Madame de Valentinois, the King has not chosen to make any decision, and will thus for the present leave the post vacant.

The French Commissioners who were on the frontiers of Calais about the disputes respecting them, have returned without any decision.

Poissy, 13th December 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 13.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

762. The SAME to the SAME.

Concerning the engagement of Francesco Bernardin Vilmercato, whose departure for Piedmont, and the necessity for caution in his mode of quitting the French service, delays his entering that of the Republic, which he is, however, determined to do.

Poissy, 13th December 1556.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 14.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.

763. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, and FEBO CAPELLA, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Caraffa sent his secretary, Sachetti, this morning to say he should be glad to speak to us; he said, "I have been some eight hours with the Pope to decide about my going to Venice, as his Holiness will not fail to let the Signory know by word of mouth how much he values the offices performed by them for the peace, and, wishing to do everything with their counsel, to unbosom himself to them; and being unable to do so in person, as he would wish, and not knowing where to find anybody more akin to him or more informed about the matter than I am, he wishes me to go; this short delay proceeding from the Pope's having seen by the summary of the Signory's letters that the King of Spain evinces a wish for the agreement to be made speedily, and that you, ambassador, or some other person should endeavour to put an end to the difficulties and settle them, the Pope saying it would not be well for me to go until by his order I had first spoken with your lordships and had heard what you were commissioned to do about this business, so that on my arrival at Venice his Serenity might not say, 'The ambassador and the secretary who are at Rome are ordered to effect the agreement.'"

I, ambassador, replied that your Serenity desiring nothing but to see Italy, and especially this See Apostolic, in peace and quiet, which would be so universally beneficial, you had performed such offices as seemed necessary to you, both through me, with his Holiness,

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and his right reverend Lordship, through my colleague accredited to King Philip, and through his ambassador Vargas, who went to him from Venice ; you having also done the like with the Duke of Alva, by means of his Excellency's agents, and through this secretary (Febo Capella), who had been four times to the Duke, giving him even to understand that it would very greatly please the Signory, in order to put an end to this most important war, that Paliano should be left at the free disposal of the Pope. Cardinal Caraffa confirmed this, saying that the Pope and they his nephews would never forget so great an obligation, and that his Holiness was so touched (*intenerito*) by your Serenity's good offices and those of your ministers, that being unable to go to you in person, he had determined to send one who could best represent him, that individual being himself. To this I, ambassador, rejoined that the mission of so honourable and great a personage, most especially at the present moment, was superfluous, we having performed the office abundantly, and assuring him that it would be repeated, adding that the secretary (Capella) and I never failed to perform similar offices, and that if his lordship would indicate anything else for the attainment of this peace, we were ready to execute it according to your Serenity's commission. He replied that he could suggest nothing more, it seeming to him that every duty had been fulfilled (*che se habbi adempito tutti li numeri*), saying that Cardinal Pacheco had just left him, after showing him a letter from the King of Spain containing the same expressions as those addressed to your Serenity, purporting that his Majesty had sent fresh orders ; but as the Duke of Alva did not explain himself, Caraffa told Pacheco that the Imperialists must not think to put him to sleep with these fine words without deeds, as unless he saw something more he could not fail to retain his friends and to make new ones, in order not to let himself be crushed, and that he would urge the march of the French, so that they might be near at hand to aid him on the expiration of the truce, of which 15 days had already elapsed ; adding, "Cardinal Pacheco told me that the Duke of Alva wrote to the King that no security had been offered him against the invasion of the kingdom of Naples." Then he showed us what the Pope wrote, to the effect that he was willing to give them such securities as were fair and usual among Princes, saying, "The Duke would not accept it, nor do we know what other securities we could give them, as if they insist on cities and hostages the Pope would require reciprocity ; if they demand Civitavecchia we shall claim Gaeta ; if they ask for Ancona, we, on the other hand, should want Brindisi and Taranto. If they ask for one of us as hostage, the Pope will choose to have some member of the King's family."

To this Pacheco replied, "Then what are we to do ? it would be well for these Lords (*questi signori*) to mediate for both sides," which words we let pass without demanding farther explanation, and Caraffa proceeded, "I inquired whether he said this in the King's name ; he replied no, but that this might be negotiated, and I told him that after the proposal is made it will be answered."

I, ambassador, answered that in like manner as your Sublimity was determined not to allow any opportunity for performing offices

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in favour of the peace, where necessary, to escape you, so in disputes of such importance it did not seem fit to you to arbitrate (*dì poner l'arbitrio suo*), hoping to be able to do more good by persuading and praying one side and the other to make peace. The Cardinal then continued that these two difficulties alone remaining, the one concerning guarantee, the other about Paliano; with regard to the first, he told Pacheco that they might ask what they pleased, as the Pope on the other hand would do the like; "and if they chose to say that they gave a great guarantee by restoring the Papal territory occupied by them, I told him that yet greater was the Pope's guarantee in confirming to them the kingdoms held in fief from the Church, of which they are deprived for rebellion in war against their Prince, by so much the more as by coming even to the gates of Rome they took off the mask of fear, which they pretended to have of his Holiness, showing that the forces of the See Apostolic do not suffice for self-defence, still less for invasion of the kingdom of Naples. Respecting Paliano, I told him resolutely that the Pope would never consent to its being restored to the Colonna family, having deprived them of it according to justice, and were it said, 'Your possession of it causes us suspicion,' I then ask you, 'If you trust us for the rest, why not rely on us for this likewise?'"

In conclusion Caraffa said, "Cardinal Pacheco remained without knowing what to answer, and I added to him, 'Shall I demonstrate to you clearly the Pope's goodwill, and that he never chose to drive you to despair? Could not his Holiness make a dozen cardinals (*una docina de cardinali*) opposed to the King of Spain, so that you Spaniards would have gone and shut yourselves up in a corner? This, however, he did not do, because he still wished to see you return to your duty. Well do you know how much such a promotion would matter to the King, for you yourself showed me his letters urging you to pray his Holiness not to make cardinals, because it would confound everything; but I promise you that if the rupture continues the Pope will make more than one, and such ones that you will pull your beards (*e tali che vi metterete la mano in la barba*); and although these times will pass, and owing to the Pope's old age you perhaps hope that he will not be present hereafter, I tell you his Holiness can always make cardinals, and will do so from necessity, as you see clearly how much we need them.' I then demonstrated to him in what confusion King Philip would be should the war continue, for he has not quiet possession of England, still less of Germany; the King of Bohemia is his enemy; Spain is Catholic, so that he perhaps does not exercise such command there as he could wish, the disturbances there about the affairs of the clergy being already notorious; the Milanese is mortgaged (*impegnato*); the kingdom of Naples dissatisfied, and wishing nothing more than this war, which, were nothing worse to come of it, would prevent him from availing himself of its revenues, which constitute his real Indies (*le sue vere Indie*), for the millions of Peru always reduce themselves to nothing, by so much the more as we know that what they have done hitherto was with the money of the Queen of Poland [Queen Dowager Bonna Sforza], which having come to an end, complaints are heard both from the Italians and

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Spaniards who deserted, because they had neither pay nor food ; but should the peace take place King Philip establishes his affairs, if not all of them, assuredly those of Italy, as when the Pope is no longer opposed to him, he has nobody to fear, as the forces of the King of France in Italy are not sufficient to molest him, and the few he has in Tuscany, were the Pope I will not say opposed to him, but neutral, and if he chose to keep the grain for his own territory, would have to surrender, as the fortresses there have no territory of their own to supply them with provisions, nor harbours to give them succour, nor neighbouring friendly towns to furnish what they need ; so that in short there ought to be no difficulty on the part of King Philip about the peace, but the cause of the mischiefs is that the negotiation is not rightly understood. In order to leave nothing untried, I wrote a loving letter to Don Ruy Gomez, who answers me thus" (and he then read to us the letter from Brussels, dated the 20th ult., announcing in substance the King's goodwill towards the peace, and his own with regard to serving Cardinal Caraffa, and that he hoped this his desire would have a good result); the Cardinal adding, "I have chosen to communicate the whole to let you know the truth of what I have always told you, that we never imagine anything without acquainting you with it. After dinner I shall go to the Pope and hear his decision ; send the secretary hither, as I will tell him everything, as I have done and always will do." We thanked him for this confidential communication, and I added that perceiving the disposition of the King of Spain to be good, that of the Duke of Alva not averse to the peace, and above all that the Pope and Caraffa himself and his brothers desired it, we trusted it would take place, and again offered our services to that effect.

Then this evening at 3.40 p.m. Cardinal Caraffa, on coming forth from the Pope's apartment, where he had been with him for three hours, found my secretary, who was waiting for him, and taking him by the hand, having led him into his chamber, he whispered in his ear, "To-morrow morning I shall leave for Venice ; there is no occasion to say more, save that you must detain the courier until I send you a letter for the Nuncio, and let the ambassador write to his Serenity that I wish to be received as a son without ceremonies, or a formal entry (*nè incontri*).

Rome, 14th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

764. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

There does not seem to be any further confirmation of the suspicion about the Calais plot ; and the death of that Englishman who killed himself, and the flight of the Frenchman who escaped quite safe (it not having been true that he was taken), are attributed to their fear of detection as coiners of base money, it being reported that subsequently in the Englishman's house they found dies and metallic mixtures and tools for that purpose ; so whether it be true, or this be reported to conceal the fact, the late rumour about it has ceased entirely. The stay there of the Earl of Pembroke is

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for the causes written by me, and also because the cold weather continuing, and the marshes round Calais and the neighbouring places on which their safety depends being frozen, were there danger of any invasion, either by treachery or otherwise, the present season would be more opportune than any other, as both infantry and cavalry can go in safety and pass in every direction. On this account, being there with his retinue, the Earl not only strengthens the garrison, but causes the place to be more strictly guarded.

The notice to appear on the day of the Epiphany was not sent to the peers of the realm (*alli signori del Regno*), but merely to the knights, pensioners, and stipendiaries, to pass them in general review and see whether they have their arms and horses in order, as they are bound.

The last news from Italy about the suspension for 10 (*sic*) days of hostilities with the Pope, and the going of the cardinals to the Duke of Alva, has fully comforted the Queen, filling her with hope that the adjustment must ensue, and consequently the return of the King; so for the sake of being nearer him she in four days will move to Greenwich, there to pass the Christmas holidays in state (*solennemente*) as usual.*

The payment of her many debts, which the Queen made and continues making largely, putting into circulation a great quantity of money derived from the last loan, has caused great fear about depreciation of the coinage, so that all debtors are endeavouring to pay their creditors, creating great confusion and rumour both amongst natives and aliens, and considerable variation of exchanges; requiring a remedy, which it is said will be applied at the suit of the lord mayor in the name of the city, by some public demonstration to allay this panic, which might cause some tumult, besides leading to an intolerable scarcity, as it will be impossible to find vendors of anything save at most exorbitant prices, to guarantee themselves against the depreciation of the coinage (*del danno della moneta*).†

London, 14th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

765. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Nuncio having been to the King on business, his Majesty again laid before him very adroitly (con assai destre prole) how much he regretted the proceedings on the part of his Holiness, when he the King had moved with so considerable a force for his defence; adding that he had news of his cavalry's having crossed the Alps very pros-

* "The xxij day of Desember the Quen's grace [removed] from Sant James through the parke, and toke [her barge] unto Lambyth unto my lord Cardenalle's place, [where] her grace dynyd with hym and dyvers of the [council]; and after dener her grace toke her gornay to Grewyche to kepe her Cryustymus ther." (See Machyn, p. 122.)

† Several words at the close of this letter are illegible, but I think I have given their meaning. In the Domestic Calendar there are no notices about the coinage at the close of 1556; but on the 23rd December in that year, Machyn records a proclamation forbidding "watt man somover they may be that doysse forsake testorns, and do not take them for vjd a pisse for corne or vetelles, or any odur thynges or ware."

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perously, without having even seen snow, part of the French infantry having also done the like, and that the rest was on its march, it being his belief that by this time the Switzers would have arrived in Piedmont. The Constable addressed him in similar terms, but as the Nuncio has neither letters nor advice of any sort about this prorogation, he knew not what else to reply, save that his Holiness would do nothing that could displease his Majesty; and some importance is attached to the fact that Cardinal Caraffa should not have commissioned the Nuncio in the Pope's name to make any communication to the King about this conclusion; so the suspicion and distrust of his Holiness increases, and the most Christian King considers it certain that the agreement is already as it were made (*che l'accordo sia giù come fatto*).

Signor Carlo Birago is come in great haste from Piedmont, to give account of the preparations which are being made against the Milanese, and to obtain money for the veteran infantry in Piedmont, to whom nine arrears of pay (*nove paghe*) are due, and from despair they desert their posts; but the chief cause of his coming is to give advice of some understanding, he, with his brother Ludovico, being a very fitting instrument for these schemes, and when here a month ago he told me that the designs were not dormant; so whether on this account, or because it is more for his most Christian Majesty's dignity that his forces should not slacken their progress, it is said constantly that the entire army will continue its march as originally ordered; the King by having an army in Piedmont taking advantage of it, either for the war, or for the renewal of such agreement as might be negotiated. The Duke of Ferrara has given his Majesty notice of the Pope's proceedings, inquiring what the King's will was in case the agreement should be stipulated; and they are sending back M. de Forcavoe (*sic*) to let the Duke know that the King's army will by all means descend into Piedmont.

According to fresh advices, it seems that the Duke de Guise has changed his purpose of going postwise, and will take the road by Grenoble, making long days journeys (*a bone giornate*); and according to news received by me from some of my friends at Lyons, pecuniary supply had been made there for his Majesty, down to the 8th instant, to the amount of 300,000 crowns, paying interest at the rate of 16 per cent., in addition to the 900,000 about which I wrote heretofore, and they still continue raising other loans.

Poissy, 16th December 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 17.

Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B. p. 98,
tergo.

766. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Through the opportunity afforded me by the Magnifico Messer Lunardo, who departs to-day for Venice postwise, I inform your Serenity that according to his intention Cardinal Caraffa, on the morning after I wrote my last, left Rome for Venice with 50 posters in four sets (*in quattro mude*). Great things are said, but as they come from persons who do not know the particulars they vary; some say that he will go from Venice to the King of Spain to make the

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agreement; others that he will urge your Serenity to declare war; but all are agreed in believing that you will do him all possible honour, both by reason of his importance and authority, as also on account of the Pope's nature, which attaches great importance to these ceremonies (*per la natura del Pont^e che sta assai in queste cerimonie*). Yesterday in consistory the Pope alluded to this departure of the Cardinal.

Rome, 17th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18.
Venetian
Archives.
No. 7 B. p. 99.

767. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Ambassador in Rome, and FEBO CAPELLA, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at audience I returned thanks to the Pope for the honourable testimony rendered by him to you in consistory, to which he replied, that he chose the affection borne by him to the Republic to be known to everybody, the world being thus assured that so long as it shall please God to keep him alive, he would never fail doing all that he can for your Serenity's benefit, as besides his personal goodwill, there moreover intervened a very close and most important state friendship, as in this afflicted Italy there was nothing good but the See Apostolic and the most illustrious Signory (*non essendo in questa afflitta Italia altro di bene, che la sede apostolica, et quella Sig^{ria} Ill^{ma}*); it being necessary for the two to have a good understanding together, and to be united for their preservation, the Lord God having founded and maintained the Venetian Republic, that it may uphold the honour of this miserable province, now alas but too much ruled and mangled (*stracciata*) by brutes (bestie); coming to the conclusion that all the other friendships were nothing as compared with this one, which is natural and advantageous for one and the other, and they may be said to be not of one and the same nation, but of one and the same country.

In accordance with your Serenity's orders received yesterday, I ambassador then said, that the reverence entertained by the Signory for the See Apostolic, and especially for his Holiness, caused you to wish him the greatest possible blessing, which is peace and quiet, and therefore with great pleasure had you seen the prorogation of the truce for the 40 days, from which you hoped would ensue that peace which you had so much desired and sought for, as you had again written to the King of Spain, and to your ambassador with him, exhorting his Majesty to a reconciliation with the See Apostolic, which business having been apparently referred to that court, and the Duke of Alva returning to Naples, you charged the Secretary, after humbly kissing his Holiness' foot, to return to Venice.

The Pope replied, "So many have been the offices performed for us by the Signory, and we hold them so dear, that to thank the State for them, and also (having heard from the Court of Spain that he [King Philip] offered to refer the whole to his Serenity [the Doge], and when pressing the business (*et nel stringer la cosa*), it being impossible to verify it here, as these persons to whom the King wrote are not acquainted with it; you, Lord Ambassador, also having answered our Cardinal as he told us, that you had no such commis-

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sion) to enlighten ourselves about it, we determined to send the Cardinal our son (*nostro figliolo*) to Venice, being unable to go in person as would have been our wish; and had there been anybody dearer to us than he is, or who could have represented us more nearly, we would have sent him. We have employed the best we have (*habbiamo messo man a quel più che habbiamo potuto*); we have not sent a legate *a latere*, but our offspring (*le viscere nostre*) and our identical person; saying to him, 'Go, Monsignor (as the Signory has accepted you and the whole family for their sons and servants), to see your country, to visit the Sublimity of the Prince and those most excellent Lords in our name, and to offer them yourself and your brothers as their servants, assuring them that we shall leave to you as chief legacy our affection for the Republic; and you will learn whether the King of Spain has made this reference (*remissione*) to their lordships, because should this be true, although we know that to refer our disputes to anyone would compromise our dignity, yet nevertheless by reason of our especial affection for that Dominion, we would consent to justify our actions to the Signory.' This good son accepted the charge willingly, and with so much joy that no words could exaggerate it, and we assuredly should have wished to send him at a moment when he could have remained longer there for the satisfaction of those Lords and for his own, but the few remaining days of the truce will compel him to return speedily; and we told him besides to endeavour to obtain a writing from his Sublimity expressing his pleasure and wishes, so that we may gratify him, as is our extreme desire, as so often explained by us to you."

The Pope continued, "We are awaiting what the Almighty shall be pleased to do, and although we know that it would be our duty to finish the trials (*processi*) and pass sentence on those Imperialists (*contro costoro*) as their iniquity and impiety have deserved, driving them not merely out of Italy but out of the world, yet do we bear with patience (as we moreover have done hitherto) so many assassinations, plots, poisonings, occupation of part of the papal territory, and other heinous actions perpetrated by them, without choosing to proceed farther, being ready to pardon what they have done, although somewhat to the charge of our conscience, in order to give this satisfaction to the world and to the Signory in particular, wishing them to know that we do not fail to make the agreement, for which purpose we twice sent our Cardinal to the Duke of Alva; but we are certain that the Imperialists, whilst talking of peace, will wage war upon us. We choose to believe that the injury they have done us was as penance for our sins, because the Lord punishes his children; *quis enim filius quem non corripit pater? Castigans castigavit me Dominus, sed non morti tradidit.** The Lord God will not allow us to perish; and if He delayed assisting us, it was perhaps to make the benefit appear greater, and that we might value it the more.

"As already said by us, we shall wait to see what they may do, and

* "In disciplina perseverat. Tamquam filiis vobis offert se Deus: *quis enim filius quem non corripit pater?*" Epistola Sancti Pauli, cap. xii. verso 7. "*Castigans castigavit me Dominus; et morti non tradidit me.*" Salmo cxvii. verso 18. (Biblia Sacra, Venetiis, 1760, Tip. Baglioni.)

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peace will ensue provided they do not fail in their duty, and should they act otherwise we will move heaven and earth, and turn all the elements topsy-turvy (*et volteremo sotto sopra tutti li elementi*), to avenge the injury done to God. We will make a crusade against them, and those who shall be of a contrary opinion will not be considered by us good Christians, neither shall we hold those who are not with us to be sons of the Church, be they who they may. We tell you so plainly, and do you, secretary, let it be known to those lords, together with the other particulars about our will (*volontà*), and the iniquity of those Imperialists, as so often narrated by us to you.

"The Imperialists here (as written also by Philip to the Signory) say that he has sent fresh orders. This Duke [of Alva], if unable to come himself, or not choosing to do so, ought to have sent some one in authority to let us know what his instructions are; but they can bode no good, and bear in mind what we tell you, that they have seized this part of our territory in order to retain and not to restore it, hoping to find us always alone, and by degrees to make themselves masters of the whole of it; but the Lord God will not abandon us; His Majesty abandons those who are dear to Him until a certain point, and then makes himself felt in their defence, wherefore the Psalmist, who was so well versed in theology, sang the divine mysteries thus, '*Non derelinquas me, Domine, usquequaque*,' knowing that to be abandoned *ad tempus* is the cause of making our imperfection known to us. The Lord will not forget us, and these heretics and Moriscos, His enemies, will perceive it; the which heretics, and I invoke the testimony of God and of all the saints, have not kept faith, and never will keep it; wherefore, secretary, tell those lords not to believe them, whatever they may say, and think not that we speak thus from anger and passion, as you would assuredly deceive yourself; we say it from experience, and from prudence acquired by constant intercourse with them. Our determination is that we will wait and see what it shall please the Almighty to do, with the firm hope that He will assist us. You, secretary, will go on your way prosperously. Recommend us to the most Serene Signory; salute the sublimity of the Doge and all those Lords in our name; assure them of our very great wish for their greatness and glory, and that the Lord God may grant that this new year may prove to them the most auspicious of any since the Republic's foundation down to the present day."

I, secretary, replied that I would not fail to execute his Holiness' commission, and that I was certain that, although before now your Serenity was aware of his Beatitude's paternal love for you, and was therefore under the greatest possible obligations to him, yet would it please you to hear of it from me likewise. Thereupon I, ambassador, knowing that the Duke of Paliano, Marshal Strozzi, and Camillo Orsini were waiting for audience, told the secretary to kiss his Holiness' foot, and after performance of that ceremony the Pope, on his rising, embraced and kissed him very graciously, saying that he was one of his dear sons, that they were about to hear him at Venice, and that he loved him for the memory of his ancestors. The Pope then gave him his benediction, and we took leave. Our audience having lasted until 7 p.m., I, ambassador, being troubled

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with a violent cold (*discesa di catharro*) (having almost completely lost my voice, for which nothing is worse than the night air), was unable to go to the Duke of Paliano, but I, secretary, went and acquainted him with the fresh offices performed by your Serenity by letter with the King of Spain in favour of the peace, adding that I had received leave to return to Venice in consequence of the Duke of Alva's departure for Naples, and because the negotiation for the peace had been transferred to the court of the King of Spain.

The Duke replied, "For the love of God let this agreement be made speedily, for I see the world going upside down. The Duke de Guise writes from Lyons on the 6th, that he had arrived there on that day, and that the men-at-arms were already in Piedmont, the infantry also arriving by degrees, and that he himself should be there in a few days, and in marching order by the 20th; the necessary consequence of which would be that King Philip will send Germans across the Alps, Italy being thus filled with barbarians. Then comes the jealousy between the Duke of Ferrara and the Duke of Parma, which will not allow us to remain quiet, and this very day the Duke of Ferrara had the Pope's leave asked to raise 6,000 infantry. It is unnecessary to speak of the Duke of Florence, his territory being in greater jeopardy than that of anyone else; and although the Pope has given him every satisfaction, he doing the like by his Holiness, he nevertheless cannot stop and look on, for every one will have to take a part. The Pope would wish for peace in fact, but the Imperialists solely in words, because they have an especial hatred against his Holiness and us his nephews, assuredly without reason with regard to us, as we brothers have always served him without the slightest reward, as what little territory we have is ours by inheritance, acquired through the blood of the King of Aragon; but if they will it thus we can do nothing more, the fault is theirs. That we wish for peace will, I believe, be credited as certain by everybody, without many words, *for war can only bring destruction upon us, since by means of it we cannot hope to obtain possession of our country, as Duke Alessandro de' Medici did of Florence in the time of Pope Clement, as it would be folly for us to think of making ourselves kings of Naples; but through peace we might at least hope to establish our family by employing the money now reserved for war in the purchase of landed property for our maintenance. I shall serve the Pope during his lifetime, and then pass the rest of my days in Venice; so assure his Serenity of my readiness to serve him.*"

I then took leave, and went to the Marquis of Montebello, who, when he heard that I was returning to your Sublimity, urged me to recommend him to you. *He evinced great sorrow for this war, saying that the sudden departure of his brother the Cardinal for Venice had caused him great suspicion, but that he was subsequently comforted, his Lordship having told him he was going to promote the negotiation for the agreement. He greatly commended the very sage proceeding of your Serenity in all your affairs, especially for your remaining at peace.*

I leave for Venice to-morrow.

Rome, 18th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 19.

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Archives,
No. 7 B.

p. 101, tergo.

768. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At 6 a.m., on Tuesday, Cardinal Caraffa departed with 50 posters in four sets (*in 4 mude*) to secure relays, and amongst his attendants are several prelates, the Archbishop of Cosenza, the Bishops of Pola, Vercelli, and Vitellozzo, besides many honourable gentlemen, which makes me believe that although he said he did not wish to be met by deputations (*incontri*), but to be received like a son, it would nevertheless please him to be honoured in such form as observed by your Serenity in similar cases. This fact is well known, that there never was a Pope who delighted more in ceremonies and honour, rendered to himself and his kinsfolk, than the present one. On Wednesday there was consistory, and the Pope said that he had summoned it to give account of the going to Venice of Cardinal Caraffa, his Holiness praising your Serenity in such form as he knows how to do when it pleases him; he commended the offices performed by you with King Philip, as also here with the Duke of Alva, in favour of peace; saying that personally, and as Pope, he felt himself obliged to you, and that the Sacred College ought to be of the same mind. He gave account of the letters written by the King of Spain to your Serenity, of his wish for the agreement, adding that he had been advised from that Court that the King would refer the disputes to you, but that when seeking for the truth of this he did not find any ground for it; and that when Cardinal Caraffa made inquiry of me on the subject, I replied that this arbitration had not been announced to me; so his Holiness, to enlighten himself about this, and also to have thanks returned to your Serenity for so many offices performed by you, had sent the Cardinal his nephew. He then added that he should not make Cardinals at Christmas, as was perhaps expected, although that order had great need for it; and he ended by conferring the archbishopric of Milan on the Reverend Archinto, with many conditions to which it was thought his Holiness ought not to have assented, the interpretation being that he did so to oblige the Cardinal of Ferrara and the Duke his brother.

I am moreover told by a cardinal that the mission of Cardinal Caraffa is the more important in proportion to the futility of the causes which the Pope assigns for it, as to thank you, a letter would have sufficed, without despatching the chief person about him, and the one he loves best, who is charged to direct everything, so that this circumstance gives rise to various opinions about war and peace, but the majority have more fear of the former than hope of the latter. On the day of Cardinal Caraffa's departure no one was allowed to pass the gates of Rome, to delay the advices of his journey for a day, but on the morrow couriers were sent to all the courts. The Imperial Cardinals, most especially San Giacomo and Pacheco, still hope for peace, but Cardinal *S^{ta}. Fiora* [Guido Ascanio Sforza] told a person in his confidence, that the Count his brother [Carlo Sforza] arrived at Naples last Saturday, on board a "*fregata*," and having been much urged by the Duke of Alva to go with all haste, he narrowly escaped drowning. The Duke entered Naples on the preceding day, and is supposed to have sent for him to make arrangements in case the war continue.

Cardinal Sermoneta has told my secretary that the Pope in fact

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wished for war, and that he desired Mons. de Morette, who left for France some days ago, to let the most Christian King know that he was not to take any heed for the truce (*che non mettesse in alcuna consideratione le tregue*); that he the Pope was determined not to make any sort of agreement (*che era risoluto di non voler alcuna sorte d'accordo*), and that he was to urge the Duke de Guise to advance in double quick time; to which effect, Mons. de Morette has also sent the said Duke two couriers. The Cardinal added that the design is to invade the kingdom of Naples by way of the Abruzzi, and therefore they have had a report made of the amount of grain in the March of Ancona, and find there 25 thousand "*salme*" of wheat more than the province requires, so they have given orders for it to be saved together with that of the Romagna, and to provide carts and beasts of burden to draw them whither required. He also says that the fort raised by the Imperialists on the island at the mouth of the stream (*fiumicino*) is of little consequence, because in the direction of Porto, where the site favours them, these lords are building another higher than theirs, which will batter everything, as will appear by the accompanying plan, together with many other particulars, carefully drawn up by an experienced person who has been on the spot. What they fear here, with regard to the total loss of the convenience derived from the river, is, that the Spaniards might sink three or four boat-loads of stones in that channel, which would close it completely.

Cardinal Sermoneta also said, that matters remaining in their present state, his Holiness on the return of Cardinal Caraffa will make a dozen cardinals (*farà una docina de Card^{ti} al ritorno dell' Ill^{mo} Caraffa*) to consolidate the affairs of his family, the individuals having been already designated, but as the Cardinal did not name them, my secretary did not ask who they were. In conclusion, his Right Reverend Lordship discussed the interests of Cardinal Farnese and Duke Ottavio, saying that it will now be seen how rashly they decided, as on the passage of the Duke de Guise, whether they concede or refuse it, they would declare themselves either against the Pope or against King Philip; if against the Pope, they will not fare well, because their fief lapses (*perchè cascano da feudo*); if against the King of Spain, the son [Alessandro Farnese, Prince of Parma] and the wife [Margaret of Austria], who are in his Majesty's power, will fare badly.

Moreover this morning, Signor Flaminio di Stabio, the brother-in-law of Marshal Strozzi, told my secretary that the advices from the Duke de Guise are not in the form published by the French ministers here; that he saw the Duke's letter addressed to the ambassador of the most Christian King, dated Lyons the 8th, in which he (Guise) says that he shall remain in that city for another six days; that much to his satisfaction he had heard of the prorogation of the truce for 40 days, as it would give him time to adjust his affairs better; and that in the meanwhile he would place the cavalry in garrison, and that by the 20th he expected to be with Marshal de Brissac to take the field (*per uscir in campagna*), without specifying whether he will commence (*romperà*) in that direction (*in quella parte*) [Piedmont?], or attempt the passage at once, in order to come hither.

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As this announcement implied a long delay, the French ambassador did not wish to impart it to the Pope as it stands, but merely to say that the Duke de Guise is coming, and would be in marching order by the 20th; Marshal Strozzi said that this would be to deceive the Pope, and to discredit the King and the Duke de Guise, and that he deemed it necessary to represent the business to his Holiness as it in fact stood, and thus did they tell it him yesterday. Signor Flaminio also said that Cardinal Caraffa, in the act of departure, requested Marshal Strozzi to let the Pope know that by no means can the French be in time, which he says is the only way whereby to make his Holiness condescend to the agreement; and that the most illustrious Caraffa went joyfully to Venice, because he hopes that after complying with the Pope's wish, and having convinced him that France cannot, and that Venice will not, he will give ear to the peace.

This gentleman said besides, that yesterday morning when these lords (*questi signori*) were sitting in consultation, the Ferrarese ambassador announced (propose) that his Duke had the courage to raise 6,000 infantry, and that he would ask the Pope's leave to do so. On the ambassador's departure Marshal Strozzi opposed the measure, as these troops would be of no use, the amount being too great to guard the Duke's territory, and unnecessary to reinforce the Duke de Guise, because, should he cross speedily, he will meet with no opposition, and if he delays until the Imperialists are in order something more than 6,000 infantry will be required. This opinion was accepted, and thus did they persuade the Pope to answer him, his Holiness having written accordingly last evening.

Rome, 19th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20.
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.
p. 103.

769. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning the Pope repeated what he had said in consistory about his reasons for sending Cardinal Caraffa to Venice, and praised his Lordship as sage, well-minded, and most useful to the See Apostolic, so he had destined him as Legate all over Italy, *et ad quoscumque Principes in Italia ei declinare contigerit*, and having taken the votes of the Cardinals they confirmed the appointment, with the full powers conceded to Legates *de latere*. Cardinal Cornaro acquainted me with this immediately, and the Pope said, "To honour the Signory we have made our Cardinal, Legate, to the general satisfaction and applause of these right reverends, who are all Venetians." For this I returned thanks to his Holiness, and as some persons said that he would also be Legate *extra Italiam*, which seemed to me a thing of great importance, I sent to ask the Reverend Berengo, who has to draw up the brief, and he replied that he was Legate with every sort of power whithersoever he went; but certain Cardinals having told me that the Pope rejected a suggestion made for appointing him *etiam extra Italiam*, I sent my secretary to the Cardinals Carpi and Sermoneta to ascertain the fact, and they replied that Cardinal Caraffa is made Legate in Italy to every prince in Italy, and to each place (*loco*) in Italy to which he may have occasion to go; and Cardinal Saraceno when giving his

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vote having said that it would be well to appoint him Legate beyond Italy likewise, the Pope rejoined that nothing farther was requisite at present, there not being sufficient hope of universal peace for him to form such a resolve, and that should it please God to render the hope possible, he would provide for sending one or more of their right reverend lordships (*uno et più di S.S. Rev^{me}*). Cardinal Sermoneta also said to my secretary *that the Imperialists are very dissatisfied about this legation, as they fancy they perceive the appointment of a Legate to the French army; and Cardinal Carpi said that to-day a thing has been done such as was never perhaps previously heard of in secret consistory, for of this legation they then called in witnesses, who were the reverend "Datario" and the Procurator Fiscal (sono stà rogati testimonij, qual furono il reverendo Datario et il Fiscal).*"

I announce by express this important and unexpected decision, which astounds everybody here.

Rome, 20th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

770. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been in constant consultation, whether he should decide on delaying the war in Piedmont or move it at once, nor did the Constable fail doing all he could to persuade his most Christian Majesty to take time, alleging as his principal reason, that the war having been moved for the Pope's defence, the result of these negotiations for agreement should be awaited; and on the other hand, the King with the assistance of the Cardinal of Lorraine demonstrated that the dignity of his name did not admit, after having sent an army for the defence of the Pope, who in the meanwhile negotiated an agreement without his knowledge, of his Majesty's making it halt; by so much the more he having announced to the King of England that by attacking the Pope he attacked his most Christian Majesty, by reason of his having assumed the protection of his Holiness; yet even had the latter made an agreement, the King's honour nevertheless was not satisfied; and having used other arguments besides, his most Christian Majesty said that there was no farther need of debate, as he had determined that the Duke de Guise should push forward (*si spingesse inanti*) in that direction, wheresoever he might think most to the purpose; so that should the Pope not have made any agreement, the King would show by deed the commencement of his defence, in the hope of diverting the Duke of Alva; and should the Pope have made terms, the King of England would know how much it had mattered to offend his dignity. The Constable, who, whenever he sees the King determined on any resolve, endeavours to gratify his will, making it appear that these arguments convinced him, said he thought this would be the best (*che questo fusse il meglio*), because should it be necessary to continue the war, it was well for the King to be the first to invade, and should an opportunity present itself for settling some fresh agreement, he might make it more to his advantage; in addition to which, M. de Guise by effecting some enterprise would also satisfy his honour (*si satisfac-*

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rebbe anche all' honor suo). Signor Carlo was despatched immediately, with orders to go first to the Duke de Guise and communicate this resolve, urging him to continue his journey, and that he do then enter Piedmont and arrange everything possible about secret understandings (*intelligentie*) and other matters, so that immediately the army is embodied it may attempt some expedition. With these orders Carlo Birago departed on the day before yesterday, taking with him pecuniary supply (*provisione*) for the four arrears of pay due to the veteran infantry, and other funds for the fortresses.

Then yesterday M. de Morette arrived from Rome, where he left all the private letters which had been consigned to him, and he brings word that in three or four days the Lord Giulio Orsini will arrive here in the name of the Pope, who is sending Monsignor Fantucci to his Catholic Majesty, to exhort both sovereigns to devise the form of adjustment between his Holiness and King Philip, *who it is said offers the Pope Sienna as compensation for Paliano*. His most Christian Majesty evinces great suspicion, and anger, so that when Cardinal Caraffa's agent appeared before him, the King by three or four frowns gave him tacitly occasion to withdraw from his presence.

The gentleman who came to the King in the name of the Count of Pitigliano, has been despatched with letters of favour praying the Pope to send the Count hither as a prisoner, in order that as he is a knight of the Order [of St. Michael], and in the royal service, his Majesty may sentence him as becoming.

Poissy, 21st December 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 21.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

771. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Court has not yet made the expected demonstration to remove the general suspicion about the depreciation of the coinage (*l'abbassar la moneta*), the fear of which has so increased both here and in the country that with difficulty can any necessities (*cosa alcuna che sia di momento*) be bought save at high and exorbitant prices ; and the chief lords of the Court, contrary to their custom, having paid a great part of their creditors, owing to the opportunities thus afforded them (*per quelle commodità che hanno havuto*) [by payment of their arrears ?], the alarm has by so much the more augmented, in such wise that yesterday whilst we were accompanying the Queen* I was assured by the Regent Figueroa that at his suggestion (he considering the matter of such importance as it is) the ministers, by her Majesty's order, were to meet to-day to make some provision, which, in one

* ["The xx day of December the Queen rode in her chariot through the park from] Sant James unto the galere" [Gallery at Whitehall?] "and so [took] her barge unto Westmyenster, and landyd [at the palace] and so in-to the Abbay," &c. (See Machyn, p. 122.) On this occasion, as stated in his "Report," the Ambassador Michiel and Cardinal Pole were in the royal barge, both going and returning, the only other attendants being the ladies-in-waiting on the Queen ; so the conversation with Figueroa must have been held on the way from St. James's to Whitehall.

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way or the other, is more than necessary, and he was of opinion that no change would be made, although others think differently, judging from the payments made by divers public officials.*

Yesterday, St. Thomas's eve, the Queen, before her departure for Greenwich, which will take place to-morrow, chose to see the Benedictine monks (*li monaci di S. Benedetto*) in their habits, in the Abbey of Westminster, whither she went to vespers, being received in state by them and their abbot, 28 in number, all men of mature age, the youngest being upwards of forty, and all endowed with learning and piety, as proved by their renunciation of the many conveniences of life (*le molte commodità che han lasciato*), the poorest having a fixed annual rental of 500 crowns, besides ready money, and some 1,500, besides the abbot, who had upwards of [blank] and was Dean of St. Paul's, which, after that of the bishops, is the chief dignity of the English clergy. Words cannot express how much this rejoiced the Legate, who is already preparing another monastery for the regular canons (*canonici regolari*) who are coming shortly.

The Queen lately contracted with the merchants-adventurers for forty thousand pounds sterling due from her in Flanders next April, to be repaid three months afterwards by means of several assignments. On account of these and other conveniences received by the Court the Royal Council has conceded to them that henceforth woollens, exported by aliens to Flanders, shall not be landed elsewhere than at Bruges, under heavy penalties; the ketches (*le scute*) being bound to take them thither and to bring back to the English custom-house (*qui alla costuma*) a certificate to that effect. For this reason the woollens which had been shipped and were on the point of departure, were stopped, it being chosen that they should either go to Bruges or not put to sea. This is extremely inconvenient and detrimental to the merchants of all nations, many of whom, although they have already been to complain of it, were answered that the order cannot be repealed. Those here of our nation have not yet made their appearance on account of two holidays, but they cannot do less than avail themselves of your Serenity's authority, and through my medium prefer all possible suit to be exempted from the obligation, though I consider the undertaking very arduous and difficult, as was that of unloading the ship at Hampton, which order they are compelled to comply with and execute.

* The Venetian Ambassador's account of this panic is confirmed by Machyn, as above, but from Michiel alone do we hear of a suspicion that the Crown had meditated any further debasement of the coinage.

In the Harleian MS., 353, f. 107, there is a passage, quoted as follows by the late John Gough Nichols (*Machyn's Diary*, pp. 317, 318) :—

"By the letteres from London" it was reported "that on the 25 daye of July, or on St. James' daye [1551], was a proclamation declaringe it was not the Kinge nor his counseles intente to altere or abase any more his coynes; yet for heare wee greate rumors that in all haste, and that prively, the Kinge and counsell was busye aboute the alteringe thearof, to be done out of hand, *whereuppon many men wane their debts, which else would not have byn payde this vij yeares.*"

In Froude's *History of England* (vol. 6, p. 460, ed. 1860), on the authority of Machyn, there is a paragraph dated 23rd December 1556, thus :—"The helpless remedy was attempted of crying up the base money, but the markets answered only by a further rise."

From the Harleian MS., and the Michiel correspondence, it seems that in December 1556, as in July 1551, there was a suspicion of some further *debasement* of the coinage, and that it was not merely "cried-up," it being also shown that on both occasions the crisis hastened the settlement of outstanding accounts.

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The long delay of the return from Brussels of the courier Francesco Piamontese, who was despatched thither 18 days ago, makes the Queen believe that her consort detains him on purpose, intending to send through him post haste (*con diligenza*), as is his custom, some decision about the affairs of Rome, on which his Majesty's return apparently depends.

London, 21st December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
pp. 182-183.

772. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Has understood what Giberto writes about the Pope's conversation with Morone, evincing dissatisfaction because he had not heard that the Queen showed regret for the war waged on his Holiness, nor that she exerted herself with the King to prevent it, being told indeed on good authority that she had aided it with money, which had greatly exasperated him against the Queen, towards whom he has always shown hitherto so much affection, and of whose great piety he had so good an opinion; his Holiness having moreover said that if Morone proposed persons to him for vacant benefices in England, he should hesitate to admit the nominations, as made by sovereigns who had thus incurred censures, &c. Morone may imagine how much this distresses Pole, and although his Henry (*Enrico mio*) [Penning] whom he sent post to Rome a week ago will have arrived long before the present letter, and by telling the truth have been enabled to dispel all umbrage from the Pope's mind, Pole nevertheless will not omit to repeat and assure Morone that the Queen on every account has been very greatly distressed at seeing her Consort in disagreement and discord with the Pope, lamenting to her heart's core that matters should have proceeded so far; nor did she fail to demonstrate this her regret, not only to Pole but to the King, and other persons likewise, and had the King been in England, Pole believes for certain that her Majesty's good and pious offices might perhaps have stayed this conflagration; nor did Pole, whose duty it was to be less reserved, omit writing with importunity to the King several times, laying before him the many and great inconveniences of such a war, and that he should rather do anything than come to a rupture. Had Pole received information from Rome he would, had it been necessary, gladly have undergone the toil of going in person to his Majesty, whose replies always showed that he of himself (*da se*) was very averse to any discord with the Pope, but at the same time expressing his strong suspicion of an attack on his kingdom of Naples, by reason of the fortification of Paliano, and from other circumstances which seemed to justify this apprehension, and that he desired nothing but a good guarantee of some sort; and in his last letter to Pole the King alluded to his goodwill, as proved by the fact of the proposals which he said he had lately charged the Duke of Alva to make. Prays God that they may have been such as to satisfy the Pope and produce some good agreement, of which great hopes were entertained, as heard by the last letters from Rome.

With regard to the suspicion of a supply of money from the Queen, Morone may believe and assure the Pope most amply in his name that what he heard is utterly false, although in England likewise

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this same report was circulated by malignants, the enemies of God and the religion, who have no other object than to render the Queen odious to all parties, rejoicing at these disagreements in proportion to her Majesty's regret for them. Respecting the presentations to the churches, Pole hopes the Pope will have received them in the same spirit in which they were made by the Queen, who, besides other motives, delighted greatly in this opportunity for demonstrating her piety at the present moment by this testimony; and should it chance that the Pope, from some bad impression about her, reject these presentations (*havesse mostrato di non volerle admetter*), the enemies of the Catholic faith and of the Apostolic See would have extreme reason to rejoice in proportion to their regret for any effect produced by the obedience of the Queen and of the kingdom to his Holiness, who may well congratulate himself on her Majesty's piety, as much as any other Pope whatever since many centuries, on that of any other most Christian and Catholic sovereign; and many persons have even had the audacity to endeavour now to dissuade the Queen from sending her presentation to these four bishoprics.

By these same letters from Giberti, Pole has understood Morone's opinion about what he thinks the King should do, having also communicated it to the Duke of Alva, evincing a wish for Pole likewise adroitly to intimate it to the King, which he will not fail to do when the opportunity presents itself; but prays God that some good adjustment may already have been effected, and that the Pope being freed from these great troubles and his manifold occupations, may with his whole soul attend to the execution of his holy projects, to the honour of His Divine Majesty, and advantage of the Church.

London, 21st December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

773. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, before communicating to the King the contents of the last Turkish news-letters, I congratulated him and all Christendom on the reasonable hope of the present truce being followed by peace between the Pope and his Majesty, who, after thanking you for the advices from Constantinople, inquired of me whether your Serenity was of opinion that should Sultan Soliman go into Hungary, or send thither so great an army, he would also put a fleet to sea next year. To this I made answer that your opinion in this matter was unknown to me, but that heretofore in similar cases I had remarked that the said Sultan, notwithstanding the land expedition, did not omit to send out a fleet, though not so large a one as he was accustomed to do when remaining in Constantinople. With regard to the peace, his Majesty then said that he knew not what authentic news to give me, as the advices from the Duke of Alva brought by Don Francisco Pacheco had not yet been deciphered, and that the peace was desired by him in such manner as he had frequently told me, and which I said I believed, and that he hoped it would take place, but that it nevertheless frequently happens that what is most desired comes to pass



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least of all, and that hereafter your Serenity would know better how inclined his mind is towards a quiet existence; all which he said to me in earnest language and with a very cheerful countenance. I replied that with much satisfaction did I hear him speak of such goodwill in so important a matter and so desired by all good Princes in Christendom, and particularly by your Serenity, who I knew had the best possible opinion of his Majesty, and I said I would write what he had said to me, respectfully exhorting him to persevere in so good a resolution, the effect of which would obtain for him extreme commendation. With this opportunity I heard in the course of conversation with Don Ruy Gomez that Don Francisco Pacheco brought word to the King that the Pope announced his very firm intention of desiring the peace (*di voler la pace*), and that he would satisfy the King greatly in what he wishes, but wished him (*ma voleva*) to refer himself to his Holiness, and earnestly requests him so to do.

I exhorted his Lordship, in the same form as used by me with the King, to take this important business to heart, and to be the instrument to effect so signal a work. Don Ruy Gomez answered me with much reserve, saying that as yet he was not acquainted with all the particulars written on that subject by the Duke of Alva, and showing (*et mostrando*) that he approved of my intention and my exhortations, and commended them.

Yesterday Count Americo di Lodrone was despatched to raise the 4,000 Germans in the Tyrol as garrison for the Milanese, a thing which to many persons of the court seems contrary to the hope of peace; but many others nevertheless consider the measure a wise one, both to be prepared in case the peace do not take place, and also for the purpose of effecting it with more repute. Through the said Don Francisco Pacheco the Duke of Alva has very earnestly asked the King's leave to come and reside with him, apologising on the plea of indisposition for being unable any longer to bear the fatigues and inconveniences of the war, and it is already reported that in his stead they will send either the Count de Feria or Don Bernardino de Mendoza. The 16 Spanish companies (*insegne*) in Hesdinfort have mutinied and expelled all their commanders and officers, electing fresh ones from amongst themselves, this mutiny having been caused not only by the nonpayment of their arrears, but through their rage on hearing that provision had been made several times for paying them in full, in like manner as it was reported a few days ago that his Majesty had assigned them the 150,000 crowns received at Antwerp on the word of the Queen of England, and notwithstanding this only a small part of that was taken to them, to the very great displeasure of his Majesty and all the chief ministers here.

The day before yesterday three delegates from Burgundy arrived here, they having been sent hither to the King by the clergy, the nobility, and the people, to obtain, as from a new Prince, the confirmation of their privileges.

Brussels, 24th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Dec. 26.
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7 B.
p. 103, tergo.

774. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday consistory assembled, and although as it does not usually meet on a day so near to that of Christmas, a sudden promotion of cardinals, or some other important event, was expected, as it sat until 3 p.m.; the greater part of the time had been nevertheless spent in audiences, after which the Pope "proposed" the church of Cambrai, and then, having conferred a monastery in France, he dismissed consistory.

Everybody here is surprised that the Duke of Alva, having had fresh orders from the King of Spain about the agreement with the Pope, has hitherto not only made no announcement whatever, but is designing a new fort at Monte-rotondo, to make himself master of the river above Rome, as he already is below, through the one built at Hostia, and with the other on the stream (*fiumicino*), though Marshal Strozzi says this last, from being small and commanded (*imboccato*) by the one which the Papal engineers are building opposite to it, can always be taken whenever the Romans slightly outnumber the enemy. It is also said that the Duke of Alva has prohibited the exportation of victuals from the kingdom of Naples to Rome, as is in fact proved by nothing having arrived as yet, which might also proceed from contrary weather.

The French ministers, and principally Marshal Strozzi, have frequent consultations with the Duke of Paliano, and sometimes with the Pope, the chief topic discussed by them being the scarcity of grain, for which they say the chief remedy would be to give bounties (*doni*) to those who import it.

Through a secretary of M. de Lansac who arrived lately from the French court, it is heard that the King is preparing for war towards Flanders. This secretary passed through Lyons on the 12th, and brings letters from the Duke de Guise dated the 14th, purporting that he has orders to commence the war in Piedmont, leaving M. de Brissac there, and to continue his march; and this secretary, who is trustworthy, believes the King to have ordered the attack, lest the Pope make terms with King Philip, of which the truce and these conferences have made him suspicious. The secretary says he saw the Constable's letter to Marshal Strozzi exhorting and praying him to write the truth about this affair of the agreement, and what he hopes with regard to it, knowing that he took part in all the negotiations and understands it, the Constable adding his belief that Strozzi is a man who will not conceal the truth from him. This secretary also said that the Marshal is dissatisfied with the French and especially with the Guise family, which at the instigation of the Cardinal of Ferrara has endeavoured to ruin him; but that he put up patiently with many things to enable him to justify himself with the King about the imputations laid to his charge, and that now, having done so, he wishes to retire, and would gladly live in such a place as Venice (in una Venetia), being at any rate unable to serve in this war, because in the French camp there is no place for him, nor will he accept command in the Papal army, though he has told the Pope that he will serve him without grade and without stipend in whatever he shall be good for (in quello che sarà buono); nor will

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the Pope by any means allow him to depart. The Duke of Ferrara has also made a demand for Camillo Orsini, which the Pope will perhaps concede, and the Ferrarese ambassador says that he will be lieutenant of the most Christian King wherever employed, with considerable stipend and 50 men-at-arms, the old companies in Piedmont being conferred on his sons, and that the brief of "leave" (il breve della licentia) is already drawn up, but that the Pope postpones his departure until the return of Cardinal Caraffa; so the ambassador has written to the Duke of Ferrara to endeavour to settle this and other remaining matters with Cardinal Caraffa in person (presentialmente).

The French say that the Duke de Guise, who left Lyons on the 15th, will cross before the Imperialists are ready to prevent his passage, and they believe that Duke Ottavio will give him victuals (vittuaglia), not for love but from inability to do otherwise, and to save his territory from fire and sword.

A certain Cardinal, who is in a position to know what is passing both through the French and the Vatican (questi de palazzo), asserts that the Duke de Guise will exert himself to cross into Italy, because the most Christian King does not choose to lose the opportunity of a Pope so determined on the expedition against the kingdom of Naples, and of a Duke of Ferrara who has declared himself in his favour; and the Pope being attacked, other Princes of Italy will either assist him or not be opposed to him; and it is not credible that the King of France would have incurred such great expense for Piedmont alone, as by the treaty the Pope does not contribute to the cost until the army is beyond the French frontiers; which treaty, this Cardinal says, is made greatly to the Pope's advantage, the quota to be disbursed by him not amounting to one third of the entire cost, nor is the payment to commence until the aforesaid period. His Majesty does not ask for more than four Cardinals, and will even consent to the Pope's making them all dependants of his own family. Moreover, should the expedition against the kingdom of Naples succeed, he is content to leave to the See Apostolic certain territory in the Abruzzo, and also a part of that of Campagna,* binding himself, moreover, to appoint a King of Naples not possessed of any other state.

This Cardinal said besides that possibly some of his colleagues will soon be in Castle St. Angelo, though he merely infers, not knowing anything certain as yet, but he thinks the Pope will choose to make sure of some of them (che S. Stà. si vorrà assicurar de alcuni); and in conclusion he remarked with regard to King Philip's difficulties and embarrassments in this war, how much on the other hand he had to hope and trust that so large an army in these parts, which were already laid waste, would have to fight with famine more than with the enemy, although the grain in the March of Ancona will greatly aid them to make shift (a scorrer) until the next harvest, which in these parts is reaped very early.

The last post brought news that Cardinal Caraffa was at Chioggia

* The "*Terra di Lavoro*," in the kingdom of Naples, was heretofore called "*Campania felix*," from the salubrity of its climate. (See Büsching's *Geography*, Italian translation, vol. 25, p. 41 (b), ed. Venezia, 1778.)

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a week ago, and that your Serenity had made preparation to honour his right reverend Lordship according to the very magnificent custom of that most excellent dominion, which has been heard here universally, but above all by the Vatican (*dal Palazzo*), with much satisfaction.

Letters from Venice state that the Duke of Ferrara was on his way thither with Cardinal Caraffa; the Ferrarese ambassador here saying that even without this opportunity his master had intended to visit your Serenity; adding, that the Duke having desired him to let the Pope know that the Turkish fleet would come to ravage the kingdom of Naples, he knew not how to make the announcement from fear lest it might cause displeasure; but having muttered something to that effect, the Pope replied, "Ah, dogs" (meaning the Imperialists), "they compel us to let even Sultan Soliman come;" so then the ambassador told him that the King of France had sent to ask for it.

During the present Christmas week, when the Pope "celebrated," and as on such occasions he is glad to be left alone, I made no demand for audience of his Holiness.

Rome, 26th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

775. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to the Constable and made the statement contained in your letters of the 11th. His Excellency listened to me attentively, and then replied briefly that the most Christian King would be glad to hear that your Serenity was satisfied with his goodwill towards the See Apostolic, and that as his Majesty had always shown himself desirous of peace, so he would not fail to continue of the same mind. He then added that by advices received from his ministers at Rome, the King had heard with great satisfaction of the good office performed by your Serenity's secretary with the Duke of Alva, showing how much these hostilities carried on by him distressed you, and that should he not condescend to some fair form of agreement, you and all the Princes of Italy would be compelled to resent it (*di rissentirsene*), for which office your Serenity deserved great praise. My reply was that I did not know whether your Serenity had caused this or any other office to be made so distinctly (*così particolarmente*) as his Excellency told me, but that I well knew that both with the aforesaid Duke and with the Pope you had not failed to demonstrate how greatly you desired that war might not be roused in Italy. I then communicated to him the summaries from Constantinople, to which his Excellency replied merely by a nod (*con un cenno del volto*), saying with a sigh that he was greatly pained by the troubles of Christendom, and without adding anything farther led me into the King's chamber.

When the King entered I went to him and performed the office enjoined me. He listened graciously, replying that he greatly commended your Serenity for these good offices performed by you, and that he was extremely glad you were aware of his good inclination towards peace, and that, as he had told me heretofore, he confirmed

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to me that he desired it greatly; nor would he complain of the expense incurred by him, even should he spend twice as much, provided it could be the cause of a good peace; and that from the advices brought by M. de Morette (*di Moreta*) he had heard of this prorogation of the truce, which had proceeded principally from your Serenity's good offices with the Pope, who was doubtless induced by them, though he had always been disposed to accept any fair agreement, and that his Majesty understood that the Duke of Alba was inclined towards it, wherefore he prayed God to effect it; but that should it not take place, he hoped that your Serenity on your part likewise would resent it (*ne rissentiria*). I asked his Majesty in what state the negotiation was, and he replied, "I really do not know, for all the advices refer to what will be brought by the Lord Giulio Orsini, who is expected hourly;" to which I rejoined that it was nevertheless understood that Cardinal Caraffa had communicated the whole to his Majesty's ministers. "Yes," said the King, "the Pope continues performing every sort of loving office with regard to me as usual."

I then inquired where the Duke de Guise was, and the King said he was to pass Christmas day at Luneburg (*sic*), and depart on the morrow for Turin, where he would arrive in four days. In reply to my question whether the troops had crossed the Alps, and in what number, his Majesty said, "I believe that by this time they have all crossed, as by the last advices 6,000 Switzers had passed, and the other 4,000 were at a distance of three days march, and all the French except two companies, and that the number would be from 28,000 to 30,000 infantry," and the cavalry to the amount as already stated by him to me, and that it had crossed so prosperously that nothing better could be wished for. I then continued, "And what will this army of your Majesty do, when all got together under its commander-in-chief?" to which he replied, "The cavalry will rest a little, though they are already refreshed, as it were;" and I went on to say, "Will the Duke de Guise continue to advance, or rather halt until we hear of this resolve from Rome?" and here the King, weighing his words (*masticando le parole*), said, "Accordingly as matters shall proceed;" adding, "As I told you, I on my part will not fail to perform such offices as I always have done for the benefit of Christendom." To this I made answer, "Your Majesty has always shown yourself inclined towards peace, and I will tell you that if, after sending your army for the defence of the Pope, you in like manner recall it in consequence of the peace, your Majesty will gain greater glory with the whole world than if you had obtained any kingdom whatever." As he gave me no answer to this I communicated to him the Turkish news-letters, which he said were in conformity with his own advices; and then, continuing to discourse with me as usual, he told me he had advices from his ambassador at Brussels that the Catholic King was informed that the King of the Romans had shown some signs of mental aberration (*alienazione di mente*), inquiring of me whether I had heard anything about it. I replied, "No, sire, and does your Majesty believe it to be so in fact, or rather reports which are circulated?" His Majesty replied, "I cannot affirm it to you, but my ambassador writes me many particulars to that effect."

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I then asked if he had advices from England. He said, "Yes, I have advices that the Queen sent for the Lady Elizabeth to the Court, and proposed to her to marry her to the Duke of Savoy, to which she replied that the afflictions suffered by her were such that they had not only ridded her of any wish for a husband, but that they had induced her to desire nothing but death, and then by a flood of tears she brought them also to the eyes of the Queen, who seeing that she still persisted in this opinion of not choosing to marry, dismissed her from the Court, and purposed assembling Parliament to have her declared illegitimate (*per farla declarar bastarda*), and consequently incapable of succeeding to the Crown (*inabile alla successione del Regno*)."^{*} His Majesty then said that the [Queen's] Council was not well agreed together (*non s'intendeva bene insieme*), and that some misunderstanding (*qualche mala intelligentia*) had arisen between Cardinal Pole and Lord Paget, and that the Cardinal was no longer so popular as he used to be, Paget having invented (*inventato*) certain charges against him, but that his Majesty, knowing the integrity of his right reverend Lordship's life, did by no means believe them. Continuing the conversation, he said, "Have you heard what befell the son of the Duke of Ferrara?" "Yes, sire" (said I), "something," and the King chose to narrate the whole to me much in detail, which I will not repeat, knowing you must be well informed about it, but he said the poor lad (*il povero puto*) had been deceived, nor did he himself know what he wished to do, as in fact, had he chosen to make his escape he might have done so; and the two causes of his displeasure were that he would neither stay in Ferrara nor be a churchman, and his father denying both demands, this gave occasion to that Savoyard* to suggest what he did to him. Thereupon, after returning many thanks to his Majesty in your Serenity's name, I took leave.

As the King's discourse with me about his wish for peace may perhaps seem to your Serenity in contradiction of what I wrote concerning the resentment which he displayed on two occasions to the Nuncio, who did not communicate to his Majesty the prorogation of the truce until to-day, I can now tell you that I have again had confirmation of the contents of my letters, and on Christmas day, when at mass with the Spanish ambassador, and talking together about the state of the present times, he said to me, "Discourse is no longer of any use, as I know for certain that the King has sent orders to the Duke de Guise to make an attack in any quarter where there is the best chance of success, and I know that they had some understanding in Genoa and in Pavia, but they were discovered." Thereupon, to endeavour to make him talk, I said that I did not hear that this was quite settled, and he rejoined, "I have had confirmation of the fact through three channels, and about this I have written a despatch to my King." Nor will I omit to tell your Serenity, moreover, that from a very sure quarter I have heard that at Rome, with regard to these negotiations for agree-

^{*} In the original "*a quel Savogia*," but the chief adviser of Don Luigi of Este in this matter was a Piedmontese, one Anton Maria di Colegno. (See Frizzi, "*Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara*," vol. 4, p. 343.)

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ment, they did not make such communications to the French ministers there as entirely to satisfy his most Christian Majesty. In addition to this, be it known that the provisions for the war continue more than ever, and very secret consultations are held daily about money, 12 infantry captains having been despatched yesterday, eight for Picardy, part of whom have already had pay, and four departed immediately for Corsica; and it has been determined to give six galleys under the command of Captain Bacchio Martelli, that they may guard the island constantly; and for the rest they are also despatching the Lord Giordano Orsini, who will return to his usual government of that island, *the which things I also hear from that quarter*; but what may happen, *whether they will proceed absolutely to war, or whether the most Christian King, being armed, will content himself with such advantageous treaty of peace as may be offered him*, I shall leave for time and your Serenity's judgment to make manifest.

Poissy, 27th December 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

776. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went yesterday to Court (*a corte*) with the merchants of our nation resident here, to prefer suit as I did to the Royal Council, that the facility (*comodità*) conceded them by the kings of England, and which they had enjoyed uninterruptedly during so many years, for exporting freely woollens and all other merchandise whithersoever they chose beyond sea, without either place or time being ever prescribed them, might not be impeded or altered. I demonstrated as well as I could that the inconvenience and loss of the merchants of Venice would bring neither convenience nor profit to the English merchants-adventurers (in favour of whom the measure is solicited), as even were they (as said by them) to renew the ancient custom—already determined on in accordance with the Flemings, and with the consent of the Emperor and the King—(*d'accordo con i fiammenghi et col consenso dell' Imperator et del Serenissimo Re*)—namely, to limit (*di obbligar*) the English and all foreigners in like manner to four [cloth] fairs annually, they attending the two first at Bruges and the two last at Antwerp, although they were at liberty to do what they pleased for the benefit of their own merchants, yet as when this custom was observed, the merchants of Venice were not subjected to that limitation, but might export freely at all seasons, so at present they should be allowed to enjoy the usual ancient liberty, without innovation, as the Venetian exports [from London] to Flanders merely pass through [Germany] (*non servono ad altro che per transito*) on their way to Venice by the public conveyances, for the service of those by whom the goods are ordered, nor—as alleged by the English—are they sent to Flanders to compete with their trade. I also added many objections and replies, both about the inconvenience of Bruges, and the detriment which would result from the order were it carried into effect, but obtained no reply or

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decision at the moment, being told that they would send the answer to my house immediately; and I suspect it will not satisfy our merchants, not so much for the sake of disobliging them, as to gratify the [merchants] adventurers, by reason of the many and great conveniences derived from them, both public and private, and God grant that they may not obtain a monopoly of woollen exports, closing the sea to any but themselves.*

With regard to the affairs of the money, a public proclamation was issued on the 23rd for no one to dare speak of its debasement or alteration, or to refuse it at its current and ordinary value, under penalty of their Majesties' displeasure, which has somewhat diminished but not entirely removed the fear (*il che ha alquanto minuito, ma non levato in tutto il timore*).

I am told that 200 men have been ordered for service across the Channel, besides those sent with the Earl of Pembroke, for the greater security of the fortresses there, both by reason of the evil demonstrations made by the French, as also on account of their reinforcements on the borders.

On her way to Greenwich the Queen conferred as usual a great favour on Cardinal Pole, for being prevented by the ice from going down the river, she crossed to his right reverend Lordship's palace, and chose to dine with him, together with the greater part of the personages who accompanied her, nor was Monsignor Priuli prevented, as on the last occasion, from being seen by her Majesty, whose hand he kissed, as did all the other Italians in his right reverend Lordship's service; and she then got into a litter, and continued her journey by land.

London, 28th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

777. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, on receipt of your Serenity's letter of the 11th instant, with the reply to his Majesty's missive, and orders to perform an office in conformity with its purport, I went to the King, and, having presented the letter, said your Serenity had charged me to thank him very affectionately for his constant trust in you, and for the goodwill he evinced to do what was to your satisfaction, nor could anything content you more than to see him reconciled to the Pope in such form as required for the quiet of Italy and Christendom, and that you now hoped the peace would easily be effected, your ambassador and secretary at Rome having informed you that its negotiation was referred to his Majesty. The King answered me, "I thank the Signory much for their goodwill towards me, and for their good opinion of my being in favour of the peace, of which you can be a good witness, from the things repeatedly said by me to you; and I will now once more again tell you what I said to you heretofore, which is to pray you to write to the Signory in such wise that they may really believe

* In the original this paragraph is much corroded.

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my mind to be well disposed towards the peace, as a proof of which I will again give such commissions that they and the world shall know this my goodwill, and I will authorise the Duke of Alva to do all that he suggested to me as fitting for the conclusion of the peace, both from love of the Signory, and from the reverence which I choose (*che voglii*) always to bear the See Apostolic. I will also write to him not to fail to make the said peace, which will I hope at length be effected, and the Signory have proof positive of my goodwill in this matter and in all others hereafter, and I believe that by reason of our reciprocal goodwill there will always be sincere friendship between us ;” adding very graciously, with a laugh, “and you, owing to the good offices you have performed, will bear the blame of this.” To this kind jest on the part of his Majesty I replied that he conferred great favour and honour upon me by speaking in this manner, and that nothing but the sincerity practised by me in all the negotiations could deserve such praise, assuring him that in the preceding letters I had informed your Serenity that his Majesty told me very positively that from day to day you would be much more convinced of his good disposition towards the peace, and that I hoped your Serenity and the world would yet better know this his just mind and singular prudence through the effects accomplished by his order than by my verbal testimony.

Both before and after my conversation with the King I also spoke at very great length with Don Ruy Gomez, acquainting him thoroughly with what your Serenity wished in this matter, and which would prove to the benefit of Christendom and advantageous for his Majesty. His Lordship answered me word for word as follows :—“Those most illustrious lords will find that the King my lord wishes for the peace with the Pope, both from his own will and to render this his intention clear to the Signory, to effect which he will do everything possible, and moreover what is in part impossible,” repeating these words several times ; “and thus will the commissions be sent by his Majesty to the Duke of Alva.” I then said to his Lordship adroitly, I would ask him to tell me whether these commissions would be such as to satisfy what he told me was the Pope’s wish, namely, to be at liberty to settle matters as he pleased, his Majesty keeping as security that hope which he had caused him to receive, that thus would the peace be made to the satisfaction of both parties. To this his Lordship replied, “His Majesty’s commissions will be many and various, but I cannot affirm on which of them in particular the conclusion of the peace will depend, and when it is effected the Signory and the world will know that it proceeded from the will of my King ; and should it not take place the Duke of Alva will have all the offers shown to the ambassador, or he will send them to the Signory, who will then be able to judge whether the King wished for the peace or not ;” adding, “The Pope wishes to make the peace greatly to his own repute. My King is content to obey his Holiness, and restore what he has taken, and to benefit the Pope’s kinsfolk ; but his Majesty would also wish for the security of the kingdom of Naples, because, after having satisfied the Pope in all

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that his Holiness desires, he might nevertheless choose to give the King of France Paliano." He then said that he requested me very earnestly to speak with him as a friend and not as an ambassador, and tell him whether I should venture (*se mi fiderei*) to place my affairs in the hands of a person who I had great cause to suspect would wish to deceive me. I replied that to give his Lordship satisfaction I would speak freely; that in any negotiation of my own I should wish first of all to justify my conscience with God and manifest my goodwill to the world, hoping that His Divine Majesty's protection and the general approval of mankind would be of such assistance to me that I might believe I could defend myself from any powerful enemy. Don Ruy Gomez rejoined, "I pray your Lordship to oblige me in one of two things, either to tell me who is in the wrong, and to hint (*cegnar*) (*sic*) to my King what he ought to do to bring about the peace, or else to remain in your usual neutrality, for my King is not so afraid of the Pope, the King of France, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Switzers as many persons believe him to be, nor are our forces so feeble as to be insufficient to prevent the French from passing through the Milanese;" and he then entered into several details about the number of the most Christian King's troops in Italy, and also of those in the service of King Philip, and of the levies he will make to defend himself; after which, when I was in the act of departure, he took my two hands, pressing them (*stringendomi*), and said in conclusion, "Lord ambassador, take away this opinion, that his Majesty, to gratify the most illustrious Signory, will do whatever shall be possible, and even in part what is impossible, as I said, and I will hope that, knowing this, they will neither suffer it, nor wish well to such as shall continue to harass Italy and Christendom, and that they will remain such good friends to my King that in one of two ways they will benefit him, either by counsel or through your ordinary neutral peace." I made answer that with this good opinion I would depart, writing to your Serenity that at any rate, on the part of his Majesty, the peace will take place.

The Duchess of Parma arrived here three days ago, being received by his Majesty and the whole court with such honour as I wrote to your Serenity was intended, and when visiting her Excellency to-day I shall express myself in such terms as I know to be your Serenity's intention.

Brussels, 29th December 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
File No. 29.

778. REPLY of VENICE to CARDINAL CARAFFA.

(Put to the ballot)—That the most illustrious and right reverend Cardinal Caraffa be answered as follows:—

Most illustrious and right reverend Monsignor, we could see no person more agreeable to us than your most illustrious and right reverend lordship, both on account of his Holiness, towards whom we bear extreme reverence and devotion, and of your most illustrious lordship, whom we greatly love and esteem by reason of your worthy qualities and parts (*conditioni*). We have heard from you your statement, in his Holiness' name, of the things which have taken place since the commencement of his pontificate; of the troubles and

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disturbances of war undergone by him, and which he is still undergoing, in his territory ; of the provisions and assistance prepared for the defence ; of his Holiness' good disposition with regard to pardoning the injuries done him, as well becomes the greatness and piety of his mind ; and, finally, of what he requests of us and proposes on this occasion, in case the peace should not be made. We therefore pray you to be pleased to thank his Holiness in our name for so loving and honourable a demonstration made by sending us the most honourable person about him, and who is so joined to him by blood and love as your lordship, and for the confidential communication which he has had made to us, assuring him that the disturbances experienced by his Holiness have caused us such regret as good and most obsequious sons are wont to feel for the troubles of their father ; wherefore, as we knew that by doing so we did what was most agreeable to his Holiness and universally beneficial, every effort was used by us, as known to his Holiness and to your lordship, we performing all such offices as we deemed fitting to effect the peace, which has always been desired and sought by our Signory, as that which with the greatest security and dignity might put an end to every difference, and avoid the detriment, perils, and desolation to which countries are subjected by war. Concerning this matter, the King of Spain having announced to us his good disposition to give every satisfaction to his Holiness, the moment we heard of the prorogation of the truce for 40 days, to facilitate the negotiation of the peace at his Majesty's Court, we wrote in good form to him, and to our ambassador resident to speak in conformity with our letters, saying that we had heard of this his goodwill with very great satisfaction, and that it pleased us much that the conclusion of the peace had been referred to Flanders (*de là*), in order that his Majesty may cause facts (*li effetti*) to correspond with words, assuring him that nothing can cause us more disquietude and sorrow than to see the Holy See Apostolic and his Holiness at war, as he is at present. And your lordship having also sent thither Monsignor Fantucio, we hope that through the Divine goodness matters will adjust themselves to the dignity and repute of his Holiness and to the general satisfaction and contentment, in which case it would be unnecessary to come to any other resolution, our intent being obtained by means of the peace, which every sovereign, and above all his Holiness, will, we are sure, on every account, always prefer :  so for the present we do not see, until we receive a reply to what we wrote to our said ambassador, which we expect in a few days, how we can becomingly form any farther resolution, though we indeed assure your lordship that we desire the conservation of his Holiness' state as much as we do that of our own, as becoming the very great devotion and reverence which we bear his Holiness and that Holy See.

Ayes, 100.

Amendment proposed by Hironimo Grimani, Sage of the Council.
That to the reply now read, as far as the mark, and thenceforth, the underwritten words be added :—

The which peace, were we to enter at present into any fresh

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negotiation, some persons might believe that we had given cause for its not having taken place, so we do not see how we can decently give your right reverend lordship any other reply (&c. &c., as in original motion).

Ayes, 66.

Second amendment proposed by the Councillor Marc' Antonio Grimani and by the Sages of the Council, Matteo Da Mula and Domenico Morosini.

That the present matter be postponed.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1557.

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Jan. ? *
St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv.
Cl. X. p. 178
recto.
No date of
time in MS.

779. CARDINAL POLE to the DUCHESS OF PARMA.

Having always greatly regretted the prolonged troubles of the Duchess, of her consort, and of the whole Farnese family, is now greatly comforted to see them terminated by so good a conclusion, as always hoped for by him, most especially since he has had knowledge and experience of the good and pious disposition of King Philip, and from perceiving the Emperor's paternal affection towards the Duchess whenever he had an opportunity of speaking to him about her. God has now chosen to reward the filial piety always maintained by her towards his Imperial Majesty; and by this letter, and by the gentleman its bearer, Pole congratulates her with his whole heart, praying God always to continue favouring her and her most illustrious family, and kissing her Excellency's hand he recommends himself to her with all affection.

Greenwich, Jan. 1557.†

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

780. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In my last of the 27th ultimo I alluded to some suspicion of distrust with regard to his Holiness, and therefore endeavoured to ascertain the most Christian King's disposition towards him, and have heard as a great secret that M. de Lansac sent one of his secretaries to the most Christian King announcing the conclusion of the truce for 10 days, and giving such intelligence that his Majesty supposed the peace was already made without any-

* See letter of Giovanni Michiel, date 26 Jan. 1557, alluding to the mission of an envoy from the Duchess of Parma to Queen Mary.

† By two treaties, one secret and the other public, signed at Ghent on the 15th September 1556, King Philip ceded the city of Piacenza and its territory to Ottavio Farnese and his consort, Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V. For the birth of Margaret of Austria, and name of her mother, see Venetian Calendar, vol. 3, p. 220, footnote.

1557.

thing being communicated to him; so he very angrily expressed his resentment to the Nuncio here, who, not being informed of the Pope's mind, knew not what to reply. But subsequently, the King being better informed, through the coming of M. de Morette and another subsequent courier, that the Pope continues to bear his same goodwill towards this crown, and that the truce took place for no other object than to give time for the passage of M. de Guise with the army, and that even had the Duke of Alva proposed terms of peace, nothing would have been settled without his most Christian Majesty's assent, in like manner as his Majesty remained well satisfied with the Pope, so was all his anger turned against M. de Lansac, whom he has recalled from Rome, desiring him to return hither. It is believed that the cause which moved him to write this, without sufficiently investigating the matter, was perhaps his wish that thus should it be, to favour the opinion (*per favore della opinione*) of the Constable, who has always been opposed to this war, and Lansac is his confidential servant. This induced the order sent to the Duke de Guise through Carlo Birago, before the arrival of M. de Morette; and although this present Nuncio was sent hither as a person much trusted by the Pope, yet matters proceed so secretly that he merely receives ordinary "advices," the business (*il negotio*) being kept on foot by private letters to the King and to the Constable.

Yesterday evening the son of the Duke de Nevers took leave of the King to go and see his father in the army, which his Majesty told him had (he believed) passed Turin. This son is about 14 years old, and goes with a company of right honourable gentlemen to see the war, his father being the richest prince of this kingdom, and governor of Champagne; so the King has desired him and the Admiral, who has the government of Picardy, to order the removal of all the cattle from those confines, and since my last no farther provision has been made for those parts. Giulio Orsini is expected hourly, he having already arrived at Lyons. It has been heard here by several "advices" that Cardinal Caraffa was to go to your Serenity, which has made everybody suppose it to be for a matter of great importance.

Poissi, 1st January 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

781. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], sent his secretary to the Pope lately to let him know that if it pleased his Holiness he would endeavour to obtain from his nephew, the Duke of Alva, a prolongation of the truce. The Pope replied that the truce had been made by Cardinal Caraffa, that to him he left the charge of prolonging it, and that he would be here before its present term expires. It is also said that a courier has been sent to Cardinal Caraffa, recalling him immediately, and last night Cardinal Pacheco wished to despatch a courier with letters received from the Duke of

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Alva at Naples addressed to Cardinal Caraffa, and Pacheco conversing with the Pope, his Holiness told him that the Cardinal his nephew was certainly at Venice until yesterday, but that he knew not whether he would be there until Monday. The Government here (*questi Signori*), however, did not choose Cardinal Pacheco to despatch a courier, but they sent one to-day with the aforesaid letters. *The ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara says his Prince writes to him somewhat resentfully because this Government (questi Signori), knowing that he purposed going to Venice to give account to your Serenity of his resolve, Cardinal Caraffa went thither without communicating or causing anything to be communicated to him about it; and that not having yet heard whether his lordship, on his return, would pass through Ferrara, he will endeavour to ascertain the fact, because should he not do so, the Duke would go to the seaside (alla marina) to meet and honour him. To the said Lord Duke the Pope is sending the sword which he usually blesses on Christmas eve, not having done so then, because on that night his Holiness did not come into chapel, but delayed the ceremony until Christmas day, when he performed it in the chamber where he usually robes himself. It will be conveyed by the Cavalier del Sagra, a Ferrarese, the Pope's chamberlain. Orders have been sent from hence to Bologna and to the "Marca" [of Ancona], to make preparations for quarters and victuals for the passage of the French army. The Duke of Paliano, with the agents of the most Christian King and the Commissary General, have held a long consultation together how to obtain ready money without interest, or at least by alteration of the coinage to see about benefiting themselves somewhat (*veder de avvantaggiarsi alquanto*), but although they have taken the opinion of many experienced merchants, they know not how to find a remedy. Both here and in the other places where there are soldiers, a fifth part of the troops desert from one pay day to the other, and Flaminio da Statio, who has the custody of the Pope's galleys and of Civitavecchia, says that in that fortress there are only 500 infantry, while it requires 2,000, and that he has reminded the Duke of Paliano to send him at least a thousand, because now that the Imperialists have the fleet the place is in danger of being stormed (should they find it unprovided) before any succour can arrive.*

On the 22nd ult., the Imperial fleet left the shores of the Duke of Florence (*partì dalle marine del Sor Duca di Fiorenza*); it remained some days in "Porto Hercule," and is said to have been seen off Civitavecchia on Thursday, and that the Germans and Spaniards who were embarked some time ago at Spezia will land at Gaeta. It is heard that the Duke of Alva has ordered the Neapolitan barons to hold themselves in readiness, which causes it to be supposed that he purposes sending a body of troops through the Abruzzi into the "Marca" [of Ancona], to endeavour to extend his frontiers, and make himself master of the grain in that province, as the Papal Government (*questi*) threaten to enter the kingdom of Naples by that way, the ministry here (*questi Signori*) having determined to send in that direction the "Marchese" of Montebello, who departed to-day postwise with some captains,

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and will be followed by Gio. Antonio Toraldo, Master General of the Ordnance.

It is suspected here that should the Duke of Alva be quick, he will do more than they fear in that quarter, because there are no strong holds (lochi forti) there, and Toraldo says he urged them to fortify Ascoli, which, by means of four earthen bastions (baloardi di terra), would become of the utmost strength, but that he was not listened to, and now, when they wish to do so, he is afraid they will no longer be in time; and at the last consultation he said that those places cannot be defended, unless by an army in the field equal to that of the enemy, and should this not be done, they will run the risk of the Imperialists making themselves masters of many important places, and of the greater part of the grain (with which they had intended to supply the French army in case of its coming), it being very difficult and almost impossible to store it in safety, both because there are no strongholds there, as also because there are neither carts nor beasts of burden there to bring it into the cities, where they might defend it.

The Duke of Somma, who is at Veletri, having written thence that that place and Paliano are victualled for only two months, and, moreover, some of the inhabitants of Veletri having come hither demanding their daily bread publicly of the Pope at his dinner table, as they had not wherewithal to live, his Holiness fell into a rage, and expressed himself dissatisfied with his most illustrious nephews and others in command (*et altri che governano*). For three consecutive days neither mules nor draught horses were allowed to go out of Rome, and on Thursday night they loaded 700 of them with grain and wine and sent them to Veletri, Marshal Strozzi having escorted them with all the horse and foot in Rome; and *Flaminio da Statio* said that *Strozzi* gave it to be understood that this going with a military force (*con massa di essercito*) by the places garrisoned by the Imperialists is an infringement of the truce, but that in a matter of such importance it was impossible to do otherwise. The Imperialists having seized a French gentleman, a culprit of great importance (according to their account), and taken him to Sienna, M. de Montluc, the French Governor of Mont' Alcino, had some Spaniards arrested, and, moreover, stopped the Florence post (*il procaccio di Fiorenza*) in several places, to see if there were any Spaniards with him; and in the Papal States he had some Florentines arrested and taken to Chiusa. The Duke wrote to his ambassador to impart this to his Holiness, who, he believes, will not tolerate such unfitting acts, but provide against them, as, if they continue, the Duke would not lack the means for retaliating. The ambassador spoke about this to the Duke of Paliano, who answered him that they had been released; but two days later he, nevertheless, went to the palace to make his complaint to the Pope, and having been unable to obtain audience, he left the letter that it might be shown to him.

It has been said that Don Alvaro de Sande will go to Sienna as military commander, it appearing that the Cardinal of Burgos has not much experience, and also that he and the Duke of Florence have not a good understanding together.

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They write from Genoa that galleys and ships are coming from Spain with 3,000 Spaniards and a good quantity of money, of which a great part belongs to King Philip. The Cardinal San Giacomo, having been asked the cause why the Duke of Alva has never announced the receipt of fresh orders from his King about the agreement with the Pope, he replied that he believes the Duke has reason for doing so, as since those orders were given, so many novelties have taken place both with regard to conferences and truces, as possibly to have altered them; so as he has notified the whole to the King through Don Francisco Pacheco, it is but fair to await the reply.

The Pope lately addressed two briefs to Cardinal Farnese and to Duke Ottavio, exhorting them to be good sons and vassals of the Church, and to give passage to the French army and to supply it with victuals; one of which briefs he sent to Ferrara, and the other to the Duke de Guise.

The day before yesterday Cardinal de' Medici dined with the Pope in order to have audience afterwards; whilst at table his Holiness called the Duke of Ariano and the Marchese of Monte Sarebio, who are both outlawed the kingdom of Naples, telling them to be of good cheer as he would soon restore them to their homes; *and in his own chamber the Pope said to the Cardinal, who was lamenting this war, that he must not be apprehensive, as his Holiness would expel King Philip from the kingdom of Naples, from the Milanese, and even from Spain; to which the Cardinal says he replied that if the Pope knew these things by inspiration he submitted, because he was a man of this world (era homo mondano), but that so far as could be seen from human discourse, these designs could not succeed, the House of Austria being so powerful as it is; and that he indeed on the contrary was afraid of some great disturbance befalling the See Apostolic both temporally and spiritually; there being risk of the Imperialists doing in the "Marca" [of Ancona] what they have done here in the "Campagna"; and that the Pope should not place such great reliance on the French forces as to make him forget what happened to Lautrec; to which his Holiness having replied that now there would be something more than Lautrec, the Cardinal rejoined, that for the grandeur of the Church he prayed God it might be so, but that the spiritual damage was irreparable, seeing how much was lost from day to day in Germany, and because it might be considered certain that should the war continue yet greater ruin will ensue, including perhaps, for the misfortune of the world, a schism; and the Pope then put an end to the conversation by saying that he excused him if he spoke with passion, as his estates were in the dominions of King Philip.**

From a person who was present when Cardinal Morone and the Bishop of Liesina were discussing with his Holiness the perilous state of the whole of Germany, and the stir it might make, the Pope said to them in a rage, "This your King of the Romans is the

* Giovan Angelo de' Medici, who succeeded Paul IV. on the 26th December 1559, with the title of Pius IV., was a Milanese.

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brother of that heretic; we tolerate him because at present we know not whom to put in that place."

It is heard that King Philip has announced to the Signory of Genoa his intention to have Piombino and Elba restored to their Lord,* and that he has demanded of the Duke of Florence to restore Lusignano and the other places held by him belonging to Sienna; and there are some persons, not of the vulgar, who say that the said Duke is solicited to make terms with the French, settling matters by means of some matrimonial alliance, and perhaps by making the Duke of Paliano Duke of Sienna; it being supposed that the Duke of Florence would prefer the neighbourhood of a Duke to that of a King of Spain or of France; but the ambassador when asked about this by his confidants, replied that all that is said at this Court must not be credited, and that his Duke will not stir unless sure that an attack upon him is meditated, and that he has his affairs in such order that he will never be found unprepared, he now remaining quiet because he does not see that his interests nor those of the Emperor have been interfered with (*perchè non vede che siano state tocche le cose sue, nè quelle dell' Imperator*).

A gentleman has arrived here from Cardinal Pole, to hear from the Pope whether he is content that his right reverend Lordship should mediate for the peace; and yesterday he had audience of his Holiness, who replied that he would answer him after the return of Cardinal Caraffa. This gentleman says he went through Venice on purpose to see the Cardinal, as he did.

Rome, 2nd January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

782. FEDERIGO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Pagnano, who arrived here yesterday as agent from the Cardinal of Trent, gave the King and his ministers especial account of the preparations making by the French in Italy, mentioning the projects attributed to them, and requesting a large supply of money. This morning, likewise, a courier arrived from his right reverend Lordship with fresh advices, and to urge them yet more to despatch such matters as are necessary, and to prevent the passage of the French. This intelligence has so disturbed the ministers here that they openly evince their belief that the truce was purposely concluded by His Holiness in order that he may harass the King with greater security, and more to his own convenience, the ministry showing that they have lost the hope that the very ample commissions sent four days ago by Don Francisco Pacheco, to conclude the peace with him, will produce the desired effect. King Philip therefore has already written very strongly to the Duke of Florence, requesting and exhorting his Excellency to raise as many troops as he can, and to unite them with his own, to prevent the passage of the French to Rome.

* By the late Sir William Hackett's Index to "Foreign Calendar," 1553-1558, it appears that the Lord of Piombino was Giacomo Appiano.

1557.

The Spanish soldiers who mutinied at Hesdin have informed his Majesty that unless their pay be sent them within 10 days, they for their maintenance will be compelled to injure in various ways his neighbouring places; so he immediately sent them three crowns each to keep them at bay (*per trattenimento*), and a firm promise to satisfy them in every possible way within a few days.

The Cardinal of Burgos* continues asking the King's leave to resign the government of Sienna, and the ambassador of the Duke of Florence favours the suit by narrating many disorders which have taken place in that city since his right reverend Lordship's residence there; and he remarked lately that an insurrection might be anticipated, because (according to his account) the Cardinal inconsiderately ordered the arrest of certain persons on suspicion of their intending to give Sienna to the French, of which they were subsequently acquitted.

By advices received yesterday from Spain, dated the 22nd December, it is heard that the Emperor had said he should enter the monastery of S. Yuste on Christmas eve, and that his Majesty's bodily health was better than it had been for a long while.

During three days his Majesty has been at a monastery near at hand to communicate, as he did on the first day of the year, and he returned yesterday,

Brussels, 3rd January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

783. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to
thè DOGE and SENATE.

The day after to-morrow (the Epiphany), when I shall go to the Court, I will make the statement, enjoined me in your letters of the 1st ultimo, about the dismissal of the Ambassador Vannes, to whom you had given leave to depart. Had hoped to receive my definitive leave (*licentia*), but am bound to render humble thanks, it seeming to me certain that it will come by the next post.

The courier Francesco Piemontese has brought this much (*illegible*) about the return of his Majesty (*illegible*). On the 30th ultimo, when he left, the affairs of Rome were supposed to be adjusted, the King having told him with his own lips to inform the Queen that in Lent at the latest he should be with her.

The Lords of the Council have not yet given any reply about the affair of our merchants, but apologised for the delay, as they require certain information from the Director (*Capo*) of the English Merchants-Adventurers. In case of unreasonable delay I will not fail to have them solicited for the benefit of the said merchants, so that the goods which were put on board the smacks (*scute*) so long ago may not be detained further.

The Queen is sending a gentleman to visit the Duchess of Parma.
London, 4th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* Francisco Mendoza y Bovadilla. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 256, 257.)

1557.

Jan.*

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
File No. 29.**784. REPLY of VENICE to CARDINAL CARAFFA.**

Put to the ballot, that the most illustrious and right reverend the Legate Cardinal Caraffa be answered thus:—

Most illustrious and right reverend Lord, although by the reply which we gave lately to your Lordship, we let you know all that seems necessary to us; yet nevertheless, as you have evinced to us a wish for some fresh reply to your proposal, we have not chosen to omit telling you that we, being of opinion that nothing can be more beneficial to Italy than peace and quiet, have always desired and sought it with all care and to the utmost of our means, for the avoidance of such detriment and perils as are necessarily incurred by war, keeping to our neutrality, by which his Holiness likewise, as a father most friendly to our State, has several times exhorted us to abide. We therefore, taking advantage of the prorogation of the truce, performed lately with the King of Spain the warmest and most forcible office possible, so as to effect an agreement to the dignity and satisfaction of his Holiness; and we are willing to hope that through the Divine goodness he will confer this boon on Italy, and on the whole of Christendom; but should we see that the peace do not take place, we, as his Holiness' most obsequious children, cannot fail to assist him in such a way as shall be fair and fitting (*non potremo mancare come ossequentissimi figliuoli di sua Santità di sovvenirla con quel modo che sarà honesto et conveniente.*)

Ayes, 28. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 20.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta)
File No. 29.**785. REPLY of VENICE to CARDINAL CARAFFA.**

(Put to the ballot)—That the most illustrious and right reverend Cardinal Caraffa be answered as follows:—

Most illustrious and right reverend Monsignor, although by the reply which we made lately to your Lordship, we told you that should the peace take place everything would be quieted, to the dignity and repute of his Holiness, and to the general contentment and satisfaction, in which case there would be no need to come to any other resolution, our intent being gained by means of the peace, which by every Prince, and above all by his Holiness, will, we are sure, always be preferred on every account; nevertheless, as you have evinced a wish to us for some fresh reply about (*sopra*) your proposal, we do not choose to omit telling you that were we at present to enter upon a fresh negotiation it might be believed (*si potria credere*) that we had given cause for preventing this peace; so we do not see how we can decently (*convenientemente*) say more about what is to happen until we receive the reply to the letters written by us on this subject to the Court of the King of Spain, which we expect in a few days; but we assure you that the troubles in which his Holiness finds himself cause us as much regret and sorrow as if the case were our own; and, for his conservation, should we see the possibility with advantage to our State and safety, on which every Prince is bound to have his eye, of

* No date in MS.

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doing anything, we will not fail in what shall become our very great reverence and devotion for his Holiness, and with regard to that Holy See.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

786. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Giulio Orsini arrived from Rome three days ago, and he and the Nuncio transacted business with the King and the Constable. His Majesty made many inquiries about the state of that city and its government for the affairs of the war, and of Paliano, in which place Giulio Orsini had held the chief command (*è stato capo*). *The Nuncio, apart, read the King a letter written to him by Cardinal Caraffa from Venice on Christmas day, when he despatched this courier, who came hither in seven days and a half. At the Court there is great talk about "the going" (l'andata) to your Serenity of the said Cardinal and of the Duke of Ferrara, both being ordered to do so by his most Christian Majesty (che vi venirà et l'un et l'altro di ordine di sua Maestà Christianissima), but from what I hear the Cardinal went sooner than he was ordered to do (che teneva ordine) by the King, who is therefore not altogether pleased with him, as he wished the Duke de Guise to have advanced farther, and that the Duke of Ferrara and the Cardinal should have gone to Venice together, it seeming to him that the moment for inducing your Serenity to accept their offers would then have been more opportune.*

The Duke de Guise has arrived at Turin, and is to go as far as Casale to inspect the fortresses there, and in the meanwhile the army is embodying itself (*si va riducendo in corpo*), but will not be in marching order until after the middle of the present month. Here at the Court they talk so plainly of the breaking out of the war that more would not be said had it already commenced; and so many lords and gentlemen are going into Italy that it is a marvel, the King paying the greater part of them, at least their travelling expenses; and amongst the rest the new Duke de Bouillon, son of the deceased duke, has departed with 20 gentlemen and about 80 horsemen, all equipped as men-at-arms. In these parts eight captains have been despatched for Picardy, they receiving money as usual, but I do not understand that these preparations are being made at present for any other purpose than that of reinforcing the garrisons in those places.

To-day the King made the Signor Giordano Orsini a knight of the Order [of St. Michael?], thus favouring him very greatly, and his despatch for Corsica is being continued, he having already received the money for the despatch of the four captains who are gone to raise their companies; and in all matters needed, as provision for the island, they do precisely as suggested by the aforesaid Signor Giordano; he being put so forward by the Constable from the opinion he has of his valour, that were he his own son he would not do more for him; and Corsica has been united to the crown, so that should the King wish to alienate it he can no longer do so, owing to the statutes of the realm. M. de Morette, who went some time ago

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with M. de Montmorency to Rome, has brought back word to the Constable that his said son has renounced the wife to whom he said heretofore that he made a promise, and that he will obey him, wishing for nothing more than to come and pay his respects to him; so the Constable sent the secretary Dardoes to commend this his will and make him put it in writing, with orders to send it hither to his Excellency, who, should he think it well expressed, will send for him, and if not he will choose to hear further (*vorrà intender più avanti*) about his will; and, for your Serenity's information, the young lady to whom he had given the promise is willing to absolve herself from it, provided the said M. de Montmorency do the like in such a way as to satisfy both sides; and the marriage not having been consummated, the promise can be cancelled by the Pope's authority; so that the hope revives of effecting the marriage with his most Christian Majesty's illegitimate daughter, who is courted and entertained by the Constable with all sorts of offices and amusements (*con ogni sorte de officir et piaceji*) as much as possible.

Poissy, 5th January 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

787. FEDERIGO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Governor of Artois writes to his Majesty that on the day of the Epiphany the French, with 12 companies (*bandiere*) of foot and 1,000 horse, draughted from Peronne, St. Quentin, and other places, approached Douay with the intention of taking that fortress, in which they expected to succeed, owing to the custom in these parts of passing that holiday and its eve in various pastimes, especially in drinking. On hearing of the plot the governor warned the inhabitants to omit this practice, doubling the guards and sending out scouts to ascertain the movements of the French, who, perceiving this, renounced the attempt, and on their return set fire to two villages. His Majesty sent immediately for the French ambassador, to whom he complained of the intentions entertained, and of what had actually been done, saying that this stir, together with others of which he had been warned, convinced him that his King was determined to break the truce. The ambassador replied that he had received no previous notice of this circumstance, but that having heard that the Spaniards in Hesdin, who mutinied lately, had committed many outrages against French subjects at Montreuil, it might possibly have chanced that they were attributed to his Catholic Majesty, but that what he, the ambassador, intimated many months ago to his Majesty, he now affirmed, namely, that his King, for the defence of the Pope and of the Caraffa family, which he has taken under his protection, would do whatever he could. King Philip subsequently heard that certain merchants his subjects had been detained in several places in France, so he immediately sent orders to Antwerp and other towns of these provinces, to have the like done by the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.

Yesterday the King summoned the council of these states and charged the Duke of Savoy to have letters written to the lords

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spiritual and temporal, and to the towns, to send their delegates hither immediately, to consult about the defence against the French; and he then despatched a gentleman of his household to Spain, with news of this rupture of the truce, in order (according to what the Spaniards say) that the Princess* on her part likewise may harass the French by way of Pampeluna and Perpignan.

Amongst the other causes which induced the Cardinal of Trent to send hither his agent Pagnano, the principal one was that he might remind King Philip how very expedient it would be for him to send some great personage to your Serenity to counterbalance the visits of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Ferrara. Pagnano told me besides that the Cardinal of Trent had offered to go in person for the performance of such offices as may be necessary with your Serenity; and he gives notice of having sent one of the senators of Milan for this purpose. Concerning this matter a consultation has been held, it being even proposed to send the Duke of Parma, from whom and from Cardinal Farnese a courier arrived with letters for the King, very strongly urging him not to fear lest the visits of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Ferrara make you stir, assuring him that you would never join any league without bearing in mind your usual prudent regard for the quiet of Italy; and although the said letters and the statements of the Ambassador Vargas have greatly tranquillized many persons, convincing them that you will not determine on anything hostile to King Philip, yet, nevertheless, the court in general evinces no little fear, and I, with all those who address me on the subject, employ such fitting form of language as I believe may be desired by your Serenity.

The summaries from Constantinople shall be communicated by me to his Majesty to-morrow, when he will have risen from his bed, he being somewhat indisposed, and I have forwarded your Serenity's letters to the most noble your ambassador in England.

Brussels, 9th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

788. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday Cardinal Armagnac said that by the last letters of the 3rd from Venice, Cardinal Caraffa had comforted the Pope, who by the first of the 2nd had no great hope of obtaining his intent; and this morning the same Cardinal said to me, "After the first reply, Cardinal Caraffa offered to those Lords Ravenna and Cervia, and my King's ambassador in like manner promised them every security, for which reason, here, est aliquid spei, but not much, however," (to use his own very words). He then asked me whether I knew anything whatever about this, and what I believed it might be. I answered him that I had received no "advices" from your Serenity, and that as to what "might be," the matter depending on the will of many, I could affirm nothing that was sure (non potea affirmar cosa che fusse vera), save that your

* Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal, Regent of Spain.

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Serenity would have no other aim than the universal weal and the quiet of Italy. He replied that nothing else could be expected from that most prudent Republic, adding, that the Duke de Guise would certainly be at Ferrara on the 20th instant. I also hear that the French have let the Pope know that should they come into these parts, it is necessary for them to have strongholds (lochi sicuri) belonging to the Church, into which to retreat in case an overwhelming mass of the enemy's troops come upon them unexpectedly, or else they must be assured that your Serenity has joined the League.

Late on Sunday, Marshal Strozzi returned into this city, after having escorted the victuals and ammunition destined for Velettri and Paliano. On the way they met a company of Spaniards going to their quarters at Marino, and although the Spaniards were much alarmed by this encounter, Strozzi, however, would not allow them to receive any injury, either by word or deed, under very severe penalties.

On Tuesday, at the place here called "*Testazzo*," there was a review of all the infantry in Rome, and although there were many banners, and the men being well armed made a great show, they were not supposed to exceed 4,000 foot soldiers. notwithstanding the report of their being in much greater number.

The Spaniards have abandoned that fortress of the island in the stream (*fiumicino*), two reasons being assigned for this; the one, because they have seen that they cannot keep it, as it would be under fire of the one erected opposite to it; the other, because they do not choose to employ their troops to garrison every petty place; and I am told that on this abandoned fort they have expended hitherto upwards of 5,000 crowns. They endeavoured by mines to destroy Hostia, but did not succeed by reason of its position, and are said to have burned all they could, of which, when the Pope was informed, he said, "These accursed of God! by all means let them destroy and do all the mischief they can, for the time is approaching when they will pay everything."

I have been told by a person, who says he heard it from Marshal Strozzi, that all loans contracted for by the most Christian King will cost him 23 per cent., 16 for the usual rate of interest, 4 for the exchange at Venice, and 3 for the depreciation of the coinage; and that the Italian merchants will avail themselves of certain German names of importance for their greater security. From hence (*dì qui*) they have talked of drawing the money destined for the building of St. Peter's, which a person in charge of that fund assures me amounts to upwards of 9,000 crowns; and by order of these Lords the works are now suspended, 3,000 crowns having been removed yesterday, and the like will be done by the rest.

Yesterday morning, when the truce expired, a good part of the infantry went out of Rome, being followed by some pieces of artillery, and also by about 300 light horse. To-day Marshal Strozzi departed with 7 companies (*insegne*) of Gascons, to attack the Spanish fort at the mouth of the river, as it is ill planned, being nearly square and not well flanked; and should this attempt fail, they will erect one opposite, to command that of the enemy, for

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which purpose the said Marshal went the day before yesterday with a considerable armed force and made a drawing of it; whereupon the enemy telling him that this was a violation of the truce, he replied, laughing, that they had broken the truce, as it contained an article to the effect, that whilst it lasted the parties were to hold what they had, and as the Spaniards, during this interval, had abandoned what they held, they might be considered the violators of the truce.

Yesterday there was Consistory, which the Pope entered very late, having kept the Cardinals waiting almost five hours; the cause was an attack of flux, so that he thought of dismissing the Cardinals, but he nevertheless went thither, perhaps lest it should be reported that his Holiness' indisposition was more serious. He apologized for the delay by the above-mentioned cause, saying, that he merely came to comfort himself in the college of so many of his brothers (*solamente per consolarsi nel collegio de tanti soi fratelli*); and in order not to let them depart without transacting business, he proposed that they should appoint as coadjutor of the Rev. Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, one of his nephews, son of the most noble Messer Thomà;* which proposal being accepted by that Holy College with marvellous unanimity and praise of both one and the other, it then broke up.

It is said that Duke Ottavio [Farnese] has answered the Pope that he will give passage to the French army, and such victuals as he can. The Cavalier del Sagra, who was to take the sword to the Duke of Ferrara, left this city on Monday for Ravenna, and will take away thence the Reverend President, the Bishop of Narni, that he may be accompanied by a person in holy orders and of authority, and present this gift from his Holiness. There is no one here of importance who fails to ask me what your Serenity's intention is, and what Cardinal Caraffa will bring back. To-day the Pope dined in public and cheerfully, and remained in "*signatura*" until 4 p.m.

Rome, 9th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

789. FEDERIGO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and Senate.

When the King rose from his bed he gave me audience. I communicated to him as usual the news-letter from Constantinople, and when he heard of the recall of the Pasha, and of the troops originally destined for Hungary, he told me that this resolve seemed to him an important one; and that therefore expecting Sultan Soliman to send out a fleet, he also would be on the watch with his; and his Majesty then thanked your Serenity for your usual loving office. I commended the King's prudent discourse, in such terms as might give him satisfaction, and having taken leave of his

* Amongst the many theological works composed by Luigi Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, were "*De Vitis Sanctorum Patrum*," and "*Confermazione di tutti li Dogmi Cattolici*." (See Pietro Angelo Zeno, "*Memoria de' Scrittori Veneti Patrizj*," Venezia, 1744.)

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Majesty, Don Ruy Gomez, who was present, took me into a room of his, where he kept me for a long while discussing various matters, telling me in short that he hoped that your Serenity, neither from the persuasions of Cardinal Caraffa, nor yet from those of the Duke of Ferrara, would change your most prudent and sincere intention of continuing in your usual neutrality; and that although owing to sundry advices received here, many persons are not devoid of anxiety, his Majesty nevertheless, and he, felt very sure of the goodness and prudence of your Serenity. He then commenced discoursing about the nature of Frenchmen, expressing almost the same opinions and in the same words as he did heretofore, and which I notified to your Serenity, about their wishes and projects with regard to the affairs of Italy; and at this point taking my hand and pressing it closely, looking me steadfastly in the face, he addressed me precisely as follows: "Lord Ambassador, I swear to your Lordship here before God, that were my King sure of having a good peace, by which I mean a lasting one, he would give something of his own to anyone according to the good pleasure and counsel of the Signory; but it is certain, and I say no less so than it is that God is our true Lord, that the French would not be satisfied with the Milanese, (*ma è cosa certa, et dico certa, come Dio è nostro vero Signore, che Francesi non si contenturiano di haver lo stato di Milano,*) because they are by nature insatiable." He then with a smile continued: "Those persons who went lately to Venice in the name of the Pope, and perhaps of the King of France, remind me of gamblers, who having little to lose seek to induce those who have much at stake to play with them; but prudence forbids acceptance of the invitation; and if one is to gamble it should be with equals. To speak more clearly, my meaning is that the Signory will not commence a game with the French, who in Italy can but lose, but will play, that is to say unite with my King, (who has much to lose and much to bestow of his own free will as he shall see fit) in a mere defensive league; and I pray your Lordship to believe me that I say this with truth, and that my King will form it whenever such be the will of the Signory, with whom he desires a perpetual union;" praying me also that if I had comprehended his Majesty's heart and his own wish for peace, and if this friendship between his Majesty and your Serenity was to continue and increase, I, both by letters and by word of mouth, would testify to your Serenity accordingly. To these last words I replied that in truth I had not failed hitherto by my letters precisely to represent all that had been said to me on this subject by his Majesty and himself, and that of this sincere and most loving disposition, I would also make such verbal relation as becoming, whilst by facts his Lordship had known your Serenity's well-disposed mind towards his Majesty, and would know hereafter that he has no more sincere friend than your Serenity, nor one who bears him so much respect. I told him that great was the satisfaction felt by me on hearing the good opinion of his Majesty and his Lordship, that your Serenity would not do anything unbecoming, as neither voluntarily nor from prudence had you ever acted to the prejudice of his Majesty or of the Emperor, nor of any Prince whatever; saying also to his Lordship in con-

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clusion and accompanying the remark with a gladsome expression of countenance) that the real delight taken by your Serenity in gambling is that of thinking what is just and fair, and carrying it into effect.

After the departure of the French from Douay, those same troops with others, amounting in all to thirty companies (*trenta insegne*), went to take a castle, distant one league from Hesdinfort, and although the Spaniards who mutinied had not yet received the pay promised them by the King, three hundred harquebusiers from amongst them with fifty horse went out to succour the place; for which feat, and for other fair words sent by them to his Majesty, purporting that they will continue to serve him faithfully, he has pardoned them, and to-morrow their arrears of pay will be sent them, amounting to about one hundred thousand crowns.

To-day the joust in honour of the Duchess of Parma took place in the park, and Don Ruy Gomez as challenger gave honourable proofs of his prowess.

Brussels, 10th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

790. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday I received your Serenity's letters of the 5th ultimo, together with those to the Queen about my taking leave of her. For this I return thanks. Shall be compelled to leave the Secretary here on account of his quartan ague, in the house of one of these merchants of ours, with orders to take such care of him as he requires, until he is better able to travel.

On Saturday morning the Queen received an express from the Earl of Pembroke at Calais, with news of the rupture of the truce by the French in Flanders, towards England (*in questa parte di Fiandra*). The particulars of the mode in which they made the incursion will have been immediately known to your Serenity through many channels, whereas here it is reported variously, nor can one as yet know the truth. Your Serenity may imagine with what mind her Majesty received such news (*una simil nova*), though many persons are of opinion that this will greatly accelerate the King's return, his presence seeming necessary to make this kingdom declare that, if it will not break entirely, it will at least lend him assistance.

London, 11th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
File No. 29.

791. The DOGE and SENATE to BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

On the 21st of last month there arrived in this city the most illustrious and right reverend Cardinal Caraffa, his Holiness' legate, who was met and received by us with the greatest possible demonstration of love towards him, both on account of his Holiness, whom we respect and revere extremely as our Republic's loving Father, and also by reason of his most illustrious Lordship's singular virtues

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(*preclare virtù*) and rare qualities, perfectly well known to us by the very judicious and prudent manner in which he negotiated, which has still more increased our love and affection for him and for the whole of his illustrious house. We with the Senate charge you, after representing what is aforesaid to his Holiness, to render most ample thanks to him in our name for this so loving an office which he deigned to perform with us, by sending so honourable a personage and the most dear to him of any about his person; and you will make this same announcement to the Duke of Paliano.

Then on the 23rd his Lordship came to us and narrated in detail all that had taken place from the commencement of his Holiness' pontificate until the stipulation of the last truce, deferring until another day what else he had to communicate. On the 26th when he returned and made a statement, as by the enclosed copy, to which we replied as you will learn by the copy, which we in like manner send herewith.† His most illustrious Lordship desiring a more positive declaration, as by his rejoinder, which we also enclose, we made him another answer and send you that likewise for your instruction, so that should the Pope speak to you on this subject (and not otherwise by any means) you may be able, if necessary, to speak in conformity with the tenor and contents of the said replies.‡ As we know you to be prudent and circumspect, we rely on your not uttering a word that can bind us to anything; and should the Pope propose to you to negotiate this matter at Rome, you will take time to write to our Signory what he may have said to you about this business; nor will we omit to tell you that although the replies made to his Lordship are in the name of the Senate, they were nevertheless communicated to him by the chiefs of our Council of Ten, as he made all his proposals in their presence for greater secrecy, about which we enjoined the strictest silence (*strettissima credenza*), and thus do we warn you also by reason of the great importance of the affair. The aforesaid Cardinal took leave of us yesterday, having repeated the words contained in his preceding statements, and remaining apparently well satisfied with us he left this city to-day, but on his arrival in Rome you will visit him in our name, using such loving language as of your prudence you shall think fitting, declaring to him how agreeable it is to us to have seen his Lordship in person, towards whom if we did not make all such demonstrations as we wished, we at least did what we could as becoming our devotion*

* This copy no longer exists in the Venetian Archives, nor can any draft of its contents be found in the "*Secreti Senato*," nor in the "*Parti Segrete, Comuni, C. X.*," nor yet in the Archives of the Chiefs of the Ten; but in the 2nd volume of Andrea Morosini's Venetian History, pp. 278, 279, it appears that Cardinal Caraffa's statement purported that if the Republic would join the League against Philip II., Paul IV. would consign Cervia and Ravenna to the Venetians until they got possession of the ports of Puglia and of the Ghiara d'Adda.

† Not found.

‡ None of these copies exist in the Venetian Archives, but the "*Deliberazioni Senato*" supply this deficiency.

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to his Holiness and the great affection borne by us towards his most illustrious house.

Ayes, 164.

Expulsis Papalistis.

1557 die 12 Jani. *Lecta Collegio.*

Amendment proposed by Francesco Soranzo, Sage of the Council.

That as this afternoon at the farthest the letters from our ambassador at Rome will arrive, whereby we may have some notice of what he negotiated at his last audience of the Pope, and be then able to write more groundedly, that therefore the present matter be postponed until the arrival of the above written letters.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

792. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marshal Strozzi, with the troops who accompanied him out of Rome, went under Hostia, where the Imperialists, not having succeeded in mining or burning it entirely, had placed about twenty Spanish infantry, who surrendered at the first cannon shot, and being brought hither, and asked why when unable to keep the place they remained within it, they said it was the custom of that nation to obey their commanders, and that it is desirable to have officers who know how to command.* When the papal troops made their entry, they inadvertently set fire to the powder, of which three barrels were burned, a few men being killed and some maimed; so the Marshal, writing an account of this capture to the Duke of Paliano, said, "We have made rejoicings for the recovery of Hostia by burning a few soldiers."

The Pope gave 50 crowns to the person who brought him this news, promising him a yet greater reward, and spoke publicly of this capture in such a way that all who heard him were compelled to believe that it had been a very important victory, although the Duke of Paliano told my secretary that this recovery is unimportant, because the whole place having suffered from the enemy's battering, and being still open, and defended by a very few troops, everybody was convinced that they (the Papal troops) would obtain it by merely presenting themselves, as came to pass, but that he did not believe that it would be the same with the fort, in which there were about 500 Spaniards, well supplied with artillery and victuals, although they might suffer from a scarcity of water and fuel. As yet it is not heard that the papal troops have approached the said fort, but merely that they carried off a few wethers that were grazing thereabouts, and some butts of wine which had been landed on the banks of the river but not yet housed, and having made this plunder they proceeded to the island, where Strozzi has commenced another fort near the sea, distant half a mile from that of the enemy. The Duke of Paliano went yesterday to his army, to see how things are going

* Sir Edward Carne's account to Queen Mary of the capture of Hostia, does not agree with this present one by Bernardo Navagero." (See Foreign Calendar, date Rome, January 30, 1557, p. 286.)

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(*per veder come passano le cose*). They do not allow it to transpire what is to be done with this body of troops, but the general opinion is that it will go to Tivoli, to try and take it before the Imperialists shall have had time to strengthen it, as they are doing, they having 500 Spaniards there. Marshal Strozzi has sent part of the troops to recover certain small places of little importance in that neighbourhood, including Castel Gandolfo, in which there were a few soldiers, who went out when they saw Villaferrese with some others on the wall, by means of scaling ladders.

It is said to-day that a company belonging to Sciarra Colonna, now in the Pope's service, having fallen in with some of the enemy's horse, was half stripped by them, nor as yet are any farther particulars known. It is also said that the Spaniards and Germans who landed at Gaeta are in sorry plight from having suffered greatly. On Monday, when Consistory assembled, the Pope did nothing else but confer the bishopric of Teano on a friar, and despatch (*espedir*) four abbacies in France; and as certain churches in England, given by the Queen, were not despatched (*espedite*), Cardinal Morone, "vice-protector" of that kingdom, went to his Holiness on Wednesday, and so contrived (*et operò di modo*), that he disposed him to satisfy her Majesty, although his Holiness made resistance (*fece resistentia*), saying that she was the wife of a schismatic, and that she let it be understood that she would assist him.

I hear that in the course of that conversation the Pope began saying to him that in this his so just war he will have no lack of assistance, even from Germany, by reason of State policy (per ragione di Stato), because it has been offended by this House of Austria, nor will it ever lose an opportunity for revenging itself. Morone replied, that although the Pope's argument was based on reason, he believed his Holiness might deceive himself, owing to his, Morone's, experience of that nation, which has no greater hatred than that which it bears the Pope. When his Holiness rejoined, "The Turks will not fail us," Morone continued, "Holy Father! I believe your Holiness to be of such great goodness as not to choose to have recourse to these infamous aids, and that you will provide in such a way as not to require them; and I being assured of the reverence which I know King Philip bears your Holiness and this See Apostolic, can certify to you that his Majesty, through the restitution of the whole of the papal territory, and by such other submissive and respectful amends as necessary, will show himself your obedient son and be known for such." To this the Pope replied, "They, however, delay; they will wish to do so when there will no longer be time."

Here both the French and the Imperialists say that, by the most Christian King's order, the army is to halt in Piedmont until the receipt of farther commands. Concerning this the French tell their most trusty adherents that the cause is, the small account in which they seem to be held after having expended and continuing to spend so much for the Pope, and after assisting him both with troops and by giving him repute, while he in the meanwhile negotiates with the Imperialists without their being especially informed of

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it; and that he sent a Cardinal of such great consequence to your Serenity without having communicated his intended departure to the French ambassador, save accidentally on the evening before (*se non a caso la sera avanti*), he being then in the Pope's chamber on other business. The Imperialists, on the contrary, assign another cause to the King's order, namely that at one and the same time two envoys had arrived at the French Court, the one sent by King Philip, the other by the Queen of England, to let his most Christian Majesty know that they wished for peace, and would do whatever was fair and fitting to that effect; the English envoy adding that should the war continue, his Queen, together with her entire kingdom, could not desert (*non potria mancar*) the King her husband.

Two messengers have arrived from Cardinal Caraffa, the one a courier, who left Venice on the 10th at 2 p.m., and arrived here on the 12th at that same hour; the other, who left on the 11th at 10 p.m. and arrived here on the 13th at 4 p.m. These frequent despatches conveyed with such speed cause comment, and what I hear is, that the courier brought the reply to the letters of the Duke of Alva and of Cardinal Pacheco, who immediately sent to the Duke the letter from Cardinal Caraffa, forwarded by his Holiness; and concerning his own, Pacheco said to the person who repeated it to me, that although Caraffa did not utterly exclude the discussion of truce, he nevertheless does not evince any great wish for it. From Aldobrandini's son it has merely been heard that Cardinal Caraffa was to depart from your Serenity on the 12th, but after Aldobrandini's arrival many persons having come to visit me because I had a fit of the gout, I heard that now the Pope and some of his intimates (*alcuni delli soi*) evince much greater cheerfulness than previously.

Yesterday, an hour before daybreak, I also received your Serenity's letters of the 12th, with the enclosed copies of Cardinal Caraffa's proposals, and of your Sublimity's replies. When able to go to the Pope, (I am now in bed lame of my right foot), I will immediately do as enjoined me, not speaking in any way about the replies unless stimulated (provocato) by the Pope, in which case not a word will I utter, save the identical ones written by the most sage and illustrious Senate.

The Bishop of Curzola* tells me that yesterday evening the Pope, when at table, asked him what had become of me, as he had not seen me, and wished to demonstrate the great cause he had to hold your Serenity in account for the costly and honourable reception given by you to the Cardinal, his nephew, as were not his Holiness Venetian, as he is from affection, this thing alone would suffice to make him such, and that he was satisfied with the most excellent Republic, not merely for these honours, but for all its actions, charging instantly the Reverend President of the Treasury (*della camera*), who is in such favour with him, to come and visit me in his name, as he did this morning with great kindness and affection, when I told him that I respectfully kissed his Holiness'

* The Bishop of Curzola in January 1557 was a Venetian nobleman, by name Pietro Barbarigo. (*See Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. vi.)

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foot for so great a favour, and that as soon as I could I would go to do him reverence.

The Bishop of *Curzola* told me besides that the Pope also commenced speaking against the Emperor and King Philip, and the whole Spanish nation, with greater warmth and vehemence than ever.

Rome, 16th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

793. FEDERIGO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with KING PHILIP, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday Monsignor Fantuzzo came to me and said he was sent by Cardinal Caraffa to the King to make the last trial whether after so many injuries done to his family he (the King) would at length be reconciled to it (*voleva finalmente amarla*), and have the said Cardinal for his special friend and servant, which if his Majesty demonstrated by facts, his right reverend Lordship offered to act in such a way (*di far tal opera*) that peace might be made with the Pope. He then told me of several things done by the Emperor and by King Philip's ministers against his Holiness, evincing the utmost possible ill-will, using many exclamations at several passages, and adding that he would acquaint me with the result of his negotiation as to your Serenity's representative, particularly as he knew what offices had been performed by me in your name for his Holiness, and for the honour and security of the Holy See Apostolic. At these words I told his Lordship that I assured him they had been much greater and more efficacious than he perhaps had been able to learn; for that on no other occasion had I ever known your Serenity to be so ardent as you had shown yourself for the dignity and conservation of his Holiness and of the See Apostolic; and that I, as the most obedient of servants, and as a Christian, had identified myself with the will of your Serenity. I then thanked him for his offer to communicate everything to me, and when he rose to depart I asked him to say what hope he gave me of peace, and to be pleased to tell me some particulars about it, the reports which had reached me being contradictory.

Fantuzzo replied that although he was ordered to go at that hour to visit Don Juan Manrique, he would impart to me his commission, which purported that he was to let the King know that the Pope's just and intense anger must be appeased by all possible means, nothing being said about the restitution of Paliano, the Duke his brother being held no less dear [by the Pope] than Marc' Antonio Colonna [by King Philip?]; and in short, that if his Majesty wished to have the Cardinal for his friend and special servant, as one capable of doing him more service in Italy than any one else of his grade, he should be pleased to do him an amount of good offices, equal to the evil ones which had caused the King to lose his allegiance; and that he, Fantuzzo, had told Don Ruy Gomez that his Majesty could and ought to give such additional territory and revenue as becoming to the Duke of Paliano, he being a most staunch Imperialist (*Imperialissimo*), and so fixed in this humour

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(*et in quest humor sè fisso*), that all the injuries in the world could not eradicate this affection; and that by the King and Don Ruy Gomez he was answered in language no less bland and gracious, than that of all the rest of the Court was lofty and sour, owing to a variety of bad opinions entertained by them, they in particular choosing to believe that the sole cause for which the said Cardinal went to your Serenity was to induce you to act injuriously against his Majesty.

Fantuzzo then told me that Don Ruy Gomez had asked him whether he was vested with authority to ratify whatever might be concluded, to which he replied in the negative, because it was unnecessary, or rather unbecoming, the said Cardinal being the injured party, and that it was the business of his Majesty's ministers to offer him what he proposed doing, on hearing which he will send an express to Cardinal Caraffa, and not depart hence until the reply arrive, as otherwise he should depart speedily; and he ended by praying me to use my good offices for the conclusion of this peace for the prevention of those troubles which would otherwise be heard of in Italy, or that I would at least bear witness that he had not failed in the performance of every office to effect it. After thanking him for his confidential communication, I said that knowing your extreme desire for this peace by reason of your great affection for his Holiness, and your love and esteem for the Cardinal and the Duke of Paliano and the whole of their most illustrious family, I would, when the opportunity offered itself, perform all such good offices as his Lordship could desire; but I shall not speak about this matter to the King unless by accident, having no commission from your Serenity about this coming of the aforesaid Monsignor Fantuzzo, and at the fitting time, if it comes, I will use such exhortations as I know your Serenity desires, showing him good will, and granting his request to send his despatches with my own, as he told me there was no other way of transmitting them in safety; and as the King seems to hold him in great account, and all the chief personages and principal ministers of the Court, and some of the ambassadors, having visited him, I also shall do the like in such form as to preserve your Serenity's dignity.

I have been assured to-day, that although the King implied that he would give Don Francisco de Vargas the grade of President of the Council of Valladolid, and the title of Councillor of State in Spain, giving him also other rewards, he has determined again to send him as ambassador to your Serenity, considering the nature of the times, in order to give you an ambassador much to your taste and of great experience; and although the said Vargas constantly evinced a wish to return home to see his wife and children, he nevertheless professed obedience to his Majesty provided he gave him some other grade and benefice.* He also lately assured these Spanish cavaliers who were apprehensive of your Serenity, that

* Francisco de Vargas wrote a Latin treatise on Papal and Episcopal Jurisdiction, and Memoirs concerning the Council of Trent; but in the printed biographical notices of him, there is no mention of his embassy to Venice, which is, however, recorded in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1553-1558.

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unless you had very just cause you would never join a league against King Philip for the sake of favouring others.

Since the inroads made by the French along nearly the whole line of these frontiers, the Spaniards in Luxemburg and Charlemont went out, and those from the former place took several hundred head of cattle belonging to the French in the adjoining territory, and the troops from Charlemont captured provisions and the troops who were taking them to Marienburg, the provisions being estimated by the Duke of Savoy at 30,000 crowns, and the value of property belonging to French merchants which has been seized in these provinces is said to amount to 300,000 crowns.

The said Duke has caused the arrest here in Brussels of a Frenchman who represented himself to be a Spaniard, he speaking the Spanish language like a native, and on him was found a letter in cipher without any address. He was immediately tortured to ascertain the cause of his coming hither, and the name of the person for whom the said letter was destined, but it is not yet known what he confessed.

His Majesty had sent to tell the French ambassador that as on becoming accounts he did not choose his attendants (*i suoi*) to have intercourse with any one, he was to go with his retinue to a village one league hence; but shortly afterwards, a courier having arrived in safety from Spain, passing through France, his Majesty did not allow his intention to be carried into effect; as also by reason of the coming hither of a gentleman in the service of his ambassador in France, but the intelligence brought by him has not yet been divulged.

Several advices have been received here from Germany, purporting that the Marquis of Baden, brother-in-law of the late Marquis Albert of Brandenburg, is raising troops in the State of the Count Palatine at the request of the King of France, who sent him a courier lately with a sum of money; and it is supposed that these troops are to go and serve his most Christian Majesty in France, both to prevent King Philip from receiving reinforcements from Germany, and to approach these parts to attack him.

Sir Richard Shelley has arrived here, as ambassador from the Queen of England to the Duchess of Parma, to contragulate her on her coming, and to invite her Excellency to go to England, making her the offer as to a sister-in-law, to which the Duchess replied, after the usual compliments, that she was unable to go thither, being compelled to return to the Duke her consort in March, as she had commissioned a secretary sent by her lately to pay her respects to her Majesty, to tell the Queen; and thus did she despatch the said ambassador, presenting him with a chain.

Don Ruy Gomez has just sent me the King's letter addressed to the Viceroy of Sicily in the form desired by your Serenity; and by a secretary of the Duke of Savoy, I also received from him the written "permit" to export twenty-five chargers (*corsieri*)* from

* The war horses of Flanders were in great repute at this period, and in the "Report" of Giovanni Michiel it will be seen that England also imported them for the service of the heavy cavalry.

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these provinces for the company of men-at-arms of the Lord Marco Savorgnano, which I obtained in such becoming form as I understood to be the wish of your Serenity, through the letter written to me on this subject.

Brussels, 17th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

794. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen's indecision about returning to London, and this general muster of the Gentlemen Pensioners (*questa monstra general delli Pensionarij della Corte*) which for the last week have been expected daily,* has prevented her Majesty from giving the audience sought for by me, but I trust it will not be delayed more than two or three days now that her Majesty is determined not to move; and with regard to the muster, it will be made to-morrow. On receiving the passport, although, owing to the intense cold and ice, the weather is very ill-suited to the commencement of a journey, I shall not on that account fail to set out immediately, should nothing else detain me.

The courier, Gamboa, has been sent back from Brussels; and, two days ago, he was followed by another, in greater haste, with letters to the "Regent" here, Don [Juan de] Figueroa, from whom it has not been possible to learn anything but the confirmation of the rupture of the truce.

There also arrived at the same time a messenger despatched in haste by the English ambassador in France; the Earl of Pembroke having also sent hither the Treasurer of Calais, who is a principal personage, but the cause of his coming has not transpired.

The French ambassador resident here asserts that by letters of the 8th from his King, not one word is said to him about the rupture, and he apologises by saying that if any disorder took place it was caused by those disbanded mutineers on the frontiers, who moved of their own accord to plunder, and not to invade by the King's order; and these other Frenchmen here say that the Imperialists were the first who attacked.

Good arrangements have been made here for certain vessels to secure the passage and keep this Channel free, so that should the rupture continue, it be not crowded with [sea] robbers and corsairs (*di ladri et di corsari*).

London, 19th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* This muster took place in Greenwich Park on the 20th January 1557, and in Machyn's Diary, p. 124, it is stated that the pensioners "were fifty and more besides their men-at-arms."

The "Band of Gentlemen Pensioners" was instituted by Henry VIII. in 1509, and was originally composed entirely of gentlemen of noble blood, whom he named his pensioners or spears. (See Haydn's Dictionary of Dates.)

† See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558.

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Jan. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

795. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By my last of the 13th* I wrote about the stir in Picardy. Subsequently I heard the particulars of the fact, thus:—The Admiral removed 200 horse and 300 foot from the frontiers, and having an understanding with a French gentleman, who, under pretence of making love to a gentlewoman there, resided at Douai, the Admiral approached that place, and the evening before having sent some soldiers, who lodged in certain cottages (*casette*) near the walls, and they having had a dispute with their host, they killed him, his wife escaping and concealing herself in a ditch near the town gate, and at daybreak, when the guard within came to open it, the French cavalry having already commenced their approach, the woman aforesaid shouted "Look to the French" (*guarda li Francesi*); so the guard within, hearing this, mounted the ramparts without opening the gate and rang the alarum bell, to call the garrison to arms, the French retreating to perform some other exploit. As his most Christian Majesty had it proclaimed in Picardy and Champagne that all the cattle were to be driven within the borders by the 5th instant, the ministers of the King of Spain, on hearing this, inferred that it was the commencement of the rupture of the truce, and on the 6th plundered a good quantity of animals which it had been impossible to remove into the interior in time; so the Admiral made reprisals, he in like manner capturing a great amount of animals in the neighbouring territory. But the most Christian King has sent a messenger express to the frontier of the King of Spain to let him know that he does not intend to break the truce, and that should they restore the plunder taken by them, his most Christian Majesty has given orders that on his part likewise entire restitution be made. He has not sent any apology for the affair of Douai, it being said at the Court that the King of Spain having countenanced the plot discovered at Metz, the King of France considers himself at liberty to do the same, but to-day the Spanish ambassador told me that he had letters from the Constable expressing great surprise at a certain report in circulation that merchants and ships belonging to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty had been seized at Antwerp and other places in Flanders, and that the passes hitherwards were closed, so that 20 days had elapsed without the receipt by the King of letters from his ambassador. His Excellency added that his Majesty in like manner heard with regret (*con dispiacere*) that between your Serenity's frontiers and those of the Switzers a courier coming with letters to his most Christian Majesty had been robbed by his (the Spanish ambassador's) King's troops (*gente*), and he therefore requested of the said ambassador one of his attendants to accompany a courier whom his Majesty intended to despatch to Flanders (*voleva spazzar in Flandra*). The said ambassador told me that his reply to the Constable purported that he had no "advice" whatever (*non teneva avviso alcuno*) of what is aforesaid, but that he believed

* This letter of the 13th January does not exist in the Venetian Archives.

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that his King had done the like of what his Majesty here did by his subjects, and the ambassador sent the Constable his (the ambassador's) messenger (*l'homo suo*), that he may despatch him to Flanders; notwithstanding which, the Count Mansfeldt and other persons, who when on their way to Flanders were arrested on the French frontiers, were set at liberty; yet I have also heard that a ship from Spain loaded with wool has been detained at Rouen, and even yesterday they were still unloading it, the Flemish merchants there being in like manner arrested. The last advices from the Duke de Guise are in date of Turin, the 3rd, and on the 7th the army was to march towards Casale and then cross.

Poissy, 19th January 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

796. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although with difficulty could I put my foot to the ground, I nevertheless went this very day to the Pope. On entering his Holiness' chamber, I found the ambassador of the King of Portugal waiting for audience, and shortly afterwards the Pope entered with the right reverend "Decano" [Cardinal de Bellai], they after dinner having been to inspect the chapel his Holiness is building near that chamber. The moment the Pope saw me, after having asked how I was, he embraced me, with rare demonstration of love, saying that I must take care of myself in this variable weather (*in questa inequalità di aere*); that he was sorry I had incurred the inconvenience of going to him, although he was glad to see me, because he was so full of obligations to your Serenity for the honours and caresses bestowed by you on his Cardinal, that he knew not with what words to commence thanking you; but that he prayed, and would constantly pray the Lord God for the felicity, conservation, and increase of the most illustrious Dominion's state.

To this I replied that I had had an order from your Serenity and the Senate to thank his Holiness in the Republic's name most lovingly, for having willed to send them so honourable a personage, and so near akin and dear to him, as Cardinal Caraffa, towards whom your Serenity had made such trifling demonstrations as the shortness of the time allowed of, for that scarcely had the news arrived of his lordship's intention of going to Venice, ere it was heard that he was already at Chioggia. The Pope rejoined, "We are advised that more could not have been done; do write that we are so much satisfied with what the Doge's Sublimity and those most excellent Lords have done by our nephew, who is ourself in person (*che è la nostra persona*), that we choose to be obliged to them, hoping in God some day or other to let them know it effectively" (*con effetti*).

I then began telling him how satisfied your Serenity was with the prudence, gravity, and judgment displayed by his most illustrious nephew in all his actions, expatiating on this particular as I was aware of the satisfaction it gave the Pope, who by his gestures could not conceal it; again embracing me, his whole countenance

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evincing that he was beyond measure rejoiced; returning, in conclusion, thanks to God for that he was such, and acknowledged as such; adding, "Enough, we cannot get it out of our head that the infinite love which we bear the Signory, and the reciprocity received by us, is not, besides a natural inclination, moreover by the will of God; so that we may one day perform some notable feat to the praise of His Majesty for the universal benefit, and for the particular advantage and grandeur of the Republic; and because, as our minds are united in love, so we wish our affairs to be mutually known (*che sia congiunta la intelligentia delli negotij*) and that nothing pass without our communicating it to his Sublimity and to you, as we always have done, so that *quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet*."

"On the arrival here the day before yesterday of Don Francisco Pacheco from the Court of King Philip, and it being understood that he had no commission to negotiate with us, but merely to convey the despatch to the Duke of Alva, who was then to treat with our Cardinal, we, although Don Francisco requested that he might come to us, did not choose him to do so, as we will maintain the dignity of the station (*loco*) in which God has placed us; for that of our own private person we hold in no account, and are ready to lay it down (*a metterla in terra*) when necessary; but we do not think it suited to the grade we hold, that an individual should appear before us, to say, '*it will not be sent to you, I am going to another person*;' so yesterday we sent for Cardinal Pacheco, and told him to let Don Francisco know that he must go to Naples, whither he is despatched, as with us he has nothing more to do; and we believe that he departed accordingly this morning. On our Cardinal's return, should the Duke of Alva wish to treat with him, they having already negotiated together, God speed them; should they make becoming proposals we shall then hear them, and grant they may be such as to enable us to accept them. For the present we will not bind ourselves to anything, but be arbiters of ourselves and of our will according to opportunity."

"That you may know our whole heart *we will indeed tell you that were Philip to come in person to humble himself before us, and ask pardon for the very great error committed by him, we would not go to meet him, as we should choose him to make this public demonstration, that the whole world might know that he had truly repented, and was dissatisfied (malcontento) with his villanous and impious acts, which had been public.*"

When I said it was reported that Don Francisco was the bearer of terms so dignified and satisfactory for his Holiness, that the peace so desired by everybody, and amongst the rest by your Serenity, might be considered settled, he made no farther reply; wherefore, although I had intended to congratulate his Holiness on the capture of Hostia, having heard how much joy he evinced at that event, I changed my mind, in order not to give him an opportunity for discoursing about the victories which might be obtained by continuing the war. I indeed congratulated him on the Duchess of Paliano's pregnancy having resulted well by her delivery this morning of a daughter.

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He thanked me, and added, "We have let the Duke and Duchess, and others their kinsfolk (*et altri soi*), know that should anyone evince dissatisfaction at her not having had a son, we shall consider them bad Christians, and they will lose our favour." As he uttered this last word, the Duke of Paliano, with the Marquis his son, coming into the chamber, and by kissing the Pope's foot having rejoiced at this birth, (*quali col basciar il piede a Sua Santità si allegrorno di questo parto*) his Holiness said to them, "At this very moment we told the ambassador that should any persons evince dissatisfaction about this daughter they would fall into disgrace with us, as (besides its being repugnant to the will and providence of God) we are as glad as if a son had been born, especially as we are told that the mother is well, the great love we bear her being known to you, for she is in truth a little saint* (*perchè in verita è una santarella*). We have given this female infant (*questa figliola*) to the Lord God, who will avail Himself of her as He shall think fit, either for marriage or otherwise, nor can we know what He will do with her, though we indeed hope that she is destined to bring happiness to our house. We wish her to be named Paula, in memory of that most holy woman, Paula, a very noble Roman lady, who having left a great part of her wealth here, went to Jerusalem and built a nunnery near Bethlem, about which Saint Jerome (*San Hieronimo*) writes in terms of great honour; and we intend to rebuild her church, which is in ruins at the foot of the Aventine, doing the like by that of Saint Servolo, as we should have done by many others had not these schismatics, accursed of God, disturbed us as they have done." His Holiness then recommenced speaking about the Duchess and his joy at her being well delivered, adding that it was no wonder she had a bad pregnancy and difficulty in parturition, because, according to the physicians (*phisici*), the bringing forth of females is for the most part worse than that of males, the females being feeble, frigid, and relaxed (*debili, frigide, molli*), and not assisting themselves, whereas the males are strong, sustaining, moving and aiding themselves. Thereupon, it seeming to me that I had an opportunity for doing so, I took my leave, and wishing respectfully to bow, he raised me up, saying, "We have indeed detained you ill-at-ease too long," and charging me to keep him on loving terms with your Serenity (*che lo mantenesse caro appresso vostra Serenità*).

I then went to wait for the Duke of Paliano in his apartments. He said that by fresh demonstrations your Serenity rendered them, the (three) brothers, more obliged daily, so that they were unable to return thanks, but that they would always be ready to lay down their lives for you. I then asked about Don Francisco Pacheco, and he repeated what had been already told me by the Pope, and that on the day of his arrival he went to dine with his Excellency, merely saying in general terms that he was the bearer of things so much to the Pope's satisfaction, and so advantageous for his family, that he believed the peace was settled; to which he had replied that the interest of his family would not affect him, provided regard were

* For the tragic fate of the Duchess of Paliano, see Part I., p. 451, where the site of her death, Gallese, is misprinted *Jallese*.

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had for his Holiness' dignity, and he hoped the Pope would be able to give them their livelihood; and that he said this, not because this disposition of King Philip was not agreeable to him, but to show that his own personal interest would never thwart the adjustment. I commended his preferring peace, and his Excellency, having said that God knew his mind, told me that the fortress erected by the Imperialists at Hostia would certainly be taken.

Rome, 19th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

797. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador to KING PHILIP II.,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

In consequence of the coming hither of his Majesty's secretary in France the King sent the Councillor Borsielle (*sic*) to the French ambassador here to tell him that he was now at liberty to have free intercourse, and to allow his attendants to go abroad, telling him that the cause which had induced his Majesty to forbid communication with them was a very just one, because seeing the French make so many incursions everywhere on these frontiers, his Majesty considered it certain that the most Christian King chose to break the truce, and that consequently his ambassador in France had been arrested, but that having heard from the aforesaid secretary, and subsequently by his ambassador's letters, that the most Christian King did not intend the truce to be broken, his Majesty informed the French ambassador that he would regulate his proceedings by those of his King. The ambassador replied that the cause of these disturbances had proceeded from several circumstances, but from two in particular; the one, from what had been done at Montreuil by the mutineers at Hesdin; the other, because letters had been intercepted in France addressed by the ministers of King Philip to his ambassador resident with your Serenity. Notwithstanding all this M. de Lalain, the lieutenant of the Duke of Savoy, has been despatched to give several orders on these frontiers, and the preparations of troops and other necessities continue, it being considered certain that the said truce will be broken in Italy, and that it must necessarily be broken here.

Through the tortures inflicted on that Frenchman who said he was a Spaniard, it is heard that he confessed to having an understanding with two Spaniards to carry into effect certain schemes on these frontiers.

Monsignor Fantuzzo is despatching his secretary postwise to-day to go and give account to Cardinal Caraffa of the matters treated with his Majesty and Don Ruy Gomez, conveying an offer of three things; the one, that with regard to appeasing the Pope's anger, the King will charge the Duke of Alva to go in person to his feet, and ask pardon in his Majesty's name for what has been done, restoring to him in their original state the places taken from the Church in the Papal territory; the other, that his Majesty is content to leave the Duke of Paliano in possession of what he holds, but that for the security of the kingdom of Naples he would wish some person in his confidence to be placed in Paliano with a suitable garrison, and

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should this proposal be rejected, that the place be held neither for the Duke nor by Marc' Antonio Colonna; and from what has been hinted to me they discussed together I know not what project about the State of Sienna. The third thing is about gratifying Cardinal Caraffa; that his Majesty is of opinion he should come to this Court, promising by an autograph letter which he is now writing to him that he will do such things for his right reverend Lordship that he will remain quite content, and that otherwise the King will be always suspicious of him.

Monsignor Fantuzzo has assured Don Ruy Gomez that the said Cardinal will not come, both because the Pope will not give him leave, and because he will not choose to detach himself so much from the French as to have cause for repentance should this side fail him.

According to the intention written by me to your Serenity, his Majesty sent for the ambassador Vargas, and after many complimentary expressions to his honour about being well satisfied with the service he had rendered him with your Serenity, and because he knew him to be personally acceptable to you, he commanded him to return to Venice, praying him not to say no, pledging his word to do him great honour, and to reward him largely. The ambassador said that he would obey the King without farther thought for his children, of whom he left the care to his Majesty, for whose service he was content to end his whole life at Venice; and so from what he himself told me I heard that he will depart in a fortnight, going postwise half stages (*andando mezze poste*), his language to me in honour of your Serenity being the most loving and respectful possible.

Brussels, 20th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 22.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
[Archives.

798. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the receipt yesterday of your Serenity's letters of the 16th instant charging me to inform the Pope that your ambassador with King Philip has announced his Majesty's wish (*volontà*) for peace, and the despatch of Don Francisco Pacheco to the Duke of Alva for that purpose, with authority to conclude and make it, so that it may not fail through him, desiring me with this opportunity to pray the Pope to grant this precious gift of peace, I went to-day to audience. On entering the chamber, the Pope, after asking me whether I was quite recovered, said, "You must have some 'advice' from those Lords of the French army which is coming to assist us;" and when I replied that I knew nothing more than was said at this Court, that the preparations are great, he added, "Magnifico Ambassador, the French are in truth behaving well, and deserve great praise; they will not degenerate from their ancestors, who on every occasion have assisted this Holy See. The Duke de Guise, who may be styled the first personage in France after the King, is coming; we do not mention the Constable, as he is viceroy (*lassamo star il Contestabile perche è vicere*); he (the Duke de Guise) brings with him M. de

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Nemours and many other great lords, besides whom, a good number of gentlemen, *suis sumptibus*, are coming for our assistance, may God bless them for it; and that Duke has assuredly used great diligence in bringing the army across the Alps, *asperrimo anni tempore*; he has much cavalry, which is indeed esteemed the best in Christendom, and besides the French infantry he has a great quantity of foreign foot-soldiers. Thus the army will be *instrutto* (sic) *pedestribus et equitibus copiis*, and will come with great alacrity, so that those others (*coloro*) are not in time to dispute their passage, in such wise that we hope to punish these rascals (*questi tristi*) for their acts of impiety; and would to God that all who are interested in this afflicted province knew their own advantage (*conoscesse il ben loro*), and how easily these renegades (*questi marrani*) will be driven out of Italy; for at this moment a small army will do more than it would have done at another time; the yoke of those Imperialists (*di costoro*) is no longer bearable; you will see how the people here, who are gasping for breath, will rise against them, so that by God those few Spaniards who are in these parts will find no place in which to hide themselves.

"We have little else to tell you, yet will we repeat what we have often said about the impiety of those people (*di costoro*) and our own patience; and that although their iniquities are such that we ought to nauseate the mere mention of them, yet when they wished to speak about an agreement we did not fail to hear them; when they desired a conference, we sent, and sent again to them, our Cardinal, than whom we have nothing dearer in the world, but the agreement purported that we their superiors, they being our feudatories, were to grant them terms such as no prince, unless he were a devil, would demand of a subject (*che un principe che non fusse un diavolo non domanderia ad un suo suddito*), namely, that they did not choose us to punish our rebel-vassals, nor to raise fortresses in our own territory; so that this their impiety being beyond measure unreasonable, we suppose it to be the will of God in order to punish them, and sometimes we have said to ourselves, 'Lord God! how undiscoverable and inscrutable are the secrets of Thy Divine Majesty (*di Sua Divina Maestà*)! Thou gavest me the pontificate without my asking it of Thee, and Thou knowest it, and the world may know it. Thou then madest me apply my mind immediately to the most holy reform, and to the Council (which we still hope to effect), for which purpose I sent legates to initiate (*per introdur*) the peace in Christendom, but *cum iis qui oderunt pacem, eram pacificus*, for they plotted (*designorono*) to seize that good Legate. Thou hast permitted them to persecute me as they have done, and I return Thee thanks, for Thou hast given me courage to suffer resolutely without any fear, I having thus expended all I possessed, and whatever I could obtain through divers channels and divers aids, and which I had intended to employ for the repair of sacred places, and for the support of many men of virtue; who can penetrate into thy secrets, my Lord? Thou hast perhaps permitted these things to free afflicted Italy from this plague, and dost will me to be Thy minister; and if it is so, behold me, O Lord, most ready to undergo any fatigue and peril; but, O Lord, make the others like-

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wise (opera si che li altri ancora conoschino la sua volontà) *to know Thy will and prepare to execute it, by doing also what is for their own welfare, freeing this most noble province from the yoke of a race which is monstrous* (di gente che sono monstra) *nullâ virtute redempta vitijis. What men are these? what exemplification of virtue do they afford?* (che imagine di virtù si conosce in loro?) *They are a sewer of filth* (cloaca di bruttura), *a mixture of Jews, Moriscos, and Lutherans, who so long as they shall have a span of land in Italy will disquiet the whole of it.*"

The Pope having then paused, I said, "Holy Father, we must not despair of the peace being made, with the maintenance of your Holiness' dignity, and by also putting an end to expenses, troubles, and dangers, for the Signory have letters from their ambassador with King Philip, in reply to the commission given him after the conclusion of the last truce for 40 days, to the effect, that having strongly urged his Majesty to be reconciled to your Holiness, the King replied that he wished it greatly, both by reason of the reverence which he bears this Holy See as also to gratify (*compiacer*) the Signory; and that having heard from the Duke of Alva what it was requisite to do to make the peace, he sent him authority to conclude it, by Don Francisco Pacheco, charging him to act in such a way on his part as not to fail to effect the agreement; which intelligence in like manner as it was agreeable to his Sublimity, so did he commission me to notify it immediately to your Holiness, praying you of your goodness and piety to be content to bestow on Christendom this most precious gift of peace, which is so salutary and so universally desired, and above all by his Serenity."

His Holiness replied, "We thank the Signory for this intelligence, and for the office performed by them with us; and we assure them that in like manner as we have never failed hitherto (as we told you at the beginning) to do everything to remove these hostilities from Italy and from Christendom, so will we not fail to do for the future, provided that we can do so without danger of being betrayed (*assassinati*), as usual, these enemies of God. We should indeed wish the Signory to be convinced that our will is good, but that no remedy can be found; since many years we know their malignity and iniquity, we have had experience of them, we sat in their state councils (*siamo stati nelli loro consigli*),* and departed, because we saw that they were going the way to banish Christ from the world. That accursed soul of Charles (*quella maledetta anima di Carlo*) never thought of anything but of making himself master of the Papal States, in order subsequently to do the like by the rest of Italy; for this, Rome was sacked, so that to get them out of it Lautrec had to be sent under Naples; for this, on his return from Africa, he had a mind to stay here, had not Paul III. made King Francis enter Piedmont; for this he made so many other attempts in which he failed, because God chooses His Church to have this temporal State, which is known (besides its having been proved by

* In date 12th October 1556, the Pope told Navagero that, when Nuncio from Leo X. to King Charles, he "came away with Messer Marcello (who had been in the service of Ferdinand the Catholic), because he (Nuncio Caraffa) could not bear the tyranny of the future Emperor."

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so many saints through their writings) from experience, as all the tyrants who sought to occupy it incurred such ruin, that scarcely does any record of their names remain; and thus will it be with those Imperialists (*di costoro*). Of the father it may be already said, that *sit mortuus sed relicto aculeo*, which is his accursed son (*che è il suo maledetto figliolo*), who has the same designs and the same counsellors, and proceeds tyrannizing over Italy by the same means, *endeavouring first to occupy this State*, so that *he may then more easily make himself master of the rest*; nor would you escape it (*nè voi la scapareste*), for, *this being subjugated, you would go with a whiff* (*ve ne andareste in un soffio*), nor would submission nor money avail you. *And what remains for us? they have the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and part of Corsica; you know how Lombardy fares; Tuscany may be called his; and they were very near occupying this State; whilst you will remain looking on.*

"We are under great obligations to the French, who have never abandoned the defence of this See, for they are truly sons of the Church, and deserve to be praised and honoured; you see how joyfully they come to defend us, which will be to their glory and to our eternal obligation, as we hope in God to punish these wicked men (*questi scellerati*).

"When the matters shall be further advanced we will say to you, you see in what state the affairs are; what are you going to do? (*che state a far?*) Come and take your share of it, as should our designs succeed, we will assuredly render the greatest service to the Signory that they ever received since the first stone of that noble city was laid until now; and we would fain give them everything from the love we bear them, and because their Government (*Governo*) is after our own heart; for Italy would at least be out of the hands of the barbarians who have but too much lacerated and reviled us, *et emuncto quicquid erat succi*.

"Until now we have treated you with all discretion (*modestia*), not asking any league of you; and being unable to go in person, we sent our Cardinal to thank his Sublimity for the offices performed and to hear his mind. The Cardinal was so well received and caressed (as we told you last time) that we remain under obligation, and with a perpetual wish to do the State service; but in conclusion we tell you that let happen what may we are not long for this world, by reason of our advanced age, as known; but we shall depart this life content because we have not failed to seek the freedom (*libertà*) of Italy; and should you not do your duty, we will summon you before the judgment-seat of God—*vos inquam appellabo*—for having failed towards yourselves, towards your country, towards religion, towards Christ, by remaining asleep when His Majesty wished to rescue you and others; and you will remain on earth with loss and shame, having had it in your power to be the deliverers of Italy and not having chosen to exercise it. Let those Imperialists (*costoro*) still cajole you by saying they wish for peace; is it possible that you do not yet know them? May God open your eyes!

Rome, 22nd January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.

Jan. 23.

Original
Letter book,
Venetian
Archives.**799. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

Marshal Strozzi having discovered that the site where the Imperialists have their fort at Hostia is almost an island, as you will perceive by the enclosed drawing* copied from one taken by the Marshal; having on one side the Tiber, on the other the sea, and on the third (for it is a triangle) the marsh (*stagno paludoso*), with one channel, there being a second from the land; he raised a bastion between Hostia and the enemy's fort, patrolling the shore with his cavalry to prevent small vessels from succouring the besieged, who lately sent out a Spaniard and a peasant, so far as could be discovered by their footsteps, showing that one was barefooted and the other shod (*calciato*); and some papal soldiers following these footsteps, found a dead Spaniard, on whose person was a billet in the Spanish tongue to the following effect: "Sir, Hostia is taken, the fort besieged; we now need something more than words, we must gather up our garments (*alciaarse li panni*) and fly." When the Marshal who came to Rome with the Duke of Paliano (he having returned from the camp on Saturday night), they went to the army on Tuesday to blockade the enemy more closely, and on departing he said to the Duke of Paliano, for my secretary heard him say, "My Lord, I pray your Excellency not to be surprised should the undertaking proceed slowly, because at these commencements we shall be occupied with preparations, but rest assured that we will not fail to do whatever shall be requisite."

It is said here that they are waiting until they can approach by means of the trench, meaning to employ the spade and pickaxe, as the Duke told me. On Wednesday, a falconet-shot having struck a wall near which the Marshal was, a stone-splinter struck him in the mouth, knocking out one of his teeth and loosening another, the broken tooth having somewhat hurt his tongue. His lordship wrote an account of the accident in his own hand; and from what is heard it will do him no harm. They sent him immediately Maestro Giacomo of Perugia, a surgeon in great repute here, the Pope having sent to visit him by his chamberlain Cressentio, and yesterday morning the Duke of Paliano went thitherwards, but could not get there because the Tiber was so swollen that it had inundated a great part of the country, doing the like also in Rome, somewhat to my detriment, my house being on the river; which inundation is also supposed to have impeded the return of the chamberlain, who has not yet been seen.

What I wrote in my last was true, that part of Sciarra Colonna's company on its way to Galiano was stripped by the Imperial cavalry, with this in addition, that with it were some soldiers of Chienchio Capizucco's company, so that they might be 200 strong in all. Some Imperial infantry in Rocca de Papa having made a foray as far as under Veletri to plunder cattle, three companies came forth, and having recovered the plunder, choosing to advance farther than necessary, were routed by the aforesaid Imperialists with the

* Not found.

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assistance of the peasantry. The Duke of Alva is fortifying Civitella and other places toward the Abruzzi and in the other direction has destroyed the greater part of Anagni, to make it a fortress, and the Count di Popolo has moved towards Ferentino. From Terracina some 800 Germans and 500 Spaniards who were landed from the fleet have entered Val Corsa, so the brother of Cardinal Sermoneta, who is in Piperno, demands troops for the custody of that place, which is considered an important one; and he (Sermoneta's brother) says that having garrisoned a certain castle belonging to the Massimi family, Count di Popolo sent for the authorities of the town, saying he wished to speak to them, giving assurance that they should not be injured, and they having gone to him, he detained them, and sent a message to the inhabitants to surrender; and they replying that they had a papal garrison which would defend them, he took three others of the place, and repeated that unless they surrendered, he would hang those already in his hands, and this being refused, he hanged them.

Cardinal Sermoneta sent his brother's letter to the Duke of Paliano, whom it distressed greatly, and he said that it might prove the commencement of a cruel war; by so much the more as it is said that in the act of departing from Monte Rotondo they violated the women, some of whom they took away with them; and that in another place where they had lived at discretion they sacked it before leaving.

On Tuesday, Don Francisco Pacheco being unable to obtain audience, departed for Naples. The Imperialists say that the Pope did not choose to see him, to avoid rendering the French suspicious, adding that the said Don Francisco brings full powers (carta bianca) to the Pope, as said by him in all the towns through which he passed. His Holiness' familiars say that these words are uttered to render him unpopular from its being seen that the result is not in accordance with them. Cardinal Morone, with whom Pacheco conversed, says that he announced the restitution of the whole State to the Pope, not demanding farther security from his Holiness for the kingdom of Naples. Owing to this arrival, and from its being reported that the Pope could not do less than accept the terms offered him, the French ambassador went to his Holiness to ask him what hope there might be of peace, that he might give his King notice, as due. The Pope assured him that he would not make peace, quoting the two following verses:

*"Pax erit hæc vobis, donec mihi vita manebit,
Infirmo pecori quæ solet esse lupi."*

The ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara also told my secretary, that even should the Pope make the agreement, the King of France had gone so far that he would not fail to wage war.

It is said here on good authority, that Cardinal Caraffa will not come to Rome until he has had an interview with the Duke de Guise, who wishes for it.

To-day Congregation was held, when the Pope said he would give public audience as often as possible, to keep the tribunals of Rome to their duty, and he will commence doing so next Wednesday or

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Thursday. He also decreed that henceforth on the 18th instant there be performed the solemnity of "St. Peter's chair" in Rome, in like manner as that of the one at Antioch, to confound the Lutherans, who say that he did not die in this city, his Holiness vituperating them according to his custom.

Rome, 23rd January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

800. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Paliano invited me to the christening of his Excellency's new born daughter, when the French ambassador was to be present, saying that the Pope had ordered it. She was christened by the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], and after the ceremony the Duke chose us to dine with him, but previously conferred with the French ambassador. At the end of the dinner there arrived the son of Aldobrandini, with news that the Spanish fort at Hostia had been taken by agreement. The Duke did not seem elate, but we all three went to the Pope, who was still at table. In the meanwhile M. de Lansac arrived, he also having come from the camp to give more particular account of this event. The Pope withdrew to say vespers and complin, and thank God for this victory. Having finished his prayers he came down into the audience chamber, and M. de Lansac, with the French ambassador and the Duke of Paliano, having drawn a little apart from the others, Lansac said to the Pope, laughing, "Holy Father, you should absolve me for having spoken with people who are excommunicated," and then told him how the Spaniards, seeing the enemy's forces approach, surrendered, on condition that all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, which is in great quantity, should be ours, they departing with colours flying, and with what they could carry of their own, and, as a favour, with one falconet; and although Marshal Strozzi could have taken them by force he had chosen to display this clemency, thinking it would please his Holiness, to whom he made a present of the artillery and ammunition, but for the rest, the value of which exceeded 20,000 crowns, as there were many merchants and others in the fort, his Holiness should be pleased (*fusse contenta*) to make a present of it to the soldiers, both for the goodwill shown by them and to encourage them for what they will have to perform. Lansac added that had he been in that place he would not have surrendered it until after 2,000 cannon shots, as otherwise he should have thought he had lost honour and his King's favour; that within there were two companies (*bandiere*) of soldiers, who were not 300 strong, although it had always been said that they were 500; and he commended the judgment and valour of Marshal Strozzi.

The Pope replied, that he thanked God for having commenced favouring his cause, that he praised the clemency used by Strozzi towards those unfortunates (*poverelli*), and that in no part would he change what was recommended and wished for by the Marshal, from whom he expected greater advantages (*frutti*) than this;

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whereupon M. de Lansac and the Duke of Paliano took leave. The French ambassador remained a long while negotiating with the Pope, reading two or three letters to him ; when he departed, his Holiness having called me, I assured him that your Serenity would rejoice at a victory so important for the benefit of this city. The Pope replied, that your Serenity would always have cause to rejoice at the prosperity of him and his family, and he then commenced speaking of the evil nature of the Emperor, and of his wish to degrade (*abbassar*) this See ; that the son was in no way dissimilar to the father ; that when he most evinced a wish for peace, and sought it, he was then more than ever intènt on making himself master of the whole of the Papal States, in order subsequently to obtain the rest of Italy ; that for this purpose he made the truce with the King of France, so that being secured in that quarter they might the more easily execute their projects ; that plots had been laid against this city, against his own life and that of those most dear to him ; that he had the conspirators and their accomplices in prison, they being convicted on their own confession ; that he had not chosen to proceed against them further hitherto from wishing to be merciful rather than just ;* that he had always hoped in God, and that the more grievous his affairs seemed, the greater was the hope and constancy administered to him by a lively faith which he had, that his Lord would not abandon him ; and in conclusion, he repeated all the things so often said during the 17 months of my residence at this legation ; adding, that he knew he was much obliged to the most Christian King his good son, who, besides so much other assistance rendered to the popedom, was coming to defend him with such considerable forces that they exceeded his expectations, for he was informed that three most powerful armies would be in array, one for this territory, another for Piedmont, and the third on the confines of Picardy ; that this one here (*questo di qua*) would do wonders, the Duke of Alva not having sufficient forces to resist, nor the hope of receiving any, that the wretched Neapolitans (*quei poveri populi*) awaited nothing but this opportunity, and that all the towns of the Abruzzi had already sent to offer themselves a few months ago to the Marquis his nephew, at the time when he recalled him hither ; that besides the other results which might be obtained by the army in Piedmont, it will certainly prevent the Imperialists from reinforcing the Duke of Alva with troops from Lombardy, whilst the one in Picardy will put in confusion those other parts of Flanders, a province so important and so dear to these schismatics (*"mettendo sottosopra quelle altre parte della*

* In a long despatch written by Navagero on the 30th November 1555, from which I gave a brief extract at p. 266 of the present volume, alluding to an offer made by the Imperial ambassador to the Duke of Urbino, to enter the service of the King of England, there is a paragraph, thus : " Sono stati veduti monitorij fatti di ordine del Pont^{co} nella persona di Don Bernardo [Mendoza], del Duca di Malfi, et di D. Garcia Arros (*sic*), Spag^{lo}, per i quali sono citati a Roma, i due primi come autori conscij e partecipi d'haver voluto far ammazzare il Cardinale Farnese, il terzo, D. Garcia, per oppositione di veneno nella persona del Pont^{co} et Car^{le} Caraffa; il che, essendosi saputo, ha dimostrato al Pont^{co} alcuni di questi Cardinali Imperiali, che citar Don Bernardo et il Duca di Malfi era un aperto principio di guerra, et che essi non haveriano potuto comparire se non armati, però S. S^{ta} ha fatto cancellare i loro nomi, et contra D. Garcia non è fin' hora processo più oltre."

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Fiandra tanto importante, et così cara a questi scismatici)*; that the French were men to be greatly esteemed and held dear, and that he would always endeavour to show himself grateful to them. His Holiness exhibited to me an autograph letter, signed thus, "your Holiness' devoted and obedient son the King" (*di vostra Santità obbediente et divoto figliolo il Re*), saying to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, we can conceal nothing whatever from you; since yesterday we are beyond measure joyful, because we have advice that the King would offer Sicily to my most serene Signory; you know what we said to you heretofore about the convenience of that kingdom, which would benefit you more (as we remember having told you) than any maritime possessions you might have in the whole of this Mediterranean; you would at least not be compelled to beg your bread, first from one and then from the other as (from the experience we have of your city) we know that you are for the most part compelled to do. The extreme advantage of the undertaking is manifest to everybody, and that of the kingdom [of Naples] being accomplished, Sicily falls of itself. Then, for its conservation, you, with your naval forces, and ruling in the mild manner peculiar to you (*et usando quel mode-rame nel governo che è proprio vostro*), render that indubitable. God knows, Magnifico Ambassador, that we should wish not only Sicily, but all the rest of Italy, to be yours; we never could see you sufficiently great (*non si potemo satiar di vedervi grandi*). Nor for this reason do we ask you at present to take any share in the danger, but keep ready to avail yourselves of such opportunities as shall present themselves, and to be partners when the game is won."

He again repeated that the French are men of such a sort that they will do whatever is wished for those who know how to manage them, and that, they being by nature suspicious and ambitious, he recommended your Serenity to cultivate them (*che se intertenisse con loro*), and would approve of your making some demonstration of love and honour towards the Duke de Guise, as if a secretary was sent to the Duke of Alva, he would think it well to make some demonstration towards the Duke de Guise, whom on every account he considers a much greater personage. In answer I told him that I knew you had a very close friendship with the most Christian King, and had never failed to perform every complimentary office with his Majesty and his representatives, and that I did not remember that you had ever sent "viva voce" to any military commander who did not pass through your territory. To this the Pope answered, "If it has not been done, and is not usual, we say nothing more to you. God knows that we go devising (*che andamo pensando*) all possible means whereby to render you as dear to others as you are to ourselves;" adding, "We commend you for desiring the peace and for seeking to effect it, but we well know that those lords are sage, and will know (how to avail themselves of?) the opportunities

* This may mean either that the Imperialists greatly valued Flanders, or that the Protestants there, owing to the vicinity of the French army, would revolt, and thus assist the Pope, whose conduct, as seen by this correspondence, had greatly benefited the Protestant cause.

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(e conosceranno l'occasione);" to which I said that your Serenity, having known the benefits of peace, as enjoyed by you for so many years with all parties, you therefore wished for it, and sought it most heartily (con tutto l'affetto dell'animo suo). Then I took leave, and in the act of doing so he said, "When writing to the Signory, oblige me by not failing again to thank them for the honours bestowed on our nephew, and to cause that most excellent dominion to hold us dear, we being so desirous of their greatness. To tell you everything, the Cardinal our nephew before he returns will confer with the Duke de Guise, who we believe will also choose to see his father-in-law, the Duke of Ferrara, and all three together will determine on the course to be pursued for this undertaking, and we shall abide by it, because we do not know much about war, although those Imperialists have always kept us in the midst of trumpets and cannon."

Rome, 24th January 1557, 3 p.m.

[Italian.]

Jan. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

801. MICHEL SURIAN and FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassadors with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As soon as I, Michiel, was somewhat recovered from my indisposition, we both of us, by common consent, determined to ask audience of his Majesty, and had it to-day at 3 p.m.

Having entered the chamber where the King was with many of the principal lords, I, Michiel, congratulated myself in the first place on his Majesty's excellent health, as of a thing which your Serenity held very dear, and praying God to grant him that and every other prosperity, I presented the letter of credence, and then said how much your Serenity from your natural inclination had always loved peace; and how much you had always esteemed the Emperor's friendship, and did esteem his Majesty's, adding that I came to offer him the constant determination (*volontà*) of the most excellent Republic to continue in this peace and friendship, confirmed and established by a period of so many years with the Emperor, touching briefly on such points as seemed to me becoming your Serenity's dignity and grandeur; and in conclusion I said that I was to remain with his Majesty for the maintenance, no room remaining for me to say the increase, of this mental conjunction, to effect which I had one sole commission from your Serenity, namely, that all my thoughts, words, and deeds were to be no less intent on his Majesty's advantage and glory than on your Serenity's. The King answered each particular with gravity and prudence, evincing great esteem for your Serenity's friendship, and that he was excellently disposed always to preserve it, as a thing most dear to him, and never to fail on his part in the performance of every office towards the most serene Republic. He then greatly praised my most noble predecessor, and said that from me he hoped for every good office, both by reason of the information he had received, and because he knows your Serenity is accustomed always to send ambassadors who were men of worthy qualities; [and I, Federico, several times did not fail to impress on his Majesty's mind the goodness, erudition, and

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prudence of his Magnificence, as he deserves, and in accordance with your Serenity's service*]. After a few other words from his Majesty and ourselves, this conversation being ended, the King, showing himself most perfectly satisfied with your Serenity, told us that by letters of the 9th instant from Venice he had heard the reply given by the most excellent Republic to Cardinal Caraffa, commending your Serenity for prudence and constancy, and thanking you for the affection you bore his Majesty, as displayed by such clear and evident facts, and saying that he should never desire anything more of your Serenity than that you do persevere in the sage determination to remain in your state of quiet and tranquillity, which was no less for the general benefit of Christendom than to the great contentment of his Majesty, who added a few other words on this subject; and we having no notice of this, nor any order from your Serenity, merely replied by assuring his Majesty that the most serene Republic would alway be constant in its friendship with him.

Brussels, 24th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

802. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

According to the intention announced to me, I hoped that on Sunday the 24th the most Serene Queen would have given me audience and despatched me entirely, but when I sent to fix the hour, her Majesty returned me word by Cardinal Pole, through my messenger, that if not inconvenient she would like me to delay until the following Sunday, so it did not seem fit to me to insist farther, but to adapt myself to the will of her Majesty.

I have been told on good authority that persons have been sent to the borders of Scotland diligently to inspect the frontiers, and fortify and supply them with all things necessary; and to give orders for the captains and those deputed to guard that territory, if not already there, to go thither, and not depart thence without leave, so that in case of a rupture with the French, the Scots may be prevented from invading England according to their custom.

The like has been done in all the maritime counties, by sending thither captains and leading personages to keep the militia, who have been called out for this purpose, in order; and to make all necessary provision for any chance of a rupture.

The muster of the 50 pensioners was made in the Queen's presence, and much to her Majesty's pleasure, all of them having made their appearance, each with three horses according to their agreement, in excellent array, and very well armed.

The gentleman who was sent to the Duchess of Parma has

* In the original letter, the bracketed passage has the pen drawn through it, probably by Surian, from modesty; but the universal belief in Badoer's "erudition" was proved in 1558, by what Paolo Manuzio wrote of him as the founder of the Venetian Academy, entitled "*Della Fama*," thus, "Federicum Baduarium auctorem et conditorem, Deo duce, Accademiæ nostræ, cui quidem viro tum vitæ probitas, tum ex assiduo studio, doctrina et ex diuturno rerum usu prudentia, fidem atque auctoritatem in omni sermone conciliat."

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returned, with letters from the most serene King confirming his speedy return to this kingdom; and the Duchess sent one of her secretaries to visit the most serene Queen, and to apologize for the anticipation of this compliment by her Majesty; it having been the intention of the Duchess to come in person to England.

London, 26th January 1557.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

803. MICHEL SURIAN and FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassadors with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

We went to-day to visit Don Ruy Gomez and the most illustrious Duchesses of Parma and of Lorraine, who in reply gave us many loving words, and particularly the Duchess of Parma, who evinces singular respect for your Serenity. We will continue performing the other offices which remain for us, and in two or three days, I, Federico, shall go and take leave of his Majesty. The ambassador Vargas said this morning that if the French mean that the late accidents have not broken the truce, King Philip and his ministers choose to consider it broken and are intent on several preparations. This seeming to us an important matter, we endeavoured to learn the truth of it more authentically, and therefore in our conversation with Don Ruy Gomez, who was assuredly very kind, we asked him whether peace would continue here (*se qui si staria in pace*), whereupon his Lordship, perhaps believing that we asked him about the affair of Italy, made a long discourse about all that had taken place since the affairs of Paliano down to the present time, *narrating even the King's particular suspicions in the kingdom of Naples*, thus showing great confidence. We remarked that his Lordship sought to justify the King, demonstrating that the necessity for defence had induced him to march his troops, and not ambition of state, as he has enough to suffice him, and that which he possesses has need of quiet rather than of war; adding what he has so often said to me, Federico, that his Majesty would wish your Serenity yourself to judge this suit (*che v. Ser^{ta} conoscesse lei questa causa*), promising to abide by your sentence and to do whatever you told him; and that were you to see that his Majesty is in the right, he desired nothing more than that your Serenity should remain at a window, looking on (*che ella fosse ad una finestra a veder*), and not stir either for one side or the other. Although it was not our intention to enter on this topic, we nevertheless without preventing his Lordship let him finish, and then I, Michiel, said we hoped in his Divine Majesty, from what we saw of the most serene King's inclination towards the peace, that means would be found to adjust everything through the prudence of his Majesty and of his most illustrious Lordship, and that it was always better to quiet things by way of peace than of war, and that very often more was gained by kindness than by force; and having thanked him for this confidential communication we took

The foregoing is the last of the letters written from England by the Ambassador Michiel, now preserved in the Venetian Archives.

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leave. His discourse did not seem to us to indicate a wish for war, but rather that the best news would be peace in all quarters.

We then went to visit the Duke of Savoy, and I, Michiel, having performed the office enjoined me by your Serenity, he commenced speaking about this matter, and after allusions to the incursions of the French on the frontiers he said that the King could no longer tolerate such grievously injurious deeds, for which it was sought subsequently to atone by words, and that his Majesty's honour being concerned in the matter he chose to show that the patience evinced by him hitherto is not caused by cowardice (*viltà*) nor want of power, but solely by his wish to do what is for the common benefit of Christendom. This contradictory language might cause a variety of opinions, *but as yet, however, no provision is being made either for money or troops, but merely words, which commenced circulating through the Court, directly they heard the reply given by your Serenity to Cardinal Caraffa, which so far as can be seen has convinced them that there is no longer any doubt about your Serenity.*

Brussels, 26th January 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 26.
Original
Despatch
Venetian
Archives.

804. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

His most Christian Majesty received "advices" lately from his ambassador with your Serenity. A leading personage speaking about them, said, "The Venetian Lords are sage, and do not rush headlong" (et non corrono così presto). Your Serenity having shown that you had the state of the Church at heart, and that you did not yet quite despair of the negotiation for the peace here, the interpretation is, that when the negotiation fails entirely you will join the league. The King, directly he heard of Cardinal Caraffa's arrival at Venice, sent word of it to the Duke de Guise, ordering him to proceed immediately, as he did, it seeming to his Majesty that the Cardinal having gone to your Serenity sooner than he wished, the Duke's march—in case you had delayed your decision—would obtain that benefit which the King had purposed receiving at the time of the Cardinal's mission to you, had it been postponed until a more fitting moment.

The last advices from the Duke de Guise purport that he had already entered the Milanese, and was continuing his march into your Serenity's territory, to join the Duke of Ferrara ; and he writes that he had already sent a courier to the French ambassador at Venice, that he might communicate this to your Serenity. The army is said to consist of 6,000 Switzers, 6,000 Frenchmen, and 4,000 Italians, 600 men-at-arms, and 800 light cavalry ; 4,000 Switzers, 4,000 French, and 3,000 Italians remaining with M. de Brissac.

Poissy, 26th January 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.

Jan. 27.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**805.** The SAME to the SAME.

Last night, his most Christian Majesty sent hither to confine the Spanish ambassador to the house together with all his attendants, as likewise all the Flemings; and he has ordered proclamation to be made in Paris, that everybody is to abstain from trading in Flanders. The Court being at such a distance, I have been unable to ascertain the cause of so sudden a resolution, and merely know that his most Christian Majesty is informed that after restitution had been made, the troops of the King of Spain made a foray in Picardy in the French territory, making fresh captures of men and cattle; in addition to which there are advices that Marshal de Brissac was marching with his troops on a certain expedition. It seems fitting to me to notify this event to your Serenity without delay.

Poissy, 27th January 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**806.** The SAME to the SAME.

After having written to your Serenity this morning, *I was informed on good authority that in the statement made by the Nuncio to his most Christian Majesty about Cardinal Caraffa's negotiation with your Serenity he filled (ha empito) the King with great hope that your Serenity likewise would at length join the league; and that the Pope having need of money, was compelled to alienate Ravenna and Cervia, which he would give to your Serenity provided you declared yourself colleague, you in return disbursing such a sum of money as fitting; but that even should your Serenity not choose to declare yourself he would give those towns to the Duke of Ferrara, who would have no lack of money. I have also discovered that the Duke de Guise was to proceed to your Serenity, accompanied perhaps by the Duke of Ferrara, to make you the same proposals in his most Christian Majesty's name as were made to you by Cardinal Caraffa; and that the Duke de Guise would go postwise from Venice to kiss the Pope's foot. If this be true, although you will have known it before the receipt of this letter, I have nevertheless not chosen to omit telling you what is said here.*

Poissy, 27th January 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 30.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.**807.** BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Shortly after I took leave of the Pope Marshal Strozzi returned from the camp, and with his face all bandaged, owing to the wound in his mouth, he went to the Pope and gave him detailed account of what had taken place, the Pope greeting him warmly and caressing him much. From that time until now the Duke of Paliano and the Duke of Somma, with the others who usually sit in the council of war, have been constantly in Strozzi's house (he being recommended not to go abroad, though he has no important hurt) to consult about

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what should be done after the capture of the fort, and they determined to keep the fort near Hostia and the one on the banks of the stream (*fiumicino*) towards Porto, and to destroy the others. It was also proposed, and principally by the Duke of Somma, to attack Nettuno, to which Strozzi objected, arguing that it would be injudicious to take the troops now here on an expedition such as that of Nettuno, which might fail, and in a position where the enemy might receive so much succour as to render them superior to the assailants. They also spoke of Tivoli, to which in like manner Strozzi objected, saying he would not attempt it at present, because, if the French army comes in great force, as reported, both Tivoli and many other places would fall of themselves, and that if anything were to be done, he should wish victuals to be prepared for his troops, instead of having to await their arrival day by day from Rome.

I hear from a person to whom Strozzi showed them, that he has lately had letters from the Duke de Guise, requesting him to be his consulator and companion (consultor et compagno) in this war, and that he had been written to in conformity by the most Christian King and by the Queen, who says that the King her husband and lord told her this his intention, but that having, together with these letters, also received one from the Constable, who does not say a word to him on this subject, he believes that this is not the wish of Montmorency, who has taken him under his protection because he knows the Guise family to be unfriendly towards him (le sono poco amici), and that therefore in this matter he shall proceed very reservedly. This person also tells me that in the letter from the Duke de Guise to the Marshal he recommended him to disband some of the troops here, to diminish the expenditure, as he, Guise, was coming with a powerful army, and would be able to avail himself of the forces of the Duke of Ferrara. My informant told me that Marshal Strozzi said and demonstrated to the members of the council of war, that he did not think it for the service of the League to deprive itself of troops raised a few months ago, and now in these parts, for the sake of employing in their stead the well nigh undisciplined forces (gente quasi tumultuaria) of the Duke of Ferrara, and of which he will perhaps choose to make use for the defence of his own territory, and that, indeed, should it be chosen to communicate this advice to the Pope, he, Strozzi, would not be present; so the council determined to pass it over (di scorrer). My intelligencer is much in Strozzi's confidence, and says he suspects that the interests of the Duke of Ferrara may have so much weight with his son-in-law, the Duke de Guise, that the latter will be as speedy as is believed.

Some companies (*compagnie*) went out of Rome lately, without its being known whither, the gates of this city being kept closed the whole of that day, it being subsequently heard that they quartered themselves in Palestrina; and it is also reported that Castel St. Angelo,* in the direction of Tivoli, and Vigar (*sic*) (Vicovaro?), have

* Castel St. Angelo, which is a castle situated not far from Vicovaro, must not be confounded with Castel St. Angelo at Rome.

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rebelled against the Imperialists, and that the Roman Government (*questi Signori*) has put 300 infantry into that place. I have, moreover, heard that the Duke of Alva is in Capua, overlooking the completion of the whole of that fortress, which is said to be very handsome and well designed (*molto bella et ben intesa*).

On Wednesday the Pope gave public audience, which was attended by almost the whole city, as the thing has not been done for many years. His Holiness went thither in pontifical habit, the Cardinals appointed being there, all the law courts (*tribunali*) and officials of Rome, and the Pope's secretaries. The Bishop Beroaldo made a Latin oration about the causes which induced the Pope to give this audience, namely to relieve the poor, and to keep the law courts (*li tribunali*) to their duty, to effect which he was regardless of other important duties imposed on him by the events of the present times, and that he purposed doing so once every month. The Pope, then praying the Lord God to preserve and bless that congregation, commenced the audience, which took place in the great hall called the Hall of the Kings (*che si chiama delli re*). The guards were placed at all the doors and stairs, nor was anyone allowed to enter without exhibiting a petition for the audience, commencing with the women. The person demanding the audience was taken before the Pope by the master of the ceremonies. Those who knew how to do so stated their case themselves; for the others, Borghese, the attorney for the poor (*avvocato dei poveri*), spoke. The Reverend Berengo took the petitions, some of which his Holiness despatched *manu regia*, charging several cardinals and prelates to report upon others. With regard to complaints of the law courts (*tribunali*), that they prolonged the despatch of suits, he threatened, and admonished them to do their duty. The resolutions (*le deliberationi*) were written by four secretaries who sat at the foot of the Tribunal (*Tribunale*), the Reverend Berengo reading the names of the plaintiffs and of the defendants (*dei querelanti, dei querelati*) and the decision (*volontà*) of his Holiness; nor will I omit mentioning also an act of the Pope's liberality and the manner in which he performed it. There fell vacant a few days ago an assistant prothonotaryship, (*un pronotariato partecipante*), an office which has always been sold, and for which at present upwards of 3,000 crowns might be obtained. This post, in his present need, the Pope has given to an individual who expected anything but that, he being one Messer Guielmo Calavrese, who has charge of the library, a man some 45 years of age, a very good and learned person, who was installed thus:—The Pope sent in quest of him, and being at length found in a church he was taken to the Pope, who evinced anger at his not having been found in his library, as he wished to make use of a certain book instantly, reproving him also because a man so learned and who led so good a life wore a mantelet (*cappa*). Poor Messer Guielmo in dismay apologized as well as he could, until the Pope said, "At present we do not choose you any longer to appear in that garb," whereupon two chamberlains having robed him in the rochet, the Pope said to him laughing, "Henceforth this is to be your habit, and it is little as compared with what you deserve." The good man was astounded by such great and unexpected graciousness on the

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part of the Pope, and from this it is believed that he may get something of much greater importance.

About the affairs of Piedmont, the capture of Valenza, the preparations of the Duke of Ferrara, the mission of an envoy on secret and important business to your Serenity, I will write nothing farther, though I will not omit to mention that some persons here suspect that the French army may attack Parma.

The satisfaction evinced by the Pope with your Serenity, together with the ignorance of details about Cardinal Caraffa's negotiations, he having sent so many despatches from Venice, an express having also come to me, to which has to be added, moreover, this last fact that the French ambassador and I were alone invited by the Pope to his niece's christening, has caused these Imperialists greatly to suspect your Serenity of being inclined to give the fleet for the expedition against Naples, about which having been questioned, I replied that about this I knew nothing, and that the courier was despatched to desire me to thank the Pope for having sent you so honourable a person as his most illustrious nephew.

Rome, 30th January 1557.

[Italian.]

Feb. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

808. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Guise is to direct the army without any order from hence ; and it is the intention of his most Christian Majesty, should the King of England send any considerable body of troops into Italy, likewise to add to his forces there ; making a fresh levy of infantry, and raising also a certain amount of German cavalry, of which he can easily get as many as he pleases ; and he has already obtained passage from the Switzers, it being also told me that when needed he will ask it of your Serenity. With regard to this matter I have been told that the most Christian King thinks for certain (pensa di certo) that your Serenity will at any rate renounce your neutrality, for several reasons, but chiefly because, having to give passage to so many Ultramontane troops in favour of both these Kings, you will no longer think it for your service to stand alone and leave the door open for all comers.

His Majesty has received autograph letters from the King of Bohemia, informing him that not only is his Highness firm in the purpose (proposito) communicated heretofore to the King of France by M. de Sipierre, but that he had also held an earnest conversation on the subject with his father, exhorting him to form a friendship with King Henry, and through his medium to effect an adjustment with Sultan Soliman ; the King of the Romans in return pledging himself not to allow German troops to pass into Italy to assist the King of England ; but that the King of Bohemia had been unable to induce his father to consent to this. He also informed the King that a person had come to him in his Majesty's name making large promises, but being without credentials no further reply was given him. Then four days ago, a gentleman in the garb of a courier arrived at the Court, and after speaking with his Majesty in the

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name of the King of the Romans, was despatched immediately on his way back; but the person who gave me this information does not know what he brought, by reason of the great secrecy with which this negotiation is conducted, though my informant added that the person alluded to by the King of Bohemia as having presented himself without credentials, is an individual well known here, but who went of his own accord to discover the mind of those Kings [Ferdinand and Maximilian] and then intermeddle with the affair, hoping to derive honour and profit from it.

His most Christian Majesty has lately been in some doubt lest the Queen of England declare herself openly in favour of the King her husband, who by every sort of office has urged her to do so, and she has already given it to be understood that such was her determination; but yesterday by a courier from England, his Majesty is almost assured that nothing farther will be done, the Queen not having found amongst her councillors the same opinion as her own, they laying before her the little trust that can be placed in her subjects.

The Nuncio announced to the King yesterday the recovery of Hostia, and the Ferrarese ambassador told him of the stir made by his Duke to take the Castle of San Martino.

The Constable has sent the permission to Rome for his son M. de Montmorency to return hither to the Court, he being quite content to revoke the promise given by him heretofore to her (*a quella*) who was to have been his wife, and the Pope, according to report, having given the dispensation. Immediately on his return he will marry the bastard daughter of the King, who gives 40,000 francs to the young woman deserted by Montmorency, and they will marry her also.

On the day after to-morrow the King and the whole Court will depart for Paris, the Dauphin being rid of his quartan fever.

Poissi, 1st February 1557.

P.S.—The Court has received news of the passage of the Duke de Guise, and that Valence and the Castle, and Basignan likewise, have been taken by Marshal de Brissac.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,

809. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having gone to the Pope this day at 3 p.m., I found in the ante-chamber the French ambassador, who told me he had been there for three hours, and that the Pope had seen him and told him to wait a little, as he wished to say vespers and complin, but when the office ended he went to sleep (*si era posto a dormire*). Whilst we were discussing divers common and general topics, the Florentine ambassador, and the treasurer (*camerario*), who had been sent for by the Pope, came in. The Florentine evinced great resentment to me about this war, saying that the Duke of Alva ought either not to have advanced so far, or advancing, he should have attempted what he would easily have succeeded in doing; inquiring of me whether, as reported at this Court, your Serenity was arming 40 galleys. I

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answered him that I did not know, and that in my last advices nothing was said on the subject; though possibly, as usual on the approach of spring, some galleys were being armed.

From the Treasurer I heard *that the expedition of the kingdom of Naples would succeed easily, and that to retain the conquest would be difficult without the assistance of your Serenity, who was well nigh adored (poco appresso che adorata) on the Neapolitan coast, and ought not to lose this opportunity, as he knew that you had been offered Sicily and that the offer would be repeated; that kingdom being so important and productive, and convenient for the Republic. I answered that your Serenity was of so temperate a mind that the hope of having greater state did not easily move you, and that you regretted seeing the commencement of a war so very prejudicial to Italy. To which he said, "Those Lords are in truth sage, for the vicinity of a King of France who is so powerful ought to cause them suspicion, as I remember having said to the King himself."*

He then spoke to me about the causes which induced the Duke of Paliano and Marshal Strozzi to go out of Rome; and concerning the provision made by the Duke of Florence both in that city and at Scarperia, between Florence and Bologna; alluding also to the departure of M. de Lansac for France, as likewise to the cause of the demand made by the French, and to the marriage of M. de Montmorency.

At 6 p.m. the Pope awoke and sent for the French ambassador, with whom he remained for two hours, and then had me introduced, apologizing very graciously if he had put me to inconvenience by waiting, inquiring of me whether I had quite recovered; and on my answering him truly that my foot still pained me, and he seeing that I walked lame, he sat down and having had a stool brought told me to be seated. I replied that I received daily many favours from his Serenity, and that this was too much, and that I would never do so, as it did not become me. The Pope said, "Sit down, as to remain standing would hurt you, and we should regret it," and I refusing he commanded me to do so; wherefore I replied that by obeying him I should demonstrate the extreme reverence and devotion I bore him, more than by obstinately standing. Being thus seated, I told him I was commissioned by your Serenity and the Senate to congratulate him on the recovery of Hostia, Castel Gandolfo, and other places, and on the capture of the Imperial fort, your Sublimity feeling very great contentment at all his successes; thanking him also for the confidential conversations he had so often held with me, wishing him joy in conclusion on the delivery of the Lady Duchess, praying that it might prove to the felicity and grandeur of his most illustrious house.

With a most cheerful countenance the Pope replied, "That love which as we have so often told you we bear towards the Signory, both from our natural inclination as also by reason of personal obligations, and according to the will of God, who makes us wish the State all welfare and happiness; so with this same love do we accept the courteous office as an office that proceeds from the heart." To this I said immediately that his Holiness did not at all deceive

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himself in believing that your Serenity's offices came from the bottom of your heart, owing to the very great reverence and devotion you bear him; and he added, "You will thank those most illustrious Lords for this their love, and you will assure them that we should have wished these schismatics either not to have committed the impiety that they have done, or that at least they had subsequently repented, showing us true contrition and amendment, to experience the mercy rather than the justice of God; and that they had not been so daring as to abuse the infinite patience of His Divine Majesty, which we (*quantum in nobis fuit*) have sought to imitate, as you can very well testify that we have never given them any cause either by deed or word to perpetrate the iniquity committed by them, save what was said privately for their correction; but if we abstained from the public acts which would perhaps have been performed (as at any rate they have forfeited all favours received at any time whatever from the See Apostolic, and they are excommunicated, accursed, and the enemies of God), they by devastating well nigh all the State of the Church, and coming even to these walls (which we scarcely defended), have justified our cause, nor has it been of any use to them sending their agents to the Signory and to the other Princes of Italy to palliate their impiety, because facts have made manifest their iniquitous will (*il loro iniquissimo animo*), and that they have not done the mischief they were unable to do, and will not do what is out of their power.

"But the Lord God will not abandon us, and He has now commenced, for he has not willed it to be believed, '*quod dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*;' He will show that there is, and that in His Majesty justice and mercy go hand in hand (*et che sono nella Maestà sua eguali la giustizia et la misericordia*); and He will act in such wise that as we were unable to rejoice with the Signory at the amendment of those people (*di costoro*), we shall rejoice at the glory of God. And as we can conceal nothing whatever from you, Magnifico Ambassador, we will confess to you our delicate feeling (*la nostra sensualità*), as our perhaps too great patience, which caused even the Spaniards themselves to murmur, (for we remember having told you that at the commencement of the war some of them quitted the Duke of Alva's service in order not to come against the Church, as in every place God may have some of His children), has also been the cause that we have such moderate forces, nor did we choose to bark without being able to bite,* as pen and paper were worth little without the sword and armies, and we now hope in God to use both one and the other, *although the Spaniards (essi) boast that they shall have horse and foot in very great number from Germany; but we also have advices about the state of affairs there, although they go circulating (se ben vanno seminando) that you have granted them passage and victuals. We hold those Lords to be sage, and believe that they would not wish to have more*

* Che di quella nostra forse troppo pacientia, che ha dato da mormorar fino alli medesimi Spagnoli (che si racordamo havervi detto, che al principio della guerra alcuni si licentionno dal Duca d'Alva per non venir contra la chiesa, che in ogni loco Dio po' haver delli soi) è stato anco causa il non haver più forze che tanto, et noi non volevimo baiar senza poter morder.

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barbarians, as there are but too many of them, and that if the Signory have not aided the cause of God as they ought, they will not be opposed to it."

To which I said, "Holy Father, I think I can assure your Holiness both from the past actions of our ancestors, and from the present will of those most excellent Lords (as I remember to have told your Holiness heretofore, by commission from the State) that his Sublimity will never be opposed to this Holy See; but as to giving passage to the Germans or to others, I know not what has been asked nor what has been answered; but this I do know, that the Signory's cities and places are so situated that those who choose to come have so many roads whereby to pass, that they cannot be prevented, and therefore very often that which cannot be sold is given."

The Pope replied, "Enough; should you be against the religion and against the See Apostolic, we shall be sorry for it, yet will we not fail, on this account, to trust in God, and in His holy hand, for we have the just cause against most iniquitous enemies, who almost from the commencement of their rule introduced the heresy, whereas previously they were all of one faith and of one dogma; they then ruined every part of the world by their detestable tyranny—*ultus est etiam ille natale solum*—(Rome or Naples?); you know the affair of Ghent; to pass over that of Rome, now some 30 years ago, and we were present—*quæque ipse miserrima vidi*. They did worse to this wretched city than the Goths and other devils (*che li Gotti et altri diavoli*), wherefore they deserve to have the whole world move against them. At least that other generation," (by which I understood him to mean the French,) "if it ran over Italy with such fury as usual to it at first, yet did they afterwards go back, *etiam nobis tacentibus*, and these provinces have been their burying place; but these demons (*questi demoni*) when they grapple never let go (*dove se aggrappano non si staccano mai*) unless their knuckles are very well rapped (*se non se li da molto ben sulle mani*). See how pertinaciously they hold the places of the Church occupied by them, and how we are compelled to go expelling them by force, but we hope in God that they will be forced to leave the whole, and also a great part of their own."

Seeing that the hour was very late, and availing myself of the opportunity of his Holiness having stopped, I said that I would no longer inconvenience him, though I could not indeed omit giving him the opportunity to perform an act of piety; and then having presented your Serenity's letter of the 23rd ultimo, I told him that he very well knew the goodness and piety of the Reverend nuns of Sta. Lucia of Venice, as last year likewise he had sent them alms, and that their livelihood depended on certain small revenues they have in the Romagna, which they cannot export owing to his Holiness' new prohibition; so you besought him to be pleased, to the praise of God, to perform this act of piety in favour of that poor monastery, by conceding them an export-permit for these scanty revenues.

He replied that the cause of the prohibition to export grain, as also the command given to the lords and barons his feudatories to provide as much grain as they could, was to be able to support the

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French army which is coming for his defence; and that from the good opinion he has of those nuns, but yet more from his wish to oblige your Serenity in everything, he regretted being unable to let me then depart comforted by the grant of this demand, but that he would nevertheless speak with the Commissary General to see if it was possible to gratify you by overcoming every difficulty.

I said that for this I kissed his foot, and wishing to take leave his Holiness added, "Some days ago we sent to you, by the President of the Treasury, a draft of a decree made by us in public *Segnatura*, in a certain suit between one Randonio and an individual named Ziliolo, that you might transmit it to those lords for execution. We believe that you sent it, and not seeing any resolution whatever, we know not what to say, save that we pray you to write again, so that, we having passed that sentence with all maturity, they be pleased to have it executed, allowing the case to come hither (*lassando venir la causa de qui*) to be judged by the Rota, because to do otherwise would be contrary to duty and cause us to resent it;" and the Pope having repeated to me that I was to perform this office, warmly desiring my secretary to remind me of it, I took leave.

Rome, 5th February 1557.

[Italian.]

Feb. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

810. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Florence sent word lately to Cardinal Tournon that he wished to contract a friendship with his most Christian Majesty, and to prove to him by facts how well inclined he is towards his service, and as the Cardinal mediated between them on the last occasion, he now requested him to act in like manner. Tournon assured him of the King's goodwill, but said he did not think that at present the negotiation would succeed, until the Duke insisting, the Cardinal induced him to say that he will declare himself the ally of his Majesty and of the league, and will do for their benefit what may be stipulated, the King giving his eldest daughter in marriage to the eldest son of the Duke, who will send him to this Court, and the King on the other hand sending his daughter to Florence, there to remain until the time of its consummation. In accordance with this project the Duke has removed the Spaniards from his fortresses, that his liberty of action may be the more free. This negotiation of Cardinal Tournon arrived here three days ago, but the King has not yet given any reply, though the persons of the Court who have heard of it infer, considering how important it is for his Majesty to have the Duke with him, that he will agree to what is aforesaid, and send his reply in three or four days. A gentleman arrived here lately, in the name of the Florentine outlaws, to offer his Majesty a considerable sum of money if he would undertake the expedition for the release of Florence, but having heard something about this negotiation with the Duke, he hesitated, and at his audience of the King, instead of offering him in detail what he was commissioned to do, he told him that he had come hither to make his Majesty an offer as aforesaid, but having heard how some treaty for

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agreement was on foot between him and the Duke of Florence, he did not think fit to come to any particulars, but merely to let his Majesty know that it was the wish of the said outlaws to offer him for his good pleasure whatever was in their power. The King, without either admitting or denying the negotiation, answered him that he would never do anything to disquiet them, because, having always known them to be much attached to him, he could not fail to reciprocate, whenever the opportunity offered, by every demonstration for their welfare and security. The said Cardinal Tournon is also treating to take the Duke of Urbino into his most Christian Majesty's service.

The Archbishop of Vienne (*sic*—Vannes ?)* has been sent by the King to be present at the conference at Ferrara, and will then proceed to Rome, the Pope having requested the King to send him some personage of quality and of business, and he is especially commissioned to entreat his Holiness to make a promotion of cardinals during these next Ember days, and the first persons to be named are the Bishop of St. Pajiol (*sic*), brother of the late Cardinal Sal   . . . , and the Archbishop Orsini, brother of the Signor Giordano.

The Court rejoices at the good understanding again stipulated by the King with the Elector the Count Palatine, who, although he has not promised to declare himself openly, has at least assured him that in his jurisdiction he will not allow the King of England to raise any troops. A friend of mine was told by his most Christian Majesty in person that he hoped for certain that the Queen of England would not declare herself in favour of the King her husband, and that Cardinal Pole had been the principal instrument to give her this counsel, notwithstanding which there seems to me to be a general suspicion that the Queen will afford her consort some pecuniary assistance.

The Spanish ambassador has been dismissed, and departed two days ago in custody of M. de St. Sulpice, who will accompany him as far as St. Quentin, where he will remain in confinement (*sequestrato*) until exchanged for the French ambassador.

The coming hither from Rome of the Constable's son has by fresh orders been somewhat delayed, it seeming fit for him not to return until after the marriage of the young woman who was to have been his wife. Giulio Orsini will depart to-morrow, the King having given him a chain worth 400 crowns.

Paris, 6th February 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 6.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

811. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In the council of war it was again proposed lately to cashier a certain number of troops, according to the suggestion of the Duke de Guise, and some of the members inclining towards the measure, the Treasurer-Commissary-General, who is much employed in all matters, adhering to the opinion of Strozzi, said that he would

* Charles de Marillac was translated from Vannes to Vienne on the 24th March 1557; but in the original despatch the words are "*Part   a questi giorni de qui l'Arcivescovo di Vienna*" (*sic*).

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speak like a quack doctor (*da dottoraccio*), that it did not seem to him for the Pope's service to diminish these troops until they were first quite sure that the French were coming into these parts, and also that they were near at hand; and that the members of the council of war should bear in mind what took place in the time of Pope Clement from wishing to diminish the expenditure; that in certain cases, and at certain times, expenditure is a great gain; and thus was it resolved. On the morrow, the muster being made of the infantry and cavalry, the city gates were kept closed to prevent the enemy from knowing what had been determined, which was, at the suggestion of Marshal Strozzi, to send 1,000 infantry, with some horse (as they did), to Palestrina and the neighbouring places to cut off the retreat by way of the Campagna of the Spaniards in Tivoli; and they then sent another thousand and some cavalry to Castel St. Angelo, San Polo, and other places to prevent them from retreating by the Abruzzo road; and immediately after doing this, to depart hence with the rest of the troops and some artillery to attack Tivoli. But Castle St. Angelo having been occupied, and lately S. Polo with the assistance of the peasantry of the place, in which was a company that was all roughly treated (*malmenata*), the Count de Populo, seeing himself by degrees hemmed in, and perhaps also being informed of what had been resolved in the council of war, went out of Tivoli on the day after the capture of San Polo, together with his troops, and proceeded to destroy the bridge over the Teverone, so that the papal forces in the Campagna might not be able to follow him; and then returning to Tivoli he consigned the keys of the place to the inhabitants (*a quelli homini*), telling them to expect him in the spring, and thus he departed in the direction of Vignar (*sic*) (Vicovaro?).

On its being heard here that Tivoli had been evacuated, the Duke of Paliano and Marquis Strozzi went out of Rome with the intention of putting part into that city for two good effects, the one to relieve Rome of the burden of these troops and to encourage absentees to return, the other to be near the places held by the enemy, such as Vignar (Vicovaro?), Rocca di Papa, Anagni, and others, to enable them to make some expedition when the opportunity presents itself. The Treasurer told me that their chief attempt would be against Vignar (Vicovaro?), as it is a very important place, and that he had orders to send thither some pieces of artillery, it being already said that the peasantry thereabouts (*li villani del paese*) call them. The Spaniards in Nettuno lately made a foray as far as Ponte Mamolo, plundering much cattle and smaller live stock (*molti animali grossi et menuti*).

The Germans who were in Val Corsa have retired nearer the kingdom of Naples, and the brother of Cardinal Sermoneta, who is in Piperno, writes that many of them die from the hardships suffered by them on board the fleet. On Sunday Alvise dell' Amar arrived at Tivoli, having been sent by the Duke of Alva with the despatch from the King of Spain brought lately by Don Francisco Pacheco, on his way to Cardinal Caraffa at Bologna, as his lordship was evidently not coming to Rome. The said Alvise sent for a safe conduct, to obtain which Cardinal Pacheco went to the Pope, who answered him that Cardinal Caraffa was shortly to confer with the

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Duke de Guise at Modena, and would then come immediately post-wise, and that he believed he had already left Bologna for this purpose, so that it was well to await his coming, and that this messenger from the Duke of Alva should then have audience, as to make him go at present to see the Cardinal would be unfitting, as it would create too much tumult, adding that matters were proceeding in such a way that a universal peace might soon be expected; at which words Cardinal Pacheco and some of his confidants then made merry (*poi se n' ha riso*).

This refusal of the safe conduct is supposed to be for the avoidance of causing any suspicion to the French; of which opportunity the Imperialists avail themselves by saying publicly that the articles have arrived, signed by King Philip, in conformity with what Cardinal Caraffa demanded at the interview with the Duke of Alva.

These French lords are strongly urging the dispensation of the first marriage of M. de Montmorency, the Constable's son, that he may marry the most Christian King's daughter.* The case has been committed to the Commissary-General, as told me by him, *and he added that when the French wish for anything they are too eager, assuring me that the demand does not seem to him too reasonable, but that nevertheless the opportunity of the present times might avail them greatly.*

I hear that the Duke of Florence is very suspicious of these French forces, and of the preparations of the Duke of Ferrara, so that he has put some Germans and Spaniards into the city, and has sent 500 infantry and upwards of 25 pieces of artillery to Scarperia, a place of his between Bologna and Florence, through which it is necessary to pass on the way to the last-named city; *and with regard to this matter, I hear that the Pope, when talking with one of his chief confidants, said that it would, perhaps, not be amiss at present to attempt the expedition of Florence, and that it might succeed; to which the interlocutor replied that Florence was better than the kingdom of Naples.*

On the 4th instant, under Frosinone, there was a considerable skirmish, in which some Spaniards were wounded, and of the Papalists Count Apolonio da Tiene, the Vicentine, who in truth is said to have borne himself bravely, he having been wounded by a harquebuse shot in the arm at the shoulder joint, his horse being killed by three harquebuse shots. The Pope speaks publicly of the kingdom of Naples as of a thing already acquired or rendered his own; and to the Bishop of Troes (*sic*), son of the late Prince of Amalfi, he said, when dining in public, that as he was a churchman, being unable to propose giving him his State, he had already thought of finding a husband for his sister, and giving him as dowry the State of his (the Bishop's) father.

Concerning Cardinal Caraffa, it is heard here that at Bologna he behaves himself in such a way as to render himself most acceptable to the whole city, and that he is making great provision for the

* Diana, widow, Duchess de Castro (la Bâtarde de France), the King's illegitimate daughter by the Duchess of Valentinois. (See Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558.)

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coming of this French army. M. de Lansac departed hence yesterday on his way back to France, and I am told that the chief cause of this is that he was less well received than he would perhaps have desired. Off Monte Regio, the Pope's galleys fought and sunk a "*galionetto*," belonging to a certain private individual of Aras (*di certo particolar d'Aras* (sic)), the cargo of silk and grain being bound from Sicily to Genoa, nor could any part of the cargo be saved; but they captured the persons on board, in number about 180, including mariners and passengers, though they were all persons of little consequence, with the exception of Pietro Spinola the Genoese.

The Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] is rather seriously indisposed, having a very violent and constant fever.

Rome, 6th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

812. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Archbishop of Vienna (sic—Vienne?), who departed hence lately, took the King's orders to Cardinal Tournon, desiring him to endeavour to make terms with the Duke of Florence, of whom he demands the fortresses of Elba, Piombino, and Leghorn, and such amount of Tuscan troops as he may require. His Majesty consents to give his eldest daughter in marriage to his Excellency's eldest son, but without the obligation of sending her to Florence, as the Duke wished, though he nevertheless is to send his son hither. His Excellency also promises to obtain Sienna, and then to receive it from the King as his daughter's dower, to which his Majesty consents, and will also give the title of Prince of that city to the Duke's son; his Excellency also offering to give his eldest daughter to the Prince of Ferrara. The instructions given to Cardinal Tournon are nevertheless so ample (così largi), that if unable to effect the agreement in one way, he will in the other, so at any rate the conclusion is expected here, where this arrangement will, it is supposed, displease the Duke of Ferrara, because, besides his having been induced to enter the service of France owing to his enmity with the Duke of Florence, he hoped through the King's assistance to depress him, whereas, should the proposed alliance take place, he could not only no longer expect this, but would also lose his hope of getting Pistoia and such part of the territory towards Genoa as is now held by the Duke of Florence, which the King, according to the treaty, promised, when obtained, to give to the Duke of Ferrara, who least of all will approve of the marriage of the King's daughter, as he desired above all things that she should be given to the Prince his son.

A gentleman from the Admiral has brought notice of fresh forays made by the troops of the King of England in Picardy.

To-day the King gave the order of St. Michael to the Neapolitan outlaw, the Duke of Atri, whom he is sending to Italy.

Paris, 9th February 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Feb. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

813. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received your Serenity's letters of the 6th desiring me to let the Pope know that at the Nuncio's request you have accommodated him with one ton and a half? (30 *miara*) of coarse artillery powder; so having demanded audience it was appointed me to-day at 3 p.m., when I found that his Holiness was in congregation with the Cardinal of Pisa, the Bishops Bozzuto and Beroaldo, Messer Guielmo the new Prothonotary,* and the Commissary-General. Congregation being ended his Holiness had me introduced, and told the Cardinal of Pisa to keep me company until he returned from doing a certain business of his own in the closet. In the meanwhile Cardinal Pisa told me that amongst the other matters discussed in congregation was Montmorency's marriage, and that the Pope to avoid doing what is improper will have no regard either for Princes nor for what others have done, but solely for what he ought to do; and for cases of this sort he will constitute one general rule, to which effect he had commissioned Cardinal Reumano to hold a congregation of canonists in his own house, and the Cardinal of Pisa one of theologians, and to have it debated whether the Pope can "separate" a marriage (*pò separar un matrimonio*) contracted *per verba de præsenti*, but which has not been consummated. This order has been executed by the said Cardinals, and all the canonists say yes, the theologians no; although a few of these last adhere to the canonists, who base their argument chiefly on the authority of Pope Leo the First, who in letter 92 to Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, says that *matrimonium per verba de præsenti* is not marriage, *nisi accedat copula carnalis*; and they chose to see an ancient copy in the Library here, for which Messer Guielmo was sent, which copy, not having the "*not*," signifies quite the contrary, namely, that the words and the promise made the marriage.

Then the Pope having returned, and the Cardinal departing, I stated to his Holiness, as enjoined me, that your Serenity had accommodated his Holiness with three tons of coarse cannon powder. For this the Pope charged me to thank you, adding, "We are anxiously expecting our Cardinal, to hear from him amongst other things the account of the caresses and greetings, honours and favours received by him from the Signory, but he has been compelled to wait, to confer with M. de Guise and the Duke of Ferrara, which Duke de Guise shows by his letters a great wish for this conference, and I presume that by this time they may be together. They will arrange what they shall have to do, as we will leave it to them, being only moderately versed in warlike matters, though we know that so great a preparation will not be to no purpose; as besides the army on its march hither, one remains in Piedmont with M. de Brissac and M. de Termes, and in Flanders likewise the King is very well provided, as we also assured you the other day; so that these enemies of God will be chastised, they not having evinced any sign of reparation for the impiety committed by them, nor is

* Messer Guielmo Calabrese, Librarian of the Vatican. (See before, date 30th January 1557.)

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there any punishment on record that they do not deserve, for they have lapsed into open heresy, by making their accursed doctors write that war against the See Apostolic is lawful for them, as if it were not notorious that it is less difficult to find heretical friars and priests than Christians.

"But they will now perceive whether the Lord God will punish them for their errors; now that they see the flood they talk of peace; yet have they not restored to us any part of the Church territory occupied by them, save by force, to render it quite clear, that what they omit doing is from inability to do it. They would now wish for the peace (contrary to their natural pride) to avoid their impending ruin; but they have been tardy, for it is no longer in our hand, and we must now leave it to others to act. So great a flame has been kindled that it cannot be extinguished by any human ability, but only by the power of God, and all on account of that accursed silly boy (*quella maledetta fraschetta*), who would to God he had never been born, nor yet that iniquitous father of his (*ne manco quel suo scellerato padre*), the most pernicious plague to the world, and especially to Italy, which will never be at ease until they are expelled thence. The French, at least, when you have got over (*schivate*) (sic) this their first impetuosity (*furia*), are our companions, and either repent spontaneously or accustom themselves (*ò se invecchiano*), and they are yours; or if not, there are a thousand ways for getting rid of them; but those Imperialists (*costoro*) aspire to universal monarchy, to expel thence the Pope and the Signory of Venice; all the rest being theirs, the others being dukelings (*duchetti*) of little importance; the one of Florence would become aware, if Philip obtained firm footing in what he has, whether he could remain in his own State. Did they not attempt to do the like in Germany? * But they have not succeeded, although even at present they are treating, the one [Charles V.] to renounce the administration of the Empire to his brother, this last to cede to his [the Emperor's] son the election of the King of the Romans; so that province [Germany] is ill off, and were Sultan Soliman to harass it, as talked about, they would be in sorry plight; this would be a conflagration to consume everybody, and a very horrible storm."

"Yes" (said I), "Holy Father, to devastate these wretched fields of Italy;" to which he rejoined, "It is true, but assuredly by no fault of ours, for we have had so much patience that even we ourselves regretted it, and the Spaniards themselves likewise, for they said, 'What is the Pope doing that he does not excommunicate and deprive us of empires and kingdoms?' But we did not do so, to avoid giving occasion to anyone to say that we had been the cause of drawing hostilities on ourselves by irritating them in such a way, and to confess our pride to you, because we had not sufficient forces to carry our sentences into effect. Who would believe that anger and pride could generate patience? But now that with God's assistance we can smite them, we will make our processes and send them to every quarter of the globe, and should wish to have good

* Quando Filippo fermasse ben il piede in quello che ha, s' el potesse star nel suo stato; non volevano far il simile in Alemagna?

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interpreters to translate them into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, to send them even to the Infidels, so that when hearing of these disturbances they may also simultaneously know the cause, which on our part is so just and so holy."

His Holiness then stopped, so that I hoped to be able to take leave, *when he continued, somewhat angrily, "Do you also beware of injuring yourselves, for amongst you there is no lack of certain men (di alcuni cervelli) who seek to ruin you."* I replied, "*There may be various opinions amongst those most excellent lords, but I am certain that the aim and object of all is the welfare and honour of their country, and of this I assure your Holiness as of a thing that cannot be otherwise ;*" and the Pope then added, "*We know what we tell you, and these individuals are the enemies of God, of the religion, of their country, and of themselves, and were we in the Grand Council we would say the same, and point to this man and to that (et li mostraressemo a dito questo et questo). Pardon us, as the love we bear you causes us to tell you everything, as we should wish you to open your eyes to your welfare, and not to let promises be made you by these Moriscos, rebels to God, a treacherous race, without faith. May God keep His hand over your head, and cause you to know that this is the time to liberate Italy, to your glory and very great profit. Nor will we omit discovering our heart to you, as if by opening our breast we exposed it to you, and although we might be told, 'The ambassador will write it to the Signory, and the whole will be divulged,' we reply that we think that his Sublimity will keep faith and secrecy with us, and then that we choose rather to have it known, and to have said it, than to consign it to silence, lest we be reproached with having failed on our part by not having spoken in time.*"

"We tell you that the King of France is so obedient a son to us that he could not be more so, and that he is most ready to gratify us in everything, and the Duke de Guise, in a number of letters written to the Cardinal and sent to us, writes nothing but that he is here for our service, and in truth he seems to be such as he has been represented to us ; so if you choose to declare yourselves, and to put your hand to the liberation of Italy, you should have whatever you could ask, and without envy, for we should ask for you what you would scruple to demand. The kingdom of Sicily should be yours, and the King of France consents to it gladly, nor is there anything in all Europe more advantageous for you, as said by us on former occasions ; and until you get that kingdom you should be given certain towns in Puglia, according to the acquisitions made by us, as recompense for costs, and under other good and secure pretexts, with such consent and investitures as necessary, and without requiring much from you,—a few galleys, of which you have always some armed, to go and take the places to be consigned to you. But you should not any longer delay letting yourselves be understood, as were you to come after the banquet to a table already prepared, it might then be impossible to do what would be wished, and to stay at the window with carpet and cushion viewing the entertainment, and then to send ambassadors with congratulations, would be an unseasonable office.

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"You must do something that may be acceptable: and the expedition to which you are invited, is it perhaps not an easy one, the success of which no one doubts? The mere report of your being with us would suffice. The Imperialists at Naples are confused, and know not in what direction to turn themselves, and through your assistance you may rely on rendering yourselves great and glorious, and this expedition, which as you see is about to be made, you thus secure; but that love for the most illustrious Signory which God has planted in my breast makes me speak to you in this fashion, because we should indeed wish to confer on you some signal benefit. Although we shall always be of the same mind, yet nevertheless certain demonstrations, and at certain times, are of great importance. It rests with you to free Italy from the yoke of the barbarians. We shall soon depart, but as atonement for our sins we shall take with us before the judgment seat of God this merit of having wished to raise up this province, which is so depressed (*afflitta*) that the only spark of valour and mental generosity it contains is to be found in an old man now decrepid (pardon us if we speak of ourself thus, for we reckon that we are speaking with our sons), on whose death you will pluck your beards from despair at not having known him, when you will find yourselves with an ultramontane Pope, or a brain (*un cervello*) whose last thought will be the benefit of Italy.

"But it might be said, 'Thou wilt expel the Spaniards to place the French.' It is not true; we will not have either one nor the other, for we purpose making a King of Naples and a Duke of Milan, who will have nothing besides that kingdom and that duchy, and to bring back Italy to her harmony (*et redur Italia nella sua armonia*), and this is so fixed in this head that we are of opinion that there is no other remedy for this Italy our common country. Those elders of mine (*quei mei vecchioni*) saw it in the same light when we, being at Venice, discoursed about these matters; they would have sacrificed their own children for it (*haveriano speso li proprij figliuoli*). We do not know the opinions of those who now rule, but we well know that they cannot contradict our assertion that to make a King of Naples with nothing but that kingdom, according to the very prudent and most holy statutes (constitution) of our forefathers—may God forgive him who for four farthings (*per 4 quatrini*) joined it to the Empire*—and a Duke of Milan, with that duchy alone, would be the establishment of Italy, and close the gates to barbarians, admitting them solely as stable grooms and cooks (*per fanti da stalla, cuochi*), or at the utmost as merchants; nor can this be expected from the Spaniards, as they insist on universal monarchy, though it might indeed be hoped from the French, who have moreover hereditary claims there.

"We would take two sons of the King; they should be educated in Italy, with Italian counsellors, one as King of Naples, the investiture explaining, and indeed stipulating, that he could hold nothing besides that kingdom; the other as Duke of Milan, and to

* Allusion to the Bull of Leo X., made at the close of 1519, empowering the Emperor to hold the kingdom of Naples, contrary to the investiture given by Julius II. on the 3rd July 1510, to Ferdinand the Catholic.

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rid him of any claim to the Empire we would make it a kingdom, for, including what the King has in Piedmont, it deserves to be a kingdom,* on condition that he could never have anything else, and that it could never be united to the crown of France, together with all such securities as necessary. To this the King would consent and would give us his sons, who in a very short time would become Italians, and, what is of greater consequence than blood or anything else, they would be in Italy. We will also tell you that the Queen, who is a little saint † (*che la Regina, che è una santarella*), will give us a third son the length of this arm, whom we will make a cardinal; and we shall thus interest the King yet more in this Holy See, so that he will never detach himself from it, for, after all, they are Christians and not heretics, like these others; and we are about to tell the cardinals that we choose them to come and throw themselves on their knees at our feet, and to request us to place in their college a son of a King of France, for never have they had so great an honour.

“These are our designs for freeing Italy, to the glory of God, and we regret not being heard, and that the Signory should not know their own welfare, though we hope in Christ that He will open your eyes, for the affair will be accomplished indubitably. It is already seen what the French army is doing; that it is advancing, and may be said to have the whole road open, having taken Valenza and other places said to be of importance, and which close the Genoa road and that of Milan; and these others (*questi altri*) may see clearly that God has turned His back on them (*li ha voltato le spalle*), and that He intends to chastise them. Germany is indeed with them, but they have a lesser part of it than they believe. The King of France has more of it than they have, and we also have very great offers from certain princes, so that if we had had more money than we possess we would have raised a regiment of them, merely to show it to these Moriscos; and we will name one of them to you. You must know that we conferred the archbishopric of Magdeburg on the son of the Marquis, which was so agreeable to them that both father and son, by most loving letters, have tendered obedience to any of our commands, although the father (who we think we have heard is dead) was not quite Catholic (*non fusse in tutto Catholico*), but the son is a very worthy person, having been educated by his mother, who is a most excellent Christian; so that, in conclusion, we hope in God to have an easy undertaking, and if the Signory put their hand to it, it will be secure and certain, to your very great glory and advantage. May His Divine Majesty thus vouchsafe to open a window and show you the light of your welfare (*così sua Divina Maestà si degni aprir una fenestra et farvi vedere il lume del vostro bene*);” adding that I was to write the whole to your Sublimity. I,

* Et per cavarlo dalla pretension dell' Imperio, lo faressimo Regno, perchè ha tanto stado con quel che ha il Re, di Piamonte, che merita esser Regno.”

† When Catherine de' Medici was some five months old, Leo X. told the Venetian ambassador at Rome on the 29th October 1519 (and this he said with the tears in his eyes), that “*la puta del quondam D. Lorenzo, era bella grasota*,” a plump and pretty infant. It remained for Paul IV., who detested Leo X., to call her “a little saint.” The inscription on one of her medals runs thus: “*mater Castrorum*.”

1557.

having replied that this was my duty, and that I would not fail to do so, took leave, to come and write what the Pope had said to me, although many of the things uttered by him were repetitions, having been already written by me on several occasions.

Rome, 12th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

814. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Florentine ambassador tells my secretary that his Duke has 12,000 infantry, of whom 3,000 are foreigners, and about 500 cavalry; that he has provided his fortresses with victuals, powder, ball, artillery, and other necessary supplies, naming especially Prato, Pistoia, Scarperia, and Florence, having had the open country so scoured that (to use his own phrase) there is not wherewithal to feed a cricket; and the peasants go into the castles to get bread from week to week. He has laid a most exorbitant tax on his whole territory, which will yield upwards of 200,000 crowns, one third part of which to be disbursed in 45 days. The ambassador added that he told the Pope that he feared lest King Philip despairing of making terms with him might trample the religion under foot entirely, like those reptiles (*animaletti*) which run away if anyone threatens them with a stick, but on receiving a blow and seeing the impossibility of escape, fly at him with their teeth; the result being, that so many barbarians will descend into Italy, that the territories both of friends and foes will be laid waste, as they are the natural enemies of the Italian name, as may be known by what those few Germans and Spaniards did who landed at Leghorn from the Imperial fleet, where they may be said not to have left one stone on the other, so that his Duke was compelled not to let them enter the city.

The peasantry of the territory where the enemy was, having come into Rome for bread, and taking away a great quantity, the Commissary-General issued an order for no one to pass the gates with more than one loaf, saying that it is not fair to run the risk of famishing Rome to support those who rebelled against the Church by admitting the Imperial forces into their castles and places. Of this measure the conservators of Rome went to complain to the Pope when he was at table, praying his Holiness to make provision for the cultivators of the soil to have the means of subsistence. The Pope rebuked them, saying that their cowardice and little faith had caused their present suffering, and that he will do nothing more, expelling them his presence in very harsh language, as he also did by the Friars of St. Onofrio, who complained of the injuries suffered by them through the fortification of Rome; to which his Holiness replied, that they might congratulate themselves on not having had their church and monastery destroyed, as necessary. When the Pope took his seat to commence the congregation of the Inquisition, the Portuguese ambassador, perhaps from having been unable to obtain audience on the preceding days, knelt before his Holiness, praying him to hear two words. The Pope, to the surprise of those who were present, dismissed him, saying it was not the hour for audience, adding other resentful language.

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Yesterday the palace gates remained closed (with the exception of the principal one where the guard is quartered), to universal astonishment, until one knew the cause, which was, that they wanted to arrest two individuals, who, in front of the Pope's first chamber, where the Switzer guard is had, wounded on the head the apprentice (*garzon*) of his Holiness' barber; one of them was taken in the palace, and the other in the house of Cardinal de' Nobili. The Marquis of Monte Cavilio, lieutenant of the Pope's guard, wished to have them both hanged, but the Marquises of Paligniano and Montebello obtained pardon for one of them, a Neapolitan lad, whose only fault was his being in the company of the one who gave the wound. The latter was hanged and quartered to-day in St. Peter's Square; and the lad will be sent to the galleys. Messer Silvestro Aldobrandini, who is in bed with the gout, sent for my secretary to-day and told him that he had been charged by the Pope to write to Cardinal Caraffa, that before his return hither he is to make the necessary provisions for the army, and amongst the other things that he was to give him notice of the powder; and as the person who brought the order to Aldobrandini did not know the quantity, so he asked it of the secretary, who said it was three tons, as your Serenity had great difficulty in getting saltpetre for the manufacture of such powder as is required for your fleets and fortresses.

Rome, 13th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

815. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The only additional information I have to give about the negotiation with the Duke of Florence is, that for some time it has been kept alive (tenuto vivo) by the Cardinal of Ferrara, although internally the Duke his brother cannot approve it. As yet, however, he has evinced no dissatisfaction, and the general belief is that the treaty will at any rate be concluded, for everybody talks about it, much being said concerning the benefit which will thus accrue to his most Christian Majesty's affairs in Italy; so that on the evening before last the Constable, when talking with the Genoese outlaw, Count Scipion del Fiesco, and joking about it, said to him, "Make ready to go to Genoa, for I assure you your hopes were never so near being realized." The last advices from the Duke de Guise purport that he has passed the Milanese, and was to meet Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Ferrara, after which conference he will despatch a courier with the decision about the mode of invading the kingdom of Naples, an expedition now much more constantly discussed than it was a few days ago, owing to this adjustment with the Duke of Florence. His most Christian Majesty himself talks of it diffusely (largamente), and in his chamber he has a map with the description of the kingdom and its confines, and he examines it several times daily, and talks about it with such persons as are able to give him information on the subject. Affairs in Picardy remain as written by me, his Majesty wishing them to proceed as quietly as possible; and it is understood that the Admiral has suggested to the Governor of the frontier of Flanders

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that it would be well for them to stipulate between themselves a reciprocal truce in those parts.

The Duke de Guise has informed the King of the great accommodation of victuals, &c. received from the Duke of Parma, and especially of a very honourable present sent to himself individually; so the Duke of Parma is much commended here.

Paris, 13th February 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 15.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives,

816. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday at 7 p.m. word was sent to me from the palace that Vicovaro (*Vignar*) had been taken by storm, so I desired the secretary to congratulate the Pope.

Messer Silvestro [Aldobrandini] showed him the letter which he wrote last night to Cardinal Caraffa, in substance as follows:—“The capture of Vicovaro (*Vignar*) by storm took place, as announced to the Pope by the Duke of Paliano, thus. On Thursday night two pieces of artillery were planted above (*ad alto*) and two below (*a basso*), and on Friday they opened their fire; they then planted four others below and two more above. The enemy sent out a Spaniard to ask terms, which were refused, and the battering having continued, they on Sunday morning sent forth a captain, who in like manner went back with a denial. M. de Montmorency, fearing they might make terms, advanced with the Gascons and made an assault, but was driven back. At 3 p.m. they sent out another messenger, who was told to go in again and to bring out in writing what they demanded, and authority to stipulate. Scarcely had he gone 20 paces when Marshal Strozzi had a cannon shot fired at a bastion (*ad un fianco*) on which were some 25 Spaniards, and it mauled all of them (*et li malmendò tutti*); they then discharged all the rest of the guns and made the assault, effecting their entry and putting everybody to death, save some who retired into the citadel, which by turning the two pieces of artillery against it will be taken. Our loss amounted to some 10 killed and 40 wounded.” Aldobrandini added that he did not know in what direction these troops would march, but is of opinion that it would not be well to besiege places which present any difficulty, and where the enemy, who have still some bodies of troops, can put in succour, but that being now in possession of Vicovaro (*Vignar*) they might cross into the state of Tagliacozzo, which belongs to the Colonna family, and destroy and burn it, cutting the inhabitants to pieces (*tagliar a pezzi li homini*), so as to render it henceforth uninhabitable, that territory having so often enabled the said Colonna family to do notable damage to the Church, and now brought an army even to the gates of Rome.

Whilst talking thus there came in unexpectedly the lieutenant of the Pope's guard, the Marchese di Monteparchio, saying, “I bring you a piece of good news, that Messer Giulio Tancredi, the Duke's maggiordomo, has arrived, bringing word that the citadel has been taken and all the Spaniards cut to pieces. The secretary, as com-

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missioned by me, went upstairs to the Pontiff, Aldobrandini having said to him in the act of departure, that the devil had chosen to celebrate the carnival by cutting to pieces 500 Spaniards and Germans, who were at Vicovaro and in the citadel, and assuredly against the will of the Duke, who shouted and commanded that they were not to be killed, but to be made prisoners, but he was not obeyed, for the Gascons in that fury and rage chose to glut themselves. Within they found letters from the Count di Populo, telling them to hold out for two days when he would at any rate succour them, the Duke of Alva also having approached and being at Sora.

At noon the Pope came out of his chamber, and at the door my secretary knelt before him, congratulating him on this victory in my absence, apologizing for my not going in person, and saying that your Serenity would hear of it with great satisfaction. His Holiness stooped to his ear and said, "Thank the ambassador for this office, and tell him, *that we pray God to open the eyes of those most illustrious Lords that they may see how the glory of His Majesty proceeds, and that they may do what will be to their profit and honour.*"

Rome, 15th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 15.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv.
Cl. X. p. 183,
recto.

817. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

The messenger sent by Cardinal Pole to Rome informed him that on the way, having heard of Cardinal Caraffa's going to Venice, he took that road in order to find him, and that having told Caraffa in Pole's name why he was sent to the Pope, the answer was that the Cardinal desired above all things some good arrangement, whereby to allay these disturbances. Although subsequently the messenger [Henry Penning?] found the Pope much irritated owing to what had taken place, Pole nevertheless continues to have good hope, not having yet heard of the arrival at Rome of Don Francisco Pacheco, whose commission, as always said by the Spanish ministers here, was such as to warrant the belief that it would satisfy the Pope. Don Ruy Gomez, who came to England to assure the Queen of the King's speedy arrival, and to take his passage to Spain, confirmed Pole in this hope entertained by his Majesty, speaking at great length on the subject, in confirmation of the King's good will; his chief wish being always to show himself an obedient son and most closely linked with his Holiness, of whom he always spoke with all due respect; regretting the suspicions and circumstances which had brought matters to their present state, evincing, however, the best hope of an adjustment with his Holiness. Prays God thus to comfort Christendom, and especially the Caraffa family, which, from what Pole has been able to gather from King Philip, may reasonably promise itself all favour and service from him, should affairs be arranged as hoped by means of Cardinal Caraffa's prudence and his influence with the Pope, whose feet Pole requests him to kiss in his name.

Greenwich, 15th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.

Feb. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

818. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Fresh disturbances in Picardy and Champagne are announced daily, the territory being exhausted by the late war, so that the troops on both sides are unable to keep the field, notwithstanding which the King of England is sending reinforcements thither. France likewise is sending German and French soldiery into those parts, as also to Piedmont; *all these preparations having for object an attack upon the Milanese, to which the King is urged by the Duke of Ferrara. His most Christian Majesty has also been informed that the Queen of England has promised the King her husband pay for 10,000 infantry and 2,000 horse, on condition that he cross over to England; which resolve, if true, will greatly harass his most Christian Majesty.*

Here every effort is being made to obtain pecuniary supply, and the King has already contracted a loan with the merchants at Lyons for one million and a half of gold, including the sum written by me heretofore, bearing interest at the rate of 16 per cent., of which the fourth part to be paid at each fair, the King disbursing simultaneously at each fair one per cent. of the capital, which being diminished at each fair yet will the disbursement (of the 16 per cent.?) not be diminished, although at each succeeding fair the amount due for interest will be lessened; but the surplus in the King's hands through the debatement of the interest will be added to (*query* the sum required for) the repayment (*sfalcatione*) of the capital; so that in 41 fairs, which will have been held in 10 years and one quarter, the payment of the capital and the interest will be completed; and in the said term of ten years and one quarter his Majesty, to those who now disburse 100 crowns capital, will have paid only 204 crowns, including capital and interest, thus saving 60 per cent. on what he would have had to disburse had he during the said period paid interest at the rate of 16 per cent., and on its expiration chosen to repay the capital. This contract is so satisfactory to everybody that, besides that of the merchants aforesaid, another sum of the same amount has been offered to his Majesty, and the greater part by German merchants. In addition to this, the King is demanding a loan from all the merchants and other persons in easy circumstances throughout the kingdom, limiting the sum according to each individual's quality, the contribution varying from four to twenty crowns, no one to pay less than four nor more than twenty, which will yield him nearly a million of gold. Of this city of Paris he has also demanded a loan of 400,000 francs, payable in two instalments, which have been granted him; and the ten years' monopoly of the salt duty having expired, the Constable put it up to auction for another ten years, to the highest bidder, a thing never done in this kingdom until now, and has thus increased it to the amount of 400,000 crowns annually; and of this revenue the King will avail himself as much as he can, by paying a certain amount of interest. Whereas it was customary to leave the moneys derived from the revenues of the kingdom in the "chambers" of several places, making assignments when required, his Majesty has now decreed that all his moneys from all parts are to be brought

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to this city to a place called the Louvre, all the assignments being made in this place alone; and although he will incur some additional expense for the conveyance of the moneys from place to place, he nevertheless thought it more for his advantage, both because the money will not remain in many hands, and he will always be able to make use of it without revising so many accounts. To commence the execution of this order by facts, and to see the money collected into a heap, many steps are being taken, especially that of suspending for three months all the pensions paid by his Majesty to private individuals who received their assignments for that term, whereas now all the money is to come hither. As nearly the whole of these arrangements have been made since his Majesty's return to this city, it has seemed fit to me to give detailed account of them to your Serenity.

Paris, 18th February 1557.*

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Feb. 20.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

819. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went yesterday to ask audience of the Pope at 3.20 p.m. The Duke of Paliano and Marshal Strozzi were with him. Whilst I was there waiting, two Venetian prelates and others told me they had heard from Messer Paulo† that your Serenity would not only not assist him, but gave passage to his enemies who were coming to destroy this Holy See, and indeed all Italy. On the departure of Paliano and Strozzi his Holiness had the Marchioness his relation introduced, together with the General of the Friars Minor, and then the Commissary-General, after which he commenced saying vespers and complin. The office being ended he sent for the Bishop of Pola, although he had been with him a long while on the preceding evening, and simultaneously I also was called, and then stopped at the door and made to sit down on a stool prepared there for me. After his Holiness had remained with the Bishop more than an hour, it being 6 p.m., the Pope sent to tell me that I must take patience, as he wished to say matins,‡ without letting me know that I was to return another day.

Inferring that the cause of my being thus dismissed could be nothing but what I had heard about his Holiness being angry on account of the passage conceded to the Germans, he having also spoken to me on the subject a few days ago, and not having any business of importance, I let this week slip away (*scorrer*) without audience, it not appearing to me for your Serenity's service to demand it, as either he would have given it me or not; not giving

* The foregoing is the last despatch in the first file of the French correspondence now preserved in the Venetian Archives; the letters are dated from the 11th May 1554 to the 18th February 1557, and the ciphered portions of them remained unintelligible until the year 1872, when Signor Luigi Pasini commenced deciphering them.

† Paulo Consiglieri, *alias* Ghislieri, *alias* Barona, "*Maestro di Camera*" of Pope Paul IV.

‡ On the 20th February the sun sets at 5h. 21m., and apparently from that time forth until 7 a.m. on the morning of the 21st, matins might be said *ad lib.*

1557.

it, I do not think it would have been for your Serenity's dignity, that your ambassador who has been so much honoured by his Holiness, and preferred to all the others, should not be heard by him for two days running, which in these times would have been interpreted and perhaps written to all the Courts; because had it happened twice, concealment would have been impossible, whereas about this first time nothing is said. Moreover, had he given me audience during this his first perturbation, there was danger lest, according to his nature, he might burst out in such language as it might have displeased your Serenity to hear; and I being aware of the cause of his anger, by importunately presenting myself before him, should in a certain way have been the cause of this, not having, as aforesaid, any business of importance to transact. Having neither "advice" nor any order about this passage of the Germans, I deemed it well to delay giving opportunity for this first outbreak; and that he might not think me angry I sent my secretary this morning to Messer Paulo, and had him told that having merely Constantinople newsletters to communicate, I had not chosen to inconvenience his Holiness to-day, but imparted them to the Duke of Paliano, who promised to acquaint the Pope with their contents. Messer Paulo promised to apologize for me accordingly, adding that when I was dismissed he entered the Pope's chamber and told him I had waited for four hours, and his Holiness replied that the Bishop of Pola had stunned him (*li havea rotta la testa*), and that he could give no more audiences.

Rome, 20th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

820. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The colours of the two Spanish companies in Vicovaro (*Vignar*) have been sent hither, and the Pope says he shall have them put in St. Peter's as testimony of this victory and of the justice of God. The Duke of Paliano having returned to Rome says it was impossible to prevent the soldiers in their fury from slaughtering those of the enemy in Vicovaro, and most especially the Germans, these last being the remains of those who were cut to pieces by the Spaniards at Port-Hercule, which circumstance was thus brought to mind. There was also a company of Siennese, who were very glad indeed to take this opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Spaniards, and the Duke of Paliano says the Spaniards were little less than 500, because besides the two companies, there were 60 of them in the citadel, and 60 more got into Vicovaro on escaping lately from Signor Matheo Stendardo, when, as written by me, he lately took the sacks of flour from them; though others say that they were not more than 400 in all, of whom about 70 are safe, and made prisoners.

They have left Francesco Orsini in Vicovaro with four companies, and say they mean to fortify it, as counselled by Marshal Strozzi, because the site is a very convenient one. Of the troops who were at that attack a good part returned to Rome to amuse themselves,

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though it is believed they will shortly make some other expedition, as said by the Duke of Paliano to a Cardinal who sent me word of it. As yet it is not known what undertaking they will attempt, but the Count di Populo having in these parts (but scattered about in several places, such as Anagni, Montefortino, Terracina, Frosinone, and others) some 3,000 infantry, and a certain amount of horse, those forces might make them act very reservedly, as the Imperialists say there are letters from Naples purporting that by the 15th all the barons there were to be in readiness. It is said besides that so long as the war lasts, the kingdom has promised to pay the Duke of Alva a good sum of money monthly, in addition to which they say that in the castle of Naples there are 300,000 crowns deposited there in the time of Don Pedro de Toledo, on condition of their not being expended, save for the defence of the kingdom. Here they have a want of powder, and although certain contractors would have brought some, the difficulty about money makes them withdraw, as the supply which they furnished some months ago has not yet been paid for, and it seems that by bad luck the little they got, exploded. At the capture of Hostia a few barrels blew up, as written by me; the like having also taken place now with a few barrels at Vicovaro, causing the death of a few soldiers, besides those killed at the assaults, said to be from one to two hundred infantry.

There is much mortality amongst the troops; and in truth all say that the Spaniards did their duty bravely, and the Imperialists here hold in greater account the loss of Spanish soldiery incurred hitherto, which is said to exceed 500, than the places recovered; attributing the blame of this to the imprudence of those who put them into places which they could not hold; or the little faith of some of them, and the too great daring of certain others.

The Spaniards who were brought hither from Vicovaro, after being examined as to whether they were the soldiers of Philip, and that they came to attack the See Apostolic, and all their replies having been put to writing, were sent home, with half a crown per man.

The Bishop of Pola arrived here on Thursday, having left Reggio on Tuesday after the conference, and on that evening Cardinal Caraffa was to be at Bologna, where he would wait for the French army, which on Sunday halted at Reggio, and was to be at Bologna in three days; and then Cardinal Caraffa will come on to Rome, and be perhaps accompanied by the Duke de Guise, after he shall have been at Ferrara to see the Duchess his mother-in-law. I also hear that the said Duke has informed the Pope by letter, and through M. de Carnevaletto, who came here lately, that he is commissioned by the King his lord to do whatever the Pope shall wish, although he might effect something of importance in the parts where he now is (*nelle parte di là*).

The Duke of Ferrara, after the army was made over to him, as Captain General of the League, by the Duke de Guise, wrote to the Pope that he is ready to advance; to which his Holiness replied by a brief that his Excellency in person is to remain where he is for the guard and defence of the places in Lombardy, without saying anything at all about the army. Should the French

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army come hither, the progress it may make is spoken of in various ways, and which of them may be the true one, time will demonstrate, but all agree in this, that at this season [the scarcity of?] victuals and fodder will be a very great impediment; in addition to which there is the want of ammunition, so that they are asking it even of the Duke of Urbino; whilst the subsequent approach to Naples in the summer months will be opposed by the climate there;* and yet greater difficulties will perhaps also hinder the Tuscan expedition. Certain persons in authority believe that the coming to Rome of the Duke de Guise will be to let the Pope know, that with so many impediments, to march that army to Naples, which the Pope has principally at heart, and always talks about it, is to remove it from a site where many honourable feats might be performed, and to bring it to a place where, having need of so many things, it will be unable to achieve anything of importance; and they now revive the discourse about an attack upon Parma.

From France, and especially from Lyons, many private individuals have received letters from the French Court announcing the despatch by the King to the Duke of Florence of a Bishop† to sign the articles drawn up by his Excellency lately with his Majesty; and they also write details, about marriages, states, &c., on which I do not dilate, because when the Florentine ambassador is asked about it he laughs and declares that there is no truth whatever in the report.

The Spanish nation here is half in despair, owing to a decree of the Council of Spain, the copy of which I enclose,‡ but in yet greater despair is the Court of Rome, as this is the ruin of the "Rota" and of the Chancery, and in short of the whole Court, and is the commencement of the withdrawal of the obedience of all his [King Philip's] States from this See. *With regard to this matter Cardinal Carpi [Ridolfo Pio] told my secretary that his right reverend Lordship being with the Pope a few days ago, his Holiness commenced abusing the Emperor and King Philip, and above all for this impiety in waging war on the See Apostolic. The Cardinal, having asked leave to speak freely, and obtained it, said that he could not commend King Philip's having waged war on the Church, but that on the other hand he could not blame the wish, which it was said publicly the said King had, to give every satisfaction to his Holiness, whom the Cardinal prayed humbly to take every opportunity to adjust matters, because were his Holiness to know one half of what others who are outside know (la metà di quello che sanno li altri che sono di fuori via), he by reason of his goodness and piety would lament the ruin not only of this Ecclesiastical State, which threatens entire dissolution, but also of its spiritual power, which dissolution§ could not be greater than it is at present, but would*

* Et che l'avvicinarsi poi a Napoli li mesi dell' estate sia un dar occasione a quel cielo et a quell' aere di combatter contra di loro.

† Qu. Charles de Marillac.

‡ Not found.

§ (Che questo Stato ecclesiastico si stilla lambicca (sic) tutto) ma del spiritual, el qual non potria far maggior iattura di quello che fa al presente, et faria molto maggior se Sua Santità, &c.

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vastly increase (sic) were his Holiness to proceed to deprive the King, because this would be by word (perfectly valid with regard to right), while his Majesty by deed would deprive the Apostolic See by withdrawing the obedience of all the kingdoms under his rule, besides other detriment which he might inflict in the course of time. To this the Pope replied that as for temporal interests, he saw the loss that had been incurred, though he hoped in God that now it would be quite the contrary; that with regard to the injury done to religion, if those kingdoms were to alienate themselves, it would be a sign that they are infidels, for which his Holiness ought not to take heed, as it is sufficient for the faith to remain in a few; and that in the next place, the Lord God has the means of maintaining it and of causing its increase. So (to use the Cardinal's phrase) having entered the sacristy it was requisite to talk of something else. Notwithstanding all this, I understand that on Thursday in the congregation of the Inquisition, the Pope spoke of the victories his army had obtained, extolling them greatly, and adding that should Philip nevertheless do what would become him, he would not fail to pardon him. Cardinal Carpi thereupon respectfully inquired of him if it was true what he had heard, that King Philip had sent a commission to the Duke of Alva to do all that Cardinal Caraffa had demanded of him on the island;* to which the Pope replied that he would not do anything that might be proposed by Cardinal Caraffa, nor by other Cardinals, but solely what he himself knew and commanded, as he did not intend anyone to have the power to bind him (*che alcuno la potesse obligar*) to anything whatever.

Ascanio da Nepi, who was sent heretofore by Cardinal Farnese, came to visit me in the name of his right reverend Lordship and of Duke Ottavio, telling me besides that he was ordered by his masters to inform the Pope that the passage, victuals, and all that was necessary for the accommodation of the French army on its march to assist his Holiness, was in order, and that by this he might know their goodwill to be the obedient and devoted sons and servants of his Holiness and of this Holy See; and that he had asked leave of the Pope for his Cardinal to go and reside at Padua; and that as to the preparations for the accommodation of the French army, the Pope said they were agreeable to him; and that concerning the permission for the Cardinal to go to Padua, he could not then decide about it, but that Ascanio was to return. I heard subsequently that as yet he has been unable to obtain audience; and it has moreover been told me that he (Ascanio) endeavoured to raise (*ha cercato*) 20,000 crowns for the service of those most illustrious lords, and could scarcely get 4,000.

Rome, 20th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27.
(1st letter.)
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

821. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Cardinal in authority, and who can know things, most especially such as relate to the French, told my secretary that the most

* In Giannone (Vol. 4, p. 120) this island is called the island of Fiumicino.

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Christian King having undertaken a war of such great importance, at the earnest request of the Pope, he will do everything to have a promotion of cardinals as soon as he can; and that the Duke de Guise is perhaps coming to Rome for this purpose rather than for anything else, and will possibly not depart until the cardinals are made, as the Pope is old and a human being (è vecchio et homo). That the most Christian King did not demand any of his own nation in particular, but referred himself to his Holiness, who would have been informed about the conditions of the prelates of his court by Cardinal Caraffa, he having known them when in France. Many persons, including cardinals, have had it intimated to me that the Pope complains of your having granted passes to Lutherans and enemies of God, to the ruin of His Vicar, which I believe, as besides what I wrote in my last, when I sent to ask audience of him yesterday, he had me answered that I was not to go, because his Holiness having announced public audience for Tuesday, he chose to go thither, although the weather was bitterly cold, with snow; so that those who declare that snow is very rarely seen on the ground in Rome, and that such cold in mid-winter, and yet more at this season, is an unusual thing, go saying a variety of things about the calamities of Rome likewise; and they call to mind that at the time of the sack there was similar weather. After giving audience for a short while the Pope departed, being unable to bear the cold.

Rome, 27th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27.
(2nd letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

822. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Being certain that the fact of the Pope's not having given me audience yesterday would not be known at the Court, as I had not been to the palace, in order not to give occasion to the Pope to think that I was the least angry, I this morning sent my secretary to Messer Paulo with orders to tell him that I perfectly well knew his Holiness' very important occupations, wherefore I did not wish to molest him by demanding audience, but that on the other hand I would not fail to pay my respects to him, according to my duty and to your Serenity's intention; so I referred myself to his Lordship (Messer Paulo) to demand or not to demand audience for to-day, as might seem fit to him. He replied that after the mass he would say a word about it to the Pope, as he did, and his Holiness answered him in the negative (*et il Papa le rispose di non*).

Rome, 27th February 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27.
(3rd letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

823. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At this very hour, 7^h 35^m p.m. (le due di notte), a person of authority has come to let me know that he has heard from an individual who may be almost considered the Pope in person, that his Holiness

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complains beyond measure that you should have given passage, victuals, and money to the enemies of God, and says that the Queen of England acts with more reserve, and that the Venetians might possibly repent of this; adding that the Florentine ambassador, to whom the Pope has unbosomed himself, negotiated the marriage of one of the daughters of the King of France to his Duke's son, that it may be settled, the Archbishop of Vienne having come hither for this purpose; and that if settled, it will be done without the Venetians. This same person told me that the other day the Pope got into a rage with the French ambassador, because he required a certain affair which they were treating to be put in writing, and his Holiness answered him angrily that his mere word ought to be credited, and the ambassador rejoining that he had this order, they parted in anger. I will not remind your Serenity to have what I write kept secret, as you will perceive how much your affairs would suffer were what I write to be known; most especially in these times, and with the nature of this Pope, who, I moreover fear, will some day have my letters opened, as has been done several times by those, one may say, of all the other ambassadors.

Rome, 27th February 1557.

[Italian.]

March 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

824. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The march of troops into Picardy is delayed until it be seen in what part of that province the King of England chiefly reinforces himself, his reinforcements in the Milanese being such that M. de Brissac has had to retreat; so doubts are entertained about Valenza, there not having been time to fortify it sufficiently. Of the Duke de Guise I have heard nothing, except that he will go postwise to Rome, and that news of his negotiation with the Duke of Ferrara is expected. It is evident that the hopes of doing the great things designed by them instantaneously have somewhat cooled, as is the case about the treaty with the Duke of Florence, concerning which, although nothing has been heard since the departure hence of the Archbishop of Vienne, yet is it understood that his most Christian Majesty does not expect it to take place, because the said Duke perceiving that the forces of the King of England augment, it will seem to him that his affairs remain perhaps in a better state than they were before, without farther change of fortune; it being also heard that his Excellency likewise is arming briskly and providing for his need. The Prince of Salerno has not yet been sent to Naples, and before going he wishes to know the result of the mission to Constantinople of M. de Lavigne, who went to request Sultan Soliman to send out the Turkish fleet, without which the Prince of Salerno is of opinion that the most Christian King can do nothing for his advantage through the expedition of Naples; and as the majority of the Prince's adherents are in the places on the coast of the kingdom, he would wish by all means to find himself on board the fleet.

His Majesty's ambassador accredited to the King of Spain has

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returned, his exchange for the Spanish ambassador having been effected quietly on the frontiers.

Paris, 1st March 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

825. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday the Pope gave a dinner to all the cardinals, there being amongst the guests Marshal Strozzi, the French ambassadors, M. de Selve, the one in ordinary, and the Archbishop of Vienne, and I, no other ambassadors having been invited.* After dinner the Pope withdrew with the cardinals into his chamber. He spoke honourably of the most Christian King, and said that, doing so much for this See, his moderation (*modestia*) nevertheless was such that he did not demand anything. The Pope then exhorted their right reverend lordships to keep Lent, adding that if any of them, from ill-health, was unable to do so, they were to use caution, so as not to give cause for scandal. After the dinner the Duke of Paliano, who was also there, took the Marshal, the French ambassadors, and me into his chamber ; and when the Archbishop of Vienne and M. de Selve departed to go and see Belveder, and the Duke of Paliano having withdrawn, owing to a call of nature, Strozzi said to me, "*From what I see the Pope is not inclined towards the peace.*" On the evening of the same day Marquis Montebello arrived from Civita Castellana, where he left Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke de Guise, they having chosen to delay their entry until this morning (*sic*).† The cardinals were desired to send their mules and their attendants to meet the Duke de Guise beyond the "Porta del Popolo," the Pope's retinue and guard going thither likewise. On hearing this I sent my secretary to pay a similar compliment, and he pushed so far forward that he was amongst the first, and performed the office enjoined him conveniently both with the Cardinal and the Duke, each of whom answered him very lovingly. They then changed their post horses for others of parade (*honorati*) sent them from Rome, and in the meanwhile the Duke of Paliano and the Marquis his brother arrived, and a great number of horsemen, besides the attendants and mules of the cardinals, and those of the Pope, with which state they entered Rome, being saluted by the castle with many discharges of artillery. On arriving at the palace they went first of all to kiss the Pope's foot, his Holiness waiting for them in the audience chamber, accompanied by the cardinals resident in the palace, who had been sent for for that purpose ; and from one of them I heard that, amongst other things,

* In Foreign Calendar, Mary (p. 290), there is a letter from Sir Edward Carne, dated Rome, 3rd March 1557, but without any mention of this papal banquet from which he was excluded. Carne dates the entry into Rome of the Duke de Guise 2nd March, but Navagero writes 3rd March.

† Nares and Sir Edward Carne write that the Duke de Guise entered Rome on the 2nd March, and their date is evidently the correct one.

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the Pope said to the Duke de Guise, "This is not the first time that your family has come in aid of this See," which words, my informant added, greatly soothed (*indolcorno assai*) the Duke, who having made the due reverence to his Holiness, they went to dine with the Duke of Paliano. Then this morning (*sic*) I went to visit Cardinal Caraffa. Amongst many other causes assigned by him for delaying his return, he said it was requisite to quiet the Duke of Ferrara. On taking leave, I having said that I should go to the Duke de Guise, who is lodged on the upper floor of the cardinal's apartment, he said, "You will do a pleasure to me also;" so on presenting myself to the Duke I said in general terms how much you revered the most Christian King, what love you bear the house of Guise, and especially his Excellency. In reply the Duke said, *That the King his Lord could not be better disposed than he was towards your Serenity; and it seemed to me that he added that the Republic, being so Christian, should not fail assisting the Church and this See, and that he had sent a letter of his to you by a gentleman. I write that "it seemed to me" because I had no little difficulty in understanding him, as he spoke half Italian and half French, and in a very low tone.*

Having taken leave of his Excellency I went with the Pope to chapel, which the Duke attended, his place being below the cardinals and above the Duke of Paliano.

Rome, 3rd March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

826. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By your Serenity's commands I returned this day to the Duke de Guise, who, having listened to what I told him in your name, answered me, still in a tongue more French than Italian, from what it seemed to me to understand, that I could not say so much about your Serenity's goodwill towards the most Christian King as to prevent him, the Duke, from promising you much more, by reason of what he knew was felt by his Majesty for your Serenity, and that he had cause to do so, repeating what he said to me the other day, that they were all sons, noblemen, and lords of that most excellent Republic, and adding, "I have had a most courteous letter from the Signory, brought by M. de Villart, who arrived yesterday, and I choose you to know him;" whereupon he called him, and he said to me very respectfully that he could not be more caressed nor better greeted than he was in that noble city, for the sake of the most Christian King and that of his Excellency individually; to which I rejoined, "It was owing also to your Lordship's prudent and modest mode of executing your commission."

The Duke de Guise then told me that to-morrow he will give the Order of St. Michael to the Duke of Paliano and Paulo Giordano Orsini, and that he hoped a good number of cardinals would be made, this See having, moreover, need of them; praising this Pope beyond measure; and that he, the Duke de Guise, had not yet fixed the time of his departure. He then offered his services to your

1557.

Serenity, as a mark of his respect ; whereupon I took leave, M. de Villart accompanying me to the last door.

Rome, 6th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.

(2nd letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

827. The SAME to the SAME.

The day before the arrival of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke de Guise, a Ferrarese captain, one Villa, was despatched. He went to the Duke of Florence about the marriage and agreement which they are said to be treating between the most Christian King and that Duke, which agreement, although it appears unreasonable to many persons, disinterested individuals begin to suspect that it may take place. Yet the Imperialists seem to anticipate anything but this, saying the Duke could never rely on the crown of France for a variety of reasons, *and they give words and hopes to many people. I can, however, assure you that for the present purpose they might send a more suitable and experienced agent than this Villa, and the Duke de Guise, who is the affectionate servant of the French crown, disapproves of his having been sent.*

The first secretary, Aldobrandini, whose authority was as great as any at this court, has fallen into disgrace with the Pope, and since yesterday is in retirement in his own apartments, and worse is feared. I have no authentic information about the causes of so unexpected a fact, *but at the last chapel service, when the ashes were taken, the French ambassador said to me, "I will tell you, as in the confessional, that Aldobrandini will not last long in his present grade and favour." From similar facts nothing can ever be considered firm and durable here.*

It was reported to-day that a secretary of the Duke of Florence, having been chased by the galleys in Civitavecchia, was made prisoner and brought hither, having thrown his letters into the sea, because he had been sent with them to the Duke of Alva. I therefore chose to verify the fact, and was told by a person able to know it, what you will see by the enclosed memorandum.*

Yesterday, as usual, I demanded audience of the Pope, who still continues to deny it me ; nor did I regret it, by reason of the present events.

Rome, 6th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

828. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to his Majesty yesterday and communicated to him the contents of the news letters from Adrianople, for which he thanked your Serenity, saying it was a very long while since he had received letters from his ambassador with Sultan Soliman, and only knew that he was preparing his galleys, and then inquired whether he was still at Adrianople ; and when I said he was, the King, after a

* Not found. In the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar (Mary), this circumstance is mentioned by Sir Edward Carne, date Rome, 6th March 1557 (p. 291).

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short pause, in reply to my congratulations on the successful descent into Italy of the Duke de Guise, continued, "The Duke passed very prosperously, though he had the worst possible weather, and he subsequently held a conference with Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Ferrara; and the army will go to Bologna and then proceed towards Ravenna."

When I inquired what the army would do after it got there, his Majesty said, "They have not yet announced their decision to me, but it will be for the Pope's service." I rejoined, "By the sole favour of your Majesty he has already recovered so much of his own that but little remains for him to regain." The King continued, "Such is the fact, and lately they took Vicovaro, so it only remains for him to take Anagni and Nettuno, but this Vicovaro was of more importance than all the rest." He then added that the Marquis of Pescara was raising troops, but that Valenza was being fortified, so it was hoped he would not succeed. I remarked that this seemed the more probable, it being heard that his Majesty was increasing his forces.

To this he replied, "The King of Spain is sending Germans and other troops into Italy, nor can I likewise fail to reinforce my army where I know it to be necessary." I then asked how matters were passing in Picardy, and he said, "The Duke de Nevers arrived here two days ago to visit the Cardinal de Bourbon, who was ill, and he tells me that in those parts everything is very quiet, chiefly because the troops of the King of Spain are in great want of victuals, the weather also being so cold there that until it becomes milder they cannot keep the field (*star in campagna*)." I then asked what provision the King of Spain was making, and he said, "I do not very well know the particulars, but my belief is that so powerful a King can have no lack of means for providing for his affairs. It was said lately that he meant to go to England, but it does not seem to me that the report continues; Ruy Gomez went thither, and proceeded thence to Spain."

I asked his Majesty what Ruy Gomez had done in England, as advices had been received here at the court purporting that the most serene Queen there had given him a certain sum of money. His Majesty said, "My ambassador gives me no advice of this, but she very probably has a mind not to fail her husband, *though she will have so much to do at home that it will suffice her*." He then told me that the Constable had a violent cold in his head, and that the Dauphin has got rid of his quartan agues (*è restato libero delle sue quartane*), of which he had three attacks, but that he had become very thin; and his Majesty having closed the conversation with these and other familiar topics, I took leave. This audience was given me in his own chamber, where there was a portrait of the Pope, which always accompanies him.

I elicited from another quarter that at the aforesaid conference the Duke de Guise, who was in like manner supported by the Duke of Ferrara, demonstrated that, being unable to effect an adjustment with the Duke of Florence, it is for the most Christian King's advantage to attack his territory, as by making sure of Tuscany (quel stato) the Milanese would be much weakened, and that then the

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Naples expedition would be more easily accomplished ; but Cardinal Caraffa having shown that the Pope's wish would be to invade the kingdom of Naples at once (à dirittura), they determined to march the army as far as Ravenna, and the Duke de Guise should go expeditiously to the Pope, to lay before him the above-mentioned arguments, with such others as shall seem fitting to him, and decide according to his Holiness' resolution.

A person well able to know the fact told me that means would be much more easily found for coming to an agreement with Cardinal Caraffa and his brothers than with the Pope, as they would indeed wish to accommodate their family affairs as well as they could ; but the Pope, who does not care so much about this (che non cura tanto questo), persists in his opinion, and will not so easily change it.

Concerning the negotiation with the Duke of Florence, M. de Marillac, Archbishop (sic) of Vienne, has not yet given account of what he has negotiated since his arrival in Italy, so the scheme remains in the state written by me ; but it seems nevertheless that here the hope of an adjustment diminishes daily, it being supposed that the preparations which the King of England is now making may keep Florence firm to his allegiance (fermo nella sua devotione) ; though on the other hand it is understood that the march of the army and the decision formed at the conference may render him very anxious ; and from the very beginning the Duke of Florence acquainted the Pope with his wish to make terms with the King of France, who was strongly urged by his Holiness to take him into favour, but the Duke of Ferrara more and more regrets this, though he shows his vexation as little as possible. The Duke de Guise demands reinforcements of ultramontane troops, and, though nothing is decided, I understand that some Germans are being raised, with the intention of sending them through your Serenity's territory to the rest of the army ; and besides the levy of 2,000 Switzers already granted, the King has sent to the cantons for an additional 4,000, destined in like manner for Piedmont.*

I have heard that, through the persuasions of Don Ruy Gomez, the Queen of England has promised to send her husband 100,000 pounds sterling, equal to 300,000 gold crowns, and therefore I asked the King about this as above written.

M. de Lansac has arrived, and, although in great favour with the Constable, yet having been recalled from Rome because the King was dissatisfied with him, he is very dejected (molto melanconico).

Paris, 6th March 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

* The repetition of this name enables me to correct a mistake made in a footnote at page 66 of the first part of this volume. Charles de Marillac was not Bishop of Vienne until the 24th March 1557, when he was translated from the bishopric of Vannes ; his successor to that see being Sebastien de l'Aubespine, whose appointment took place on the 21st of June 1557 ; and here I may add that he had a brother by name "Claude de l'Aubespine, Seigneur de Haiterive, Secretary of State to Henry II.," as appears by the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 441, and also at p. 87 of the first part of the present volume. The dates of the appointments of these Bishops are now derived by me from Volumes XIV. and XVI. "*Gallia Christiana*."

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March 6.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Register).

829. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages of the Council and the Sages for the Mainland for a Letter to BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

By your letters of the 20th and 27th ult. we learnt with disquietude that the Pope had not chosen to admit you to the audience which you had requested of him more than once. We command you to go to Cardinal Caraffa and to tell him in our name that in like manner as his Holiness has hitherto given several loving marks of his paternal will towards us, receiving you, our representative, graciously, and having you introduced into his presence amongst the first, which caused us singular satisfaction, so when we heard that since some days he has changed his style, not without murmurs from those who know it, we could not but feel offended. Should the Cardinal tell you that this proceeded from his Holiness' many important occupations, let it appear that you are satisfied with whatever suits the Pope's convenience; but should he give you to understand that this might have happened owing to the passage conceded by us to the Germans in aid of King Philip, and to our having accommodated them with victuals and money, and because our armed ships had conveyed and landed at Segna, or on that coast, a certain person who in the name of the Duke of Alva went into the hill country (ne i paesi superiori) to raise troops (as you write had been heard at Rome), our intention is that you do answer, as of yourself, that our State confines on others in so many parts, and is so open, that to prohibit these passages would require several armies, as was said by you heretofore to his Holiness, who, having admitted the truth of this, ceased complaining, and said he was certain that the like would be done in his favour, as will assuredly be the case whenever necessary, and as we did lately by a good number of cavalry from France, which passed through our territory and was accommodated as becoming. In like manner, about the victuals, you will say that, permitting the passage, we could not fail to have the necessary provision made for it. The Signory did not accommodate the said Germans with money, as will perchance have been reported to his Holiness by malignants unfriendly to him, who seek thus to sow distrust between his Holiness and us. You will also say that possibly our ministers, knowing it to be our custom to accommodate such persons with similar passages, will not have omitted to do the like by any messenger of the aforesaid Duke. Should Cardinal Caraffa have departed before you can perform this office, you will make the announcement to the Duke of Paliano, and even should you not have been admitted to his Holiness, hereafter on being admitted to him, if he speaks to you on the subject, and not otherwise, you will avail yourself of what we say.

Before we despatched this letter the Pope's Nuncio, Comendone, came to us in his name about this passage of the Germans, saying that besides the regiments which have already passed, there are others coming, and that we should therefore be pleased somewhat to close our hand. We replied as written by us to you heretofore, and as above. The Nuncio also told us that Cardinal Caraffa had written to him to request us to accommodate the Pope with the hulls (corpi)

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of two galliots, which his right reverend Lordship would fit out ; so if you elicit anything about this, and what the Pope means to do with them, you will give us notice of it.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

830. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Guise has sent to the Duke of Florence to know in what way he would give surety to his most Christian Majesty, who chooses to be guaranteed by him, by facts, and not by mere promises or agreements ; so meaning to pass with the army through his State, he awaited (aspettava) a positive reply whether he was to traverse it as a friend or as a foe. The Archbishop of Vienne had also attended the conference, after which he was to see Cardinal Tournon and proceed straight to Rome to consult with the Pope what settlement could be made with the said Duke of Florence, and from several quarters it is heard that his Holiness is doing his utmost to effect it ; and that he will certainly make cardinals during the next Ember days, including Don Luis, the son of the Duke of Ferrara. The Prince of Salerno has been sent by the King to the Duke de Guise, and will go by sea, without any especial appointment, which will be sent him to Italy ; and he has told his most Christian Majesty that his friends in the kingdom of Naples have given him to understand that he must not expect any assistance nor favour from them should he enter the Neapolitan territory by means of the Turkish fleet, as the mischief it had done them [formerly] was such that they would endure anything rather than co-operate for whatever it might be wished to effect through such a medium.*

Paris, 10th March 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 12.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

831. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cause of Aldobrandini's fall proceeded from the envy borne him by many, who by this opportunity sought to deprive Cardinal Caraffa, who favoured him, of repute, and they accused him of having opened the letters of the Duke of Florence, of receiving pensions from the Farnese family and from Cardinal Cesis, that he received presents, and that he sowed discord between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano. With regard to opening letters, he said that if he had done so it was by order of those who could command him ; that if he had received either pensions or presents to fail in his duty and to break faith, he asked for no defender ; that it was quite true that one of his sons had a pension from Cesis, out of gratitude for services rendered heretofore to his right reverend Lordship ; that he has never had any pension, although they are bound by just causes to give it him. That as to sowing discord

* Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent.

1557.

between the brothers, he knew, and God was witness to it, how remote he had always been from doing so, having on the contrary performed many good offices to prevent any occasion for scandal and strife; and that having got together many writings relating to the fief of the kingdom of Naples for the need of the present times, which documents had subsequently got into the hands of the Fiscal Advocate, from whom being unable ever to recover them, he, on his return, complained to Cardinal Caraffa, who sent for the "Fiscale" and desired him angrily to restore the writings to Messer Silvestro. The "Fiscale" replied, perhaps less respectfully than became him, that the said writings were of importance, and that when his right reverend Lordship wished for them he would give them to him, but that he did not think it well for them to remain in the hands of others. These words having yet more irritated the Cardinal he dismissed him his presence, using very violent language, which the "Fiscale" is supposed to have repeated to the Pope, as he desired Cardinal Caraffa to deprive Aldobrandini of his official post, as he was not an honest man (*perchè non era homo da ben*); and when the Cardinal replied, "Your Holiness gave him to me for your first secretary and almost for my father, wherefore it would seem to me well to hear whether the charges brought against him are true and then to punish him," the Pope rejoined, "When I command nothing more must be said; do as I tell you, Cardinal, and act according to my will."

On the morrow a conference was held between the Duke de Guise, Paliano, Marshal Strozzi, the Commissary General, the French Ambassador, and Cardinals Pisa and Caraffa, in the Pope's chamber, his Holiness being present, the Commissary General taking occasion to say three several times that it would be well to keep the writings about the kingdom of Naples, now in the hands of the Fiscal, under custody; whereupon in the presence of all those personages the Pope did not scruple to say, "There are certain individuals who choose to attribute too much to themselves, nor do they know that I raised and that I can lower them;" and then, turning towards Cardinal Caraffa, he said in violent and inflated language, "And you perhaps will be one of those." This speech in like manner as it surprised everybody so did it wound the Cardinal to the quick, and when the others departed he remained alone with the Pope, and from what Aldobrandini told one of his most confidential friends (from whose lips all that I write proceeds), Caraffa then complained gently (*modestamente*) of his Holiness having reprovèd him so openly, showing moreover that he held him in such small account; and that the Pope answered him, "We choose to be obeyed and acknowledged as head," adding, "You, Cardinal, know you not about a process drawn up before your departure against certain iniquitous Sodomites?" "Yes" (said he), "Holy Father, but being fully occupied during the days preceding my departure I delayed reporting it to your Holiness until my return." The Pope rejoined, "Did Aldobrandini know of this said process," and the Cardinal in reply having said that he believed he did: "Why then," continued the Pope, "did he not let me know of it?" The Cardinal apologized for Aldobrandini on the plea of his own absence, and

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then the Pope ended by saying, "Do we not know that owing to certain rogues (*tristi*) you and the Duke your brother do not love each other as you ought to do?"

This stir, being heard by the Pope's intimates, put them all to confusion, and Messer Paulo's brother the "President"* was seen going several times to the Pope and Cardinal, who (according to Aldobrandini) said, "President, tell his Holiness that I renounce all the grades and honours he has conferred on me, not knowing how to serve him better than I have done, and that I will return to my sword and mantelet (*alla mia spada et cappa*). Then in the evening the Cardinal sent a trout, with a marvellous sauce, as a present to the Pope, who said, "We accept it willingly on condition that the Cardinal come hither." The Cardinal went, and joking with the Pope about various matters, then withdrew with his Holiness till 3 in the morning (*fin le nove hore di notte*), and subsequently he has been seen to confer with him more than ever (*et poi si è veduto continuar più che mai*); and from a person who can know it I have heard that the Pope being appeased said to him, "My son, pardon this our nature and have compassion on us."

Aldobrandini no longer performs the functions of secretary; he has retired into the house where his sons live; he is very ill, and it is feared that this fresh accident may increase his natural indisposition; his wife who was in a bad state is dead. His post has not yet been given to others.

Everybody evinces great satisfaction at his fall, so greatly does it matter not to have bad manners in prosperity, and not to bear in mind the casualties of human life. Cardinal Caraffa and Marshal Strozzi have saved him from the Castle and perhaps from something worse, and many persons are surprised that a man who knows all the secrets and designs of his Holiness and his adherents, and who is deprived of the management of affairs, should merely be confined to his own house; and those who talk are of opinion that the Cardinal will find an opportunity for removing from his sight those who through the ruin of Aldobrandini endeavoured to wound his honour, and that he will do what he can for him. I hear that Cardinal Caraffa, knowing how injurious it is for him to separate himself from the Pope, has said he will do everything never again to leave Rome, nor to go to such a distance as not to be able to return thither the same evening. I have given every possible detail that it may enable you better to know the nature of these Lords (*questi Signori*) and their way of proceeding.

Rome, 12th March 1557.

[Italian.]

March 12.
(2nd letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

832. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I received your letters of the 6th instant charging me that in either of the two following cases, should I not already have had audience of the Pope, or I should not have had an oppor-

* Giambattista Consiglieri, alias Ghislieri, of the Barona family.

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tunity of conversing on the subject with Cardinal Caraffa, I was to tell him in your name that in like manner as my having always been introduced amongst the first to his Holiness as your representative had been much to the satisfaction of the Republic, because besides other loving demonstrations this was a very evident one of his paternal love for you, so you regretted to hear that during the last few days this style had been changed, desiring me in case I had to proceed farther according to the Cardinal's reply, to answer as of my own accord in the form prescribed by you ; and at the end of the letter you acquaint me with the remonstrance made by Bishop Commendone about the passage of these Germans, and your reply. I sent this morning, as usual, to ask audience of the Pope, with orders, if it could not be had, to inquire at what hour I could go and speak to the Cardinal, but that if the Pope assigned me an hour, no appointment was to be made with the Cardinal.

Audience was assigned me for 5 p.m., (23 *hore*)* the Pope having had me answered that although he had to remain a long while with a number of cardinals he would nevertheless hear me. On being introduced accordingly, his Holiness, with great graciousness and all his gestures being replete with sweetness (*dolcezza*), said to me, "How are you, my Magnifico Ambassador? attend to your health, and take pity on the troubles to which we are subjected by these enemies of God, whom we must at any rate drive out of Italy ;" again telling me of his will (*animo*) to bring back Italy to her harmony through a King of Naples and a Duke of Milan, both without any other state, as although at present they might be ultramontanes, they nevertheless in a short time would be Italians, and that in that case, should they raise their horns, this Holy See and your Serenity might beat (*batter*) and keep them to their duty, which cannot be done so easily at present, these principal members of Italy being in the power of a king who has so many realms ; "for this is the only way to rid oneself" (putting his mouth to my ear) "of one and the other of them ;" adding that such was his affection for Italy (*che esso era così affetionato Italiano*), that had he millions of soldiers and other forces he would not suppress any of those states that he found in Italy, and indeed that all his designs have solely for object to bring back Italy, of yore *Domina Gentium*,† to her former grandeur and repute ; that would to God the same mind prevailed as it ought to do in the state councils of your Serenity, to whom he wished as much prosperity as to himself, on which account, he said, he purposed making you mistress of Sicily, as he had told me heretofore, an undertaking of such easy accomplishment and secure maintenance, and more advantageous for the most illustrious Dominion than anything else that can be done.

The Pope then repeated that these schismatics had forfeited all the fiefs, namely, "the kingdom of Naples and Sicily ; Sardinia ; the Balearic Isles, viz. Majorca and Minorca ; and the realms of England, whose tributes (*censi*) I levied and paid myself my salary with them, I having been heretofore Nuncio there. He then added that he finds

* On the 12th March the sun sets at 558.

† Qu. "Romanos rerum Dominos."—Æneid, I. 286.

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the justice of God, and His powerful hand, whereby to execute the sentences, the excommunications, and the anathemas, issued against His enemies (*soggiungendomi trova la giustizia di Dio et la potente mano sua di eseguir le sententie, le escomuniche et li anathemi fatti contra li soi inimici*); and at this point he said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, it is now 52 years since I was made bishop, in the second year of the Pontificate of Julius II.; I went to a town of my bishopric, which had need of me for the performance of my duty, by correcting and amending many abuses; preaching when it seemed necessary to me, and instructing the inhabitants there with regard to Christian life, which being insupportable to a petty tyrant (*un tirannuzzo*) of the place, he came to see me, and almost in a threatening form desired me to have respect for certain ancient privileges and devilish customs (*et indiavolate consuetudini*) of his. Thereupon, following the holy precept of the Gospel, I departed, and outside the gate, *excussi pulverem de calciamentis*, praying God to provide for the inhabitants; and when scarcely two days distance from the place I heard that the people, being unable any longer to bear his tyranny, rose in a body against him, and that the tyrant having sought shelter in an oven he was found there, and they tore him quite to pieces (*ove fu fatto tutto in pezzi*); and thus are such evil-doers usually punished."

He next commenced speaking in praise of the most Christian King and of his forces, saying how much he was satisfied with the Duke de Guise, who told him he had sent your Serenity a letter and had been answered by you very courteously, and that he was also pleased with the offices I had performed with him. He said I must have heard that a promotion of cardinals was expected last Wednesday, but that he had chosen to delay it because he did not see how he could satisfy everybody, and above all himself; this dignity being such that the nominees must be prayed (*che bisogna pregar li homeni*), and we must go seeking them (to use his own term) with the rushlight (*la candeletta*), and not be requested [to confer the dignity ?].

He also communicated to me the return from Florence of Villa with the decision that the Bishop of Tortona will soon come hither to arrange matters* (*per maneggiar le cose*), adding, "We do everything possible to preserve him [the Duke] because he is an Italian, and we will give you account of the whole and of everything else;" on saying which there entered the antechamber the Cardinals Pisa and Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, and on their being announced to the Pope he said, "Let them wait a little and not deprive us of this consolation," repeating to me assurances of the love he bears your Serenity, of his wish to see you great, and charging me to render him dear to the most illustrious Signory, saying, "If you have anything to say, say it, as these kinsfolk of ours will wait." I replied, "Holy Father, for the present I have merely to return thanks for your great graciousness and for the trust reposed in the Signory, and pardon me if I have occasionally molested and importuned your Holiness."

* A matrimonial alliance between the children of the King of France and those of Cosmo, Duke of Florence. (See letter dated February 20.)

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"This," he said, "never was and never will be," and with this he dismissed me. On going out of the chamber Cardinal Caraffa embraced me very lovingly, and the Duke his brother, apparently not thinking it the moment for saying anything else about the present made to the Lady Duchess, pressed my hand with a very gladsome countenance.

I thank God for the light He gave me with regard to my delay in presenting myself to the Pope when first I heard of his exasperation, and on my having in these times avoided every opportunity of discouraging with anyone at this court, for at the audience now given me his Holiness did not show the slightest mark of resentment, having on the contrary received me as joyfully as ever he did, speaking so blandly that more could not be desired.

Rome, 12th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

833. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This last courier, Varisco Lovatello, presented to me the gold chain, together with a box covered with red leather in the oriental fashion (*alla azemina*), lined within with crimson and white velvet, and the silk cloths, in two girded parcels (*in dui ligazzi*), in good condition. I inspected the chain and found it to consist of 119 links, besides the circular ball (*la sfera*), full of amber and musk. I did not proceed to have it weighed, but the number of the links corresponding, there can be no doubt of its being of the weight as advised, namely, 13 marks, 2 ounces and 1 quarter, and 10 carats. I believe it to be the like with the silk cloths also, having found them well packed (*ben conditionati*). I chose first of all to ascertain how many women there were in the service of the Lady Duchess, and of what grade, and finding that the two first were the Signora Violante and Madama Drusia, which two, with the nurse, midwife, and other waiting gentlewomen are in number 17, and I not knowing what their condition and favour were with the Duchess, determined yesterday (the secretary, by reason of his indisposition, being unable to go, and it not seeming fit to me, for your Serenity's dignity, that I should go for such a purpose—*per simil effetto*), to send the coadjutor to present the chain to the Duchess in your Serenity's name, and simultaneously the silk cloths, with orders for them to be distributed amongst her attendants according to her will and pleasure. The Duchess thanked your Serenity, saying that she, her husband, and her children were bound on many accounts to wish for opportunities to serve you.

Rome, 13th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 13.
(2nd letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

834. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Order of St. Michael has been given to the Duke of Paliano and to Paulo Giordano Orsini, and I hear that the Duchess of Paliano, who is a most staunch Imperialist (*che la Duchessa di*

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Paliano affetionatissima alla parte Imperial), was in tears the whole of that day, it seeming to her that her husband was compelled to be on the French side (*di esser Francese*). It is certainly true that the Duke, whether from this or from other causes, has since then seemed demented, and it is said that his son the Marquis will go to France almost as a hostage; about which, having chosen to obtain particular information, I do not find anything authentic; and his attendants say the report prevails, but that they do not know the fact, though they do know that much costly apparel is being prepared, and some of it is embroidered with pearls for the Duke's personal wear, which might, however, also be for the Easter holidays.

Rome, 13th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 16.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

835. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, at 5 p.m. (23 *hore*), the promotion of 10 cardinals was published. *Many persons who came to my house subsequently say that it causes general dissatisfaction, especially to the Duke de Guise and to these French Lords.*

Rome, 16th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

836. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Juan de Luna having told his most Christian Majesty, on behalf of M. de Brissac, that it was necessary to send reinforcements into Piedmont, the King answered him angrily, "How can there be such great need of troops when, according to the accounts inspected by me, there are 28,000 paid soldiers (paghe) in Piedmont, besides more than 5,000 or 6,000 in the fortresses;" and he immediately gave orders for letters to be written to M. de Brissac to send the muster-roll (la rassegna) of all the troops there, but he is nevertheless sending thither (as mentioned by me) 12,000 infantry, including Switzers, French, and Germans.

It is said very publicly at the court, most especially by the Constable's dependents, that M. de Guise did not well comprehend what was for the advantage of his most Christian Majesty, as even had he halted in the Milanese he might have besieged Asti, Alessandria, and Villafranca, which are said to be scantily provided, Milan likewise being in the same condition, and that having accomplished all or part of these expeditions he might then more freely and with greater dignity have crossed and attended to the Pope's service. To this the adherents of M. de Guise rejoin that, his commission being limited, he had nothing to do but to cross, nor could he delay doing so on any account whatever.

Senlis, 17th March 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.

March 20.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

837. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The particulars heard by me concerning the last promotion of cardinals are as follows:—

On the morning of the 15th inst., when Consistory assembled, the Pope celebrated the mass of the Holy Spirit, and sent for Fra Michiel, the General of Aracœli,* and for the President,† as those whom the Holy Spirit had inspired him to call to the dignity of cardinals. Consistory being assembled, he said that amongst the cardinals there were many absent, and some, being employed in the service of other princes, had their thoughts turned to anything rather than towards the grandeur of this Holy See, as they ought to be; so that he was compelled to provide others, and that his Holiness, having to render account of this operation to the Lord God, for the discharge of his conscience had thought much about it, and having implored the light of the Holy Spirit he had determined on those whom he would propose (*era risoluto in quelli che proponeria*), concerning which he did not require either opinion or counsel from anyone. Thus did he propose the whole 10 (*tutti 10*), speaking of them all at great length, and in such a way as he knows how to do. Everybody commended his Holiness' proposal, and the Pope having spoken for a long while about the President, the brother of his Messer Paulo (*M. Paulo suo*), alluding to the ancient and faithful service rendered by both of them, certain cardinals rose and went to the Pope, requesting him to elect one and the other. The Pope said, "One is enough."

The length of time during which Consistory sat, namely, from 12 till 5 p.m. (*dalle 18 fino appresso le 23*), caused it to be suspected that some difficulty might have arisen, but the matter proceeded in the manner now written by me.

I have visited all their right reverend Lordships, congratulating the Marquis de Montebello, and Cardinal Caraffa, and Duke of Paliano on the promotion of their son and nephew.‡ This office was accepted by all the cardinals with every mark of respect towards your Serenity. As yet their titles are as follows:—

Cardinal of Naples, the right reverend Don Alfonso Caraffa, who is a youth of about 18 years old, and gives great hope of himself (*et da molta speranza di se*).

Cardinal Strozzi§ remains with his family name. I understand he is not in very good health, owing to arthritic pains, although very young, for his age does not exceed 36 years. His name is Lorenzo, and he is in France, it being said that he will be sent for to Rome.

The Cardinal of Nepi, Fra Michiel,|| will be styled Alessandrino,

* Clemente Dolera, born in the diocese of Genoa.

† Giambattista Consiglieri, a Roman, brother of "*Messer Paulo*," the Pope's most confidential familiar, as already mentioned in the course of this correspondence.

‡ Alfonso Caraffa, then in his 18th year. He is said to have been endowed with every virtue, and (shortly before the final disgrace of his father and uncles on the 1st of January 1559), on the 28th November 1558 he became the Pope's prime minister, as seen by his official seal, the inscription on which is recorded by Nores, p. 272, edition Firenze, 1847.

§ Lorenzo Strozzi.

|| Ghislieri. (*See Cardella*, vol. 4, p. 359.)

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from the name of his birthplace. He is a Dominican friar, well known to your Serenity, having long held office in the Inquisition. His age is about 55 years.

Cardinal Araceli* remains as yet with his title. He is a Genoese, but not born within the city. He is about 53 years old. He is considered a very wise man (*molto accorto*), and is greatly esteemed here, and such does he appear to me also. His name is Clemente.

The cardinal who was the Pope's vicar, and is Bishop of Ischia, is called Cardinal of Spoleto, from his birthplace, and he is an old servant of the Pope's. His name is Virgilio,† and his age about 68 years.

The Archbishop of Cosenza is called Cardinal de' Gadi, he being of the Gadi family, and nephew of the late Cardinal Gadi. He is of a Florentine family, but was born in Rome. He is a man of about 38 years of age, and went lately to your Serenity with Cardinal Caraffa. He is a Doctor of Laws, and took his degree at Padua, and he has rendered assiduous and important service to the aforesaid Cardinal Caraffa. His name is Taddeo. He has about 13,000 crowns revenue, 8,000 of which are in King Philip's territories.

The Cardinal Toulon, nuncio with your Serenity, is called Cardinal Triulzi. His qualities are so well known to your Serenity that I could tell you nothing new about them. His right reverend Lordship, being greatly esteemed at this court, everybody is therefore very much satisfied with this his new dignity.

The Cardinal Vitelloccio, for such is his name, of the Vitelli family, remains with the title of his house. He was *Chierico di Camera*, and held other offices, which may yield in all about 30,000 crowns. He was the son of the late Signor Alessandro Vitello. He is about 26 years old, and is considered to be of quick and ready intellect. He was at the university of Padua, and gained the favour of the Pope's nephews by such ways and means that the Duke of Paliano asked his promotion of his Holiness and obtained it.

The right reverend President, by name Giovanni Battista, who, with all his kinsfolk, has until now been called "*di casa Barona*," is styled Cardinal de' Consiglieri, in conformity with a certain ancient genealogy of his family. He is the senior of Messer Paulo by nine years,‡ and thus some 66 years old. He has had two wives, one of whom was a widow. He is an ancient servant of his Holiness, and one who spoke freely to him, without any restraint, about everything, the Pope joking with him very familiarly, so much so that even in giving him the coif (*la beretta*) he put it on his head several times and then pulled it off, and Consiglieri said to him, "Give it me if it please you" (*datemela se vi piace*).

Of the French Cardinal all I know is that he is about 75 years old, and keeper of the seal of the most Christian King. His name is

* Clemente Dolera. (See Cardella, vol 4, p. 363.)

† Virgilio Rosario. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 356.)

‡ This serves to correct Cardella (vol. 4, p. 368), who writes that Paul IV. had intended giving the red hat to Messer Paulo, implying that he was the elder brother, but that Messer Paulo persuaded him to confer it on Giovanni Battista. As the two brothers were both very virtuous men and much trusted by the Pope, these notices of them are interesting, nor are they recorded elsewhere. Cardella styles this Cardinal "*Presidente della camera*." Navagero does not say *where* he presided.

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Jean Bertrand, and the Pope is sending him the hat and coif both together (*ad un tratto*) by his Holiness' ex-chamberlain, M. de Mana (*sic*).

The French ministers here are dissatisfied with this promotion, as they proposed the Bishop Salviati, who was very earnestly recommended by the Queen [Catherine de' Medici], the Archbishop Orsini, brother of Giordano, the Bishop of Troyes, son of the Prince of Amalfi, and Almerigo San Severino, Bishop of Ada (*sic*, Agen?), in France, not one of whom has been made, and the French suspect that many of these now elected will not choose, and others will not have it in their power so far to bind themselves to the French crown as not to be influenced either by their ancient partialities or by those of their kinsfolk, or else by self-interest, their revenues being under the control of several princes. The only one of the new cardinals of whom his most Christian Majesty could avail himself is the Frenchman, and they say he is so old that were the popedom vacant the King could not make use of him in Italy.

Through the election of the Cardinal of Naples [Alfonso Caraffa] two places filled by him fell vacant; the one, that of sleeping in the Pope's chamber, being filled by Messer Alessandro, who assists his Holiness to say the office, and is very modest and affable; the other place of cup-bearer has been again conferred on Messer Biasio, who held it previously. It is not yet known whether the Cardinal of Spoleto will retain the vicarship (*il vicariato*) or whether it will be given to others.

The office of president of the "*Camera*" was purchased by Cardinal Consiglieri for six thousand crowns, and he demands something more for it.

Having met Marshal Strozzi in Cardinal Caraffa's chamber, I did not fail to congratulate him on his brother's promotion, for which he expressed himself very grateful, assuring me that all his kinsfolk would always be the Republic's most affectionate servants.

It is said that of these new Cardinals three were made at the suit of the three nephews; Don Alfonso, at the request of his father the Marquis of Montebello; Gadi, according to the demand of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa; Vitelli having been promoted out of regard for the Duke of Paliano. Strozzi's appointment was in acknowledgment of the exertions made by his brother the Marshal. The two friars, the president and the vicar, were made for the Pope's satisfaction; the Frenchman to satisfy in part his most Christian Majesty, and Toulon, the nuncio with your Serenity, from the opinion entertained of his ability, for the services rendered by him on that legation, and also because he is of a family well affected towards the affairs of France.

Rome, 20th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 20.
(2nd letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

838. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to the Pope yesterday to communicate to him the last advices from Adrianople. He made many inquiries of me about that city, asking how large it was, if it was near the sea, and if it had rivers, and I being sufficiently informed about those matters to

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answer him, he commenced discoursing about the Sultan's forces by land and sea, about his janissaries and his revenues, and then said, "These are in truth great forces, and our sins allowed them to multiply, as also the bad faith of those who failed you." After this he addressed me as follows: "Magnifico Ambassador, we will conceal nothing from you. Every day reveals to us more and more the plots of certain persons, thus showing the especial care had for us and our affairs by the Almighty, He causing us even from the depths of the sea, and through low-born persons, to know things of much importance. It was of no use for that individual to sink the letters; the sea disgorged them, and some fishermen delivered them to our dependents. They reveal other new facts, so that that Florentine Secretary has again been arrested and put in the Castle;* we hope to discover many plots which were laid against us in many quarters. Our Cardinal does not fail using diligence, and has been with him twice in the Castle for a long while; but we cannot give you particulars at present, not choosing to tell you anything that is not quite true, but we will let you know the result with that readiness with which we communicate all that happens to us, for we cannot fail to impart all our fortunes and thoughts (*tutte le nostre fortune et pensieri*) to the Signory, whom we have dearly loved ever since our earliest years; besides which we owe much for the many courtesies received from your magnificent city during the time that we remained with you. We have in the next place to add this important point of state policy (*questo importante rispetto di stato*), and of the preservation of these afflicted remains of Italy, which cannot be effected without a good understanding between the most illustrious Signory and this Holy See; and to tell you how we meant to bring it about, had not those Lords been so inflexible we knew that we two united, without calling others, would have been able to drive these enemies of God out of Italy and close the door against them; but as what remains—they having so great a part—not being tenable, we had recourse to these others; and you already see with what forces the Duke de Guise is come, being also aware of the amount of troops that have remained with Brissac; and, moreover, how in Flanders this good son of the Church the King of France attacks the common enemy; but we again say that we would fain have been able to do without them, and that the honour and increase of territory (*stato*) had fallen to the lot of Italian potentates. Neither for ourselves nor for this See do we wish for anything, either of the kingdom of Naples or of the duchy of Milan. We should wish all, or the greater part, to be yours. You should also bear in mind what an increase of repute your Republic obtained through compelling that heretic, by your forces and counsel, to make a Duke of Milan, who was subsequently dealt with and crippled in such a way and for such an end, as you know.† That investiture

* The seizure of this Florentine secretary, and the fact of his having thrown the letters into the sea, is recorded by Sir Edward Carne. see *Foreign Calendar*, Mary, March 6, 1557, p. 291.)

† The Pope is here alluding to the investiture of the Duchy of Milan, given by the Emperor Charles V. to Francesco Sforza at Bologna on the 23rd December 1529. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, p. 840, ed. Paris, 1770.)

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was perhaps as fine a feat as any performed in our times, and will be acknowledged as such by posterity, to your immortal praise.* We open our heart to you and talk as if speaking to ourselves, not indeed that we are dissatisfied with our good son the King of France, for we should be too ungrateful; we will neglect no opportunity for embracing and honouring him; and we believe that this stir made by Sultan Soliman was induced by him, for they are one and the same thing, and have a very good mutual understanding together. You see clearly in what way we speak to you, and if we say too much, attribute it to our excessive love."

I returned endless thanks for this confidential mode of addressing me, and as it seemed that he was about to repeat what has been said over and over again, to turn the conversation, I congratulated him on the election of his nephew, in such terms that replete with tenderness he embraced me, saying, "You have quite comforted us, and we wish you to know that he was put to reside with us very early, and we treated him so austere as not to allow him even to approach our presence chambers (*le nostre prime camere*), and we had intended to dismiss him, lest in this city and with so many opportunities for sinning he might contract bad habits. At length my Messer Paulo,† a man of such goodness and holy conduct, as known to you, educated him with one of his own nephews, initiating him in literature. It happened subsequently that that youth of ours whom we treated as a son, and who slept in our chamber and was so good a Greek and Latin scholar, and of such morality, left us, to our regret, so we were compelled to get another, and as this young man is our kinsman we chose to make use of him. We assure you that in waiting on us thus he gave so many proofs of prudence, gravity, and patience, performing also such menial offices as perhaps did not become him, that on this occasion we could not fail him, and we are confirmed in the opinion that to educate with severity those we hold dear is the greatest boon that can be conferred on them. We are glad that his election will be agreeable to the Signory, who may make use of him and of all our family like any of the most affectionate servants they have."

The Pope then added that in this number he had chosen to include Fra Michiel, because having published him at the time when your Serenity sent that honourable embassy, and then not having proceeded farther, for certain reasons of his own, the good friar did

* The Duke of Milan died on the 24th October 1535, and the Pope's words about his being "*acconcio et stropiato*" ("dealt with and crippled") bear rather a sinister interpretation; but a more direct charge against the Emperor's ministers may be read in a letter from Navagero, dated Rome, 30th November 1555, containing also a paragraph printed by me at p. 266 of the present volume, about an offer made to the Duke of Urbino on behalf of the King of England.

The omitted passage which precedes it runs thus :—

"Monitories have been seen, drawn up by the Pope's order, against Don Bernardo, the Duke of Amalfi, and the Spaniard Don Garcia Aras (*sic*), whereby they are summoned to Rome; the two first as authors, privy to a plot, and accomplices of it, for killing Cardinal Farnese; the third, Don Garcia, being accused of a project to poison the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa; this being divulged, some of the Imperial Cardinals here remonstrated with his Holiness, telling him that to cite Don Bernardo and the Duke of Amalfi was an open declaration of war, and that they could only make their appearance with an armed force; so his Holiness had their names cancelled, nor has he hitherto proceeded farther against Don Garcia."

† By name Barona, *alias* Consiglieri. (See letter of this date.)

1557.

not evince any resentment like a person rejected, but served the Holy Office of the Inquisition. That he had long pondered whether he ought to make that Frenchman [Jean Bertrand], but that partly to oblige the King and the Duke de Guise, who had asked for this one Frenchman, he promised it him; and that for the same reason, although he had intended that, being Cardinal, he was no longer to exercise the office of keeper of the seal, he had nevertheless been content that he should hold it, many cardinals having prayed him to do so, and he having ascertained that other cardinals, moreover, at divers periods have exercised similar offices. My audience having then lasted two hours I took leave of the Pope, who still detained me, again saying, "Let not this opportunity be lost, for within the last two hundred years there never has been a greater one for augmenting the territory of those Lords and their posterity, as also their glory; great things, as you know, are not accomplished without risk and danger, although in this present case there would be none at all. All the rest of Italy would follow you, and every one would seek your protection and favour. We shall proceed on our way like an honest man, and moreover leave others to think what they ought to do, nor shall we ever repent of not having told it them;" whereupon, it being said to him that the Cardinal of Naples and Consiglieri had been already more than an hour waiting for him outside, I took leave.

Rome, 20th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 20.
Deliberazioni
Senato,
Register.

839. MOTION made in the SENATE by the SAGES of the COUNCIL and the SAGES for the MAINLAND, for a letter to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

This morning the ambassador resident here from the Catholic King, after presenting us with letters of credence from his Majesty dated the 28th ultimo, spoke on his behalf, declaring his good will for peace, and his wish for us to perform some office in that matter. The ambassador also showed us a letter of the 4th instant from the Duke of Alva, informing him how his Majesty consented to put in execution (di metter in executione) all that Cardinal Caraffa proposed to his Excellency on the island of Hostia, adding that he had first sent Alvise dalla Marra, who was not allowed to go beyond Tivoli, and he recently sent a gentleman for this same purpose to Cardinal Caraffa.*

We therefore give you advice of the above, and with the Senate charge you to communicate it to Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, and if they so desire you will make this same communication to his Holiness.

Ayes, 130. Noes, 6. Neutral, 10.

[*Italian.*]

March 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

840. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It being supposed that in case the Duke of Florence does not make the agreement with France, it will be determined to wage war on

* alias Fiumicino (see p. 961).

1557.

him, the Constable sent yesterday for Domino Luca Maneli (sic), a Florentine gentleman now here, to negotiate the offers made to his most Christian Majesty by the Florentine outlaws (as written by me heretofore), and said to him that the Duke de Guise had written to his Majesty that at Rome the outlaws there* made certain offers to his Excellency, and that he wished to know in detail what Maneli in like manner had to say on the subject, he (as written by me) not having chosen to make his statement, being aware of the close negotiations on foot with Duke Cosmo. Maneli then told the Constable that, in the name of all the said refugees, he offered to find means whereby the most Christian King should have 400,000 crowns in ready money at his disposal, and on payment of very low interest, they, moreover, paying entirely at their own cost, for six months, 4,000 infantry, so that with this additional aid the most Christian King might make this attack on Florence, and give back to that republic its liberty, whereupon, when established, they offered to reimburse the King for the costs of the war with a million of gold, such time being allowed them as reasonable.

The Constable replied that these were the offers made to the Duke de Guise at Rome, and that the King was very glad to hear of their goodwill, which the Queen had not failed to lay before his Majesty on every occasion; and here the Constable expatiated very diffusely to prove to him under how great an obligation they were to the said Queen, from whom they must chiefly acknowledge whatever success they might hope for.† He then commenced narrating what the Florentine Republic had done in favour of this crown, of which his most Christian Majesty being mindful, the Constable said that they might expect and hope every benefit from him, but that nothing having been yet decided at Rome, the Constable would impart the resolution to Maneli as soon as it arrived. Montmorency then added that, for the advantage of the King and of the outlaws, it would be much better to shorten the period of six months during which the 4,000 infantry are to receive pay from them, and to add proportionally to the number of the troops with the money saved by shortening their term of service. Maneli rejoined that the King might rely on the same goodwill as demonstrated towards his predecessors by the Florentine Republic, and by so much the more as the benefit he was about to confer on them exceeded any other that they could expect from him; and that they in like manner acknowledged their eternal obligation to the Queen, who he knew had never

* In the summer of 1538 Duke Cosmo attacked the Florentine outlaws, amongst whom were Filippo Strozzi and his accomplices in the murder of Catherine de Medici's half-brother Lorenzo II., the predecessor of Duke Cosmo. Strozzi committed suicide in prison; several of his comrades were executed, the rest being pardoned; but the survivors did not renounce their ideas of establishing republican government in Florence, and of expelling Duke Cosmo, to effect which they found a powerful ally in the Queen of France, as seen by these ciphered paragraphs.

† Catherine de Medici was 37 or 38 years old when she first attempted to dethrone Duke Cosmo, and I believe it to be her first stroke in politics, though I am not aware that her biographers allude to it. The writer of this despatch, in his "Report of France," says, "The Queen likewise shows herself as averse to Duke Cosmo as possible, and as he is not of her branch she gives all favour to the outlaws, evincing a wish for her country to recover its liberty." (See Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, serie I., vol. II., p. 467. Firenze, 1840.)

1557.

ceased affording all favour on every occasion to procure the liberty of her country.

It is heard here that the King of England has arrived at Calais, and although (according to report) with the intention of going over to England to obtain from his Queen both military and pecuniary assistance, as she at least promised lately to Don Ruy Gomez, (almeno come la promise già al Signor Rui Gomez,) his Majesty is nevertheless not yet known to have crossed the Channel. This stay of his at Calais causes it to be suspected here that he may intend to make himself master of that fortress, which, being of such importance, cannot but render his most Christian Majesty very suspiciously vigilant, though as yet no stir is heard of here on account of this passage. Should anything be determined, either about sending fresh troops to Scotland or reinforcements into Picardy, I will give your Serenity notice of it; but owing to the great scarcity of victuals on both sides of these frontiers the means for forming the body of an army there are very small. This scarcity increases daily, not merely in those parts but throughout the kingdom, and as no relief can be expected from the next harvest until August, as usual in these western regions, and no assistance being procurable from neighbouring countries, as they are all in similar straits, there is therefore great apprehension for the future.

Senlis, 23rd March 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

March 26.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

841. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to-day to Cardinal Caraffa, who, when giving me account of his negotiations at Venice, said, "I have spoken with the King of France; I speak with the Pope; never did I speak to them with greater respect than I spoke in the presence of so many grave men, who merely listen without ever replying; one of them alone answering briefly, and whatever earnest rejoinder be made them they remain silent, and take time to ponder every word. They give nothing in writing, though they indeed repeat their words, and cause them to be read as often as desired." I replied that this had been the invariable custom of the Republic ever since its foundation, and he continued, "It astounded me, and facts show that it is the best system of any. *I offered Ravenna and Cervia as earnest money and security for the promises to be made to his Serenity, though I was told in secret that Ravenna and Cervia were acceptable to the State, but that they wished to have free possession of them.*"

When I told him that by the despatch received yesterday from Venice I was desired to communicate to him what had been negotiated about the peace on the 20th instant by the ambassador of the King of England, apologizing also for not having been to him lately, he replied that on several accounts no one's visits pleased him more than mine, and that therefore he regretted beyond measure the report current at Venice that for many days I had not had audience of the Pope; much to his surprise, knowing in what account his

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Holiness held your Serenity, and (to use his own words) myself personally; so he chose to speak on the subject to the Pope, who in like manner expressed surprise, adding, "These persons who are charged to perform similar offices do not understand the Pope; they sometimes see that he has need of repose, and of their own accord say what is not the fact; others, perhaps, assigning false motives and exaggerating them; but it may suffice to say that, as the Signory's representative, and such a representative, you could not be more dear to all of us than you are." I replied that this goodwill towards the Signory on the part of the Pope and the whole of his family has always been clearly known to me, I having also written about the personal favours shown me, beyond all my deserts, nor could I fail to write that for some days my audience had been deferred, which, although I well knew that it could only proceed from his Holiness' very serious occupations, yet was it irksome to me, owing to the nature of the present times, when many persons take occasion to murmur about everything." "Yes," said the Cardinal, "and I have proved to certain persons who wished for more from the Signory than could be obtained that more could not be done, *nor could anything be more sage than the reply given me at Venice, that they were anxious for peace, that they had always sought it, and that they would never be reproached for having introduced the war.*"

I then commenced telling him that the ambassador of the King of England [Francisco de Vargas] resident with your Serenity had said much about the goodwill of his King towards the peace, expressing a desire for your Serenity to mediate, and that the Duke of Alva had received orders to execute what was proposed by the Cardinal in the Pope's name on the island of Hostia. In reply the Cardinal thanked your Serenity for this communication, but said that the reverse was indicated by the seizure of church property (*intertenendo li bene delle preti*) in the kingdom of Naples, sacerdotal objects being also confiscated for this war, and that proclamations had been issued in Spain for all Spanish subjects to leave Rome; that they have now lost the fortress of Hostia and Vicovaro, abandoning Nettuno, the papal forces being in possession of the citadel, and also of Rocca di Papa; but that, what mattered more, *the Pope had a French army, which was come to assist him at great cost and peril, so that as a man of honour he would never do anything unless they also approved of it.*

The Cardinal then said to me, "I will go to the Pope this evening, though God knows at what hour, for he is now asleep, and then the Duke de Guise, my brother, and Strozzi are to confer with his Holiness about certain necessary arrangements for the said Duke's departure. I will let his Holiness know what you have told me, and then to-morrow you might say a word to him about it, *because, when not informed, he answers according to some of his preconceived ideas (perchè quando non è informato risponde secondo alcuni soi primi pensieri).*" I said I would follow his advice, and on leaving him, I met the Duke of Paliano in the hall and repeated the communication made to his brother. He replied that if he ever wished for peace it was at present, *as he knows how things are going;*

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that the enemy's forces are greater than was believed, and the others weaker ; that he could only comfort himself with the recollection of the wish always had by him for peace, and which he entertained at present, judging it to be the sole remedy for so many evils, though he knew not what to do but to pray God to interpose His hand, as he perceived very many difficulties.

Rome, 26th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

842. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Guise has written to the King that the Bishop of Cortona on arriving at Rome did not give any proof that Duke Cosmo was proceeding amply (procedesse largamente) to make the agreement, but sought rather to gain time, so as better to adjust his affairs, but the Pope remained firm in his opinion that means would be found to make terms with him, implying that the Duke de Guise should be content to make a mere verbal agreement whereby to bind the Duke of Florence. To this the Duke de Guise does not think fit by any means to consent, and therefore wrote this despatch that his most Christian Majesty may strongly urge the Pope by letter to be content that without further delay the attack on Florence be commenced, lest the dignity of the League continue to be compromised by verbiage and loss of time, the army having already halted for many days. The Duke de Guise hoped that by writing thus the King would obtain the Pope's consent, when his Holiness knew that the Neapolitan expedition could not be made otherwise than most disadvantageously unless this impediment of Florence were removed. The Cardinal of Pisa is of opinion that the aforesaid agreement (with the Duke of Florence) should at any rate take place, as it would be safer than to attempt the undertaking by force of arms. The King takes it greatly amiss that the Pope should have sent M. Vila to Florence, as although he went in his Holiness' name, yet being in his Majesty's service, the King considers the proceeding undignified.† The Duke de Guise wishes very much to undertake this expedition against Tuscany, and writes greatly in favour of these outlaws, commending the terms proposed by them.*

The non-creation of cardinals has surprised everybody, and it is said very openly that the Pope would not make any until this expedition was settled, not choosing to make a promotion at the suit of his most Christian Majesty, and that subsequently the things desired by his Holiness should not take place. In conclusion, although it is not stated distinctly that there is disagreement between the Pope and the Duke de Guise, it nevertheless seems to me that certain persons have some suspicion of it.

Senlis, 26th March 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Scipione Rebiba (see Cardella, vol. 4, p. 147).

† The mission of this Vila, *alias* Villa, is mentioned by Sir Edward Carne, who says he was a Ferrarese, but does not allude to his being in the service of Henry II. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, March 6, 1557, p. 291.)

1557.

March 27.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.**843.** BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 22nd there was public congregation of cardinals, with the intimation that it was to have the force of Consistory, in which the marriage of M. de Montmorency was discussed, some few theologians giving their votes, and their tendency seemed to be that one neither could nor ought to dispense (*et pareo che inclinassero, che non si potesse nè si dovesse dispensar*), because "*quos Deus conjunxit homo non separet*;" and the Sacristan was of opinion that this conjunction, if effected by mere consent, was not entirely sacramental, but in a certain way (*ma a certo modo*) according to the doctrine of Durando. The Pope got into a rage, and said that this was an heretical opinion, and that the Sacristan was to hold his tongue, and that on that day an individual of whom he otherwise thought well had gained little, having on the contrary lost much, and that he not only deserved reproof but punishment, and public punishment, having sinned in public; whereupon congregation was dismissed, the decision of the difficulty being referred to another congregation.

Throughout that day M. de Montmorency visited several cardinals, showing them many examples of similar cases; and on hearing of the irresolution of congregation, and that the Pope seemed disinclined to grant the dispensation, he departed next morning (the 23rd) very dissatisfied, it being said that, before going to France, he will perhaps visit Loretto and Venice, not choosing to lose this opportunity of seeing it. The Duke de Guise is also disquieted by this business, *fearing that the Constable may suspect him of having thwarted the dispensation by reason of the rivalry between them.*

The French complain of not having had either the number of cardinals they required, nor such as were promised them, and they also find fault because the Constable's son, who is to become the King's son-in-law, has not obtained what was granted heretofore to many, including some under this identical Pope, who replies that he is never ied by examples, and that if he has done it he was deceived.

If the French complain, everybody else marvels at the Pope's having given such scanty satisfaction in the promotion of cardinals and in this case of Montmorency, both to the King and to the Constable, after having based all his hopes and designs on his most Christian Majesty's forces; so it is inferred that beneath this surface (*che quì sotto*) many secrets may be concealed.

On the 24th, in Consistory, certain churches in England were conferred (*furono date*), the Queen being named, and not King Philip; and touching this matter the ambassador has been already informed by the Pope that he will never give him audience as ambassador from the King, but from the Queen (*che non l'udiria mai come amb' del Re, ma della Regina*).

Cardinal Pole's agent now here has told these Lords, by order of his master, that when King Philip crosses over to England* he will

* When this despatch was written, the King had already arrived in England, as seen by the following entry in Machyn's Diary (p. 129, Camden Society edition):—"The xx day of Marche (1557) the Kyng cam from be-yond the see, and cam at v to Grenwyche."

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mediate for the peace, should such be the will of his Holiness ; but although this announcement was made by him four days ago, he cannot yet obtain a reply to it. The Duke de Guise is still here, and I am assured that this delay and irresolution proceed from the lack of such supplies and preparations as are necessary, it being now known that these present forces are not well adapted to any undertaking of great importance, and that either here, or wherever he may be, he will await orders from the King and reinforcements of Switzers and other troops, and money ; everybody admitting that this prolonged absence of the commander-in-chief from his army gives it license to commit many excesses, according to report, besides such as are usual. Messer Paulo, "Maestro di Camera," has broken a blood-vessel in the breast, and his life is in such danger that everybody says he can last but a few days, or perhaps hours. This has greatly disquieted the Pope, and to-day, when I asked for audience through Messer Paulo's deputy, Messer Biasio, he sent me word that, unless my business was important, he recommended me to defer it, as the Pope is disquieted by what has befallen one of his most ancient and faithful servants, and having gone to bed at 3h. 30m. a.m. this morning, and risen at 10.30 a.m., he will sleep a long while (after dinner?).

Rome, 27th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.
(2nd letter.)

844. The SAME to the SAME.

A variety of indications show that the members of the League are dissatisfied with each other, the Pope because he expected a more considerable French force, and greater promptitude on the part of the Duke of Ferrara ; the French because the money and other necessary supplies here are less than had been promised them, and from not having obtained such and so many cardinals as they hoped for, as also by reason of the indecision about M. de Montmorency's marriage ; the Duke of Ferrara, because, in addition to what he is bound to do, they constantly demand more from him, and he perceives that, should the war continue, the entire ruin will fall upon him. I also hear on good authority that by sending this army into Italy, and by means of other military preparations, the King of France has a mind, perhaps, to stipulate an honourable and advantageous peace, in like manner as heretofore he made the five years' truce. Of this the Pope and these Lords have been warned, and it was also suggested to them through the same channel that an honourable and advantageous peace might be treated between his Holiness and King Philip, to which not only do the nephews assent, but also the Pope himself, notwithstanding his constant demonstrations, he knowing that his own forces are insufficient for the execution of his designs ; that the assistance of the others (de' altri) proves less than he hoped and opined ; that the forces of the enemy also exceed his expectations ; that the French, moreover, might not be averse to this adjustment, provided they also found themselves included in it ; and that the

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Pope would thus render himself the universal father, and increase his repute with everybody.

Rome, 27th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.

Senato Mar.
Vol. 33, p. 117,
&c.

845. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sage of the Council Hironimo Zane, and by the Sage for the Mainland Domenego Bollani, Knight, respecting ANTONIO MAZZA, Secretary of GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Our secretary Antonio Mazza, who was with our noble Giovanni Michiel, late ambassador to the most serene Queen of England, having remained in Flanders by reason of illness, and he from poverty not having wherewithal to maintain himself and return home:

Put to the ballot—That 150 Venetian ducats in gold be given to his agents to pay his expenses during the period of his absence, and on the journey hither.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 6. Neutral, 1.

1557, 1st April, in the College.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 29.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

846. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In consequence of the communications made to me by Cardinal Caraffa, I thought it well to give him an opportunity to tell me something further, so yesterday, before he went into chapel, I thanked him for the message received, which was an additional proof of his care for your Serenity's interests, and in reply he said, "I spoke with the Pope, and communicated to him what you told me about the office performed by King Philip's ambassador. His Holiness is desirous of hearing it from you, and after chapel I will ascertain at what hour you can come." He then commenced discussing various topics with me, from which I elicited two things of importance; the one, that with great difficulty had he brought the army so far, because (to use his own words) "those who had charge to counsel and decide about the undertakings were inclined to make the army halt in the Milanese, and then attack such places as were pronounced to be the weakest. This I opposed, demonstrating to them that with such forces, without artillery, as they had none, and without ammunition (*munition*), of which they were destitute, they had no foundation for any enterprise, the enemy in those parts being very well provided, and better able to reinforce themselves. I then asked the Duke de Guise what commission he had from the King; he answered me, 'To do what the Pope commanded;' whereupon I showed him a brief from his Holiness charging me to make the army march, saying to the Duke, 'Obey your commission by doing what the Pope orders.' Thus was it resolved to proceed, and, to say the truth, had I not been there this army would not have stirred."

The other thing he said to me was, that many persons had performed evil offices against him, complaining especially of the

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ingratitude of the Duke di Somma ; saying in conclusion, "Such is the way of the world, and the more good one does to certain persons the worse may be expected from them." As he said this, it being announced that the Pope was ready to come down, we departed and joined the procession, with a good number of cardinals and an infinity of prelates. His Holiness blessed the rose as usual in the ordinary place of meeting, and the mass being ended, having divested himself of his sacerdotal habits, Cardinal Caraffa inquired at what hour he would see me, and then, having approached me, said, "Come late." I therefore went at 6h. 30m. p.m., just as his Holiness awoke, and after the usual compliments he said, "We cannot but regret to have heard through many channels that the very stones of Venice complain of your not having been able to obtain audience of us. You can bear most excellent witness that we have always given you precedence over everybody. We have been much occupied lately, and perhaps your request was not made known to us, and these enemies of God neglect no opportunity for putting us out of favour and for exaggerating matters, so that by these and other means we suspect them of intending to render the Republic hostile to us."

I answered that, as his Holiness said, I could bear very good witness to the many extraordinary favours bestowed by him on me, and that having, as in duty bound, imparted them to you, much to your satisfaction, I could not deny having written several times that I did not obtain the audience requested by me ; and that, although I knew it was postponed from press of business, yet I was somewhat troubled from the effect it might produce in these present times, when the slightest accident induces various reports ; and that as to seeking to render your Serenity hostile to this Holy See, and to himself personally, his Holiness might remain perfectly at ease, as I, knowing the intention of my country, promised him a perpetual and constant reverence, and in no case alienation from him to his detriment (*per la ruina sua*).

"Such" (said he, embracing me), "is my belief, for this would be too great an error that, whilst we have such a will and mind towards those most illustrious lords as no former Pope ever bore them, and as will never be borne them by any future one, they and Italy, in acknowledgment, could possibly be hostile to us." I again confirmed what I had said as above, and saw that he was quite soothed. He then repeated what has been so often written about bringing back Italy to her harmony (*redur Italia nella sua armonia*) ; that certain opportunities ought not to be lost ; that the undertaking would not be difficult ; that a King of Naples, without any other state, and a Duke of Milan, in like manner, would be Italians ; that then the Signory of Venice would be powerful and tremendous, and this Holy See have greater authority. After this discourse by his Holiness I told him about the coming into the College of the ambassador of the King of England ; of King Philip's inclination towards the peace ; of the desire evinced by him for your Serenity again to perform some office to that effect ; of the order given to the Duke of Alva to execute what had been proposed by Cardinal Caraffa on the island ; of the reasons for having first sent Alvise da l'Amar, who was not allowed to pass Tivoli, and who was

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followed by another gentleman; telling him, in short, that to let him know what came to your knowledge, your Serenity had charged me to acquaint him with what is aforesaid.

He replied, "We return many thanks to the Signory for letting us know everything, as we also on our part do by you. These Imperialists (*questi*) never renounce their craftiness, and when most intent on deceiving, which is peculiar to them, they say they wish for peace, and proclaim this universally; but, to bare our mind to you, if they wish for a true peace, and not an insidious one, we will not fail, and you can bear witness whether we have always said that we wish for a good peace; and God knows that we would they should repent them of their errors and remain quiet, without molesting the rest of the world; and although many persons have chosen to interfere to this effect, we shall show that no medium will be more agreeable to us, and more efficacious for its attainment, than that of the Signory. Our good son the King of France, having done so much for us, we must never do anything unless it has his consent, as it would be too great ingratitude on our part; even were our life in danger, and that no other remedy than this could be found, we would not do it." I said I would write his reply to your Serenity, repeating to him his own words, and he rejoined, "Precisely so," adding, "We shall not indeed abstain from proceeding, and by our processes proclaiming them and all their adherents heretics, depriving them of all their fiefs, which have lapsed."

I then said, "Holy Father, these are things always feasible, and when once done cannot be undone. Your Holiness, having this good and pious mind, which you always have had, and retain, can delay, in order not to give additional cause for scandal and resentment." He replied, "On this account we deferred, but now even the Spaniards themselves reprove us."

Having then been nearly two hours with his Holiness, when about to take leave I requested him to concede the ordinary "pardons," and he replied, "Very willingly, both this and whatever else is in our power;" and having sent for Monsignor Berengo, he desired him to defer all other business, making use, moreover, of all his subordinates, and to despatch these "indulgences," as requested by your Serenity. When I was in the act of departure his Holiness said to me, "Do not any longer send to ask for audience; come whenever you like, as, let our occupations be whatever they may, we will leave everything else to be with you. If we can we will stay a long while with you, as is our wish, and even if not, we shall see and salute you."

Rome, 29th March 1557.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. **847.** MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

DOGE and SENATE.

I crossed the sea on the 28th ultimo in an armed Queen's ship, being recommended thus to do by the governors of Calais, on account of the corsairs, and although when we set sail the weather was fair, it in mid-channel turned so foul, that we had to tack for many hours,

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the wind still freshening, and the tide being against us, so that with great difficulty we made the harbour, and had the vessel been smaller or the crew less expert, we should either have been lost, or driven over to Denmark or other regions yet more remote.

Yesterday I arrived here, where the King and Queen are, but not the right reverend Legate, who has departed to pass the holy days* at his archbishopric, where I think of visiting him, and remaining for that short period in such truly holy company, most especially because the Court likewise will remove hence during those days.

Since I came to England, I have heard that during my absence from the Court advice has been received of the aids (*aiuti*) decreed by the kingdom of Naples for its defence, and of the security in which it now is, and which is attributed in great part to the counsel of Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], who, besides persuading the inhabitants to defend themselves, reformed certain orders given for the safety of the territory which would have caused its ruin;† so the King and the Lords of the Council here are beyond measure rejoiced, *the minds of all of them being changed from fear to hope; and whereas from dread of being unable to defend the kingdom of Naples, they were almost without counsel, as written by me from Brussels,‡ so have they now become so bold, that they think of attacking the enemy with their forces in those parts. Such is the ease with which opinions here (questi animi) change, not merely from the variety of accidents, but also from the nature of those who rule, which to say the truth is not very firm.*

While on this subject I will state briefly the qualities of those in command, as told me by others, and from my own experience, so that this court being all new, you may form your sage opinion.

The King makes great profession of goodness, and shows himself vastly inclined towards clemency; he wishes rather to enjoy his States than to increase them, and if he wages war, he does so against his will, [*wishing to avoid?*]§ the troubles, cost, toil, and perils which in the councils (*nei consigli*) and in decisions ruled entirely and throughout by of greatest authority is Ru[y Gomez?] who is neither by nature nor who does all he can to please the King, and never thinks of anything else, and is therefore with reason (*ragionevolment*) so dearly beloved by his Majesty.

This personage, knowing the King's wish for peace, persuaded the truce with France (*persuase la tregua con Franza*), the restitution of Piacenza, and the compensation of Piombino; he counselled the King to make friends for himself amongst the Italians by conferring benefits on all those who are of some account, not only potentates, but even private individuals such as Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], by punishing those who had accused him; giving con-

* In the year 1557, Easter Day was on the 18th April. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, Table Chronologique, p. 32. Ed. 1770.)

† In Gosellini's *Life of Don Ferrante Gonzaga* (p. 418 to p. 426), his proceedings at Naples at this period, and his departure thence, are minutely detailed.

‡ Letters not found.

§ Cipher illegible.

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siderable donatives to Giovanni Francesco Sanseverino and others, gaining the Sicilians by the recall of Don Juan de Vega, and employing various means elsewhere to the like effect. He counselled a demonstration of favour towards the Colonnas, and subsequently when, owing to the management of others, the matter had proceeded further than he intended, he exerted himself to the utmost to adjust things with the Pope, whose obstinacy (*durezza*) baffled him. He alone proposed treating with Monsignor Fantucci, and gaining Cardinal Caraffa; and I am assured that he would have made peace had he not been compelled to depart [from the court of King Philip] and to come hither on his way to Spain,* to provide money. This Lord, therefore, is very favourable to peace, but in time of war can be of no use, either for counsel, or by assisting, as he has never seen a battle-field.

The Count de Feria and Don Antonio de Toledo, although well disposed (*di bona mente*), have nevertheless no experience of government. Don Juan Manrique has indeed a little more practice, from having passed some years in Italy, but even on him no great reliance (*fondamento*) can be placed.

The Bishop of Arras has ability, experience, and judgment, but he is detested, either because he is not a Spaniard like the others, or perhaps from envy, and therefore, seeing himself without authority, he avoids attending the cabinet councils (*consulti*), as much as he can.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza is a very astute man and has more experience than the others, but attends entirely to his own interests. He would wish to have the whole government to himself, and therefore desires war, and although by profession he has always been a seaman, he hopes, owing to the scarcity of military commanders (*di subietti*), to have charge of affairs by land likewise. For this reason he endeavoured to go into the Milanese, and hence arose his disagreement with the Duke of Alva, and although they were subsequently reconciled he never omits any opportunity for lowering him, with the hope that, the Duke being removed, he shall obtain entire command, as all the Spaniards give way to him; and to preserve his naval supremacy, he has placed the fleet under the command of his son, a young man; and of all the other captains of the galleys not one is more than twenty years of age; and thus does Mendoza prepare the way to attain his object.

The King, therefore, at this critical period, is counselled, partly by men of no experience, and partly by those who seek solely their own advantage; nor are the agents in the performance of their office deemed much better than the councillors, for the Duke of Alva has shown that he knows nothing of war; the Marquis of Pescara is a youth; and the Duke of Savoy is in no repute (*non ha credito*),

* In the month of February 1557. (See Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 90, entry 6.)
 "The Queen to William Tirrell.—Directions to send all merchant ships bound for Spain to Plymouth, to go from thence under conduct of Signor Ruy Gomez to that coast."

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and whenever I chanced to converse with his Excellency, he seemed to me very cold, and to be living merely on hope.

Westminster, 31st March 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

March ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
p. 167 tergo.
p. 168 recto.

848. CARDINAL POLE to the CATHOLIC KING.

Although he has not failed to perform such various offices with his Majesty and with the Pope, as becoming the post held by him, and his bounden duty to both one and the other of them, for their service and for the common weal; perceiving nevertheless that matters have proceeded so far, and are in such a state that they may perhaps proceed still further, to the utter ruin and peril of Christendom, he thinks it his duty to offer his personal service for any toil which may be deemed expedient. Requests the King to hear from the messenger what he will tell him in his name, and is certain he will accept his assistance (*opera*) in this matter, as it is offered with (*con*) (for?) the King's service and true honour. Prays God to guide his Majesty in this and all his other proceedings, that he may always do what is most in conformity with the divine will, and the welfare and quiet of Christendom.

[Canterbury, March 1557 ?].*

[*Italian.*]

March ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
p. 221 (*recto*) to
p. 222 (*verso*).
No date of time
or place in MS.
Printed in
Vol. V., pp 22-
25, Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,
without any
date.

849. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Most Holy Father,—

If to all good men this war between your Holiness and King Philip is most painful, by reason of the very many and grievous perils and damages with which it seems to threaten not one realm alone, but the entire Christian commonwealth, to me of necessity it is the more bitter, the more I find myself bound by all the ties of devotion and reverence to your Holiness, and by those of love to the King, with whom, had I no other cause for the bond of obligation than this, it would suffice, viz., that at the commencement of his reign, with singular piety, he showed himself so able an assistant to the most serene Queen his consort in bringing back these people to the unity of the Church, and to the obedience of that Holy See, to which for some years previously they had shown themselves most averse. On this account your Holiness likewise showed that you held him most dear to you, until Satan sowed as tares this seed of dissension, which if now uprooted, I cannot doubt he will be much dearer to your Holiness, whose piety towards the Church, and the King's obedience towards yourself and

* In the original manuscript (p. 167), on which the first part of this dateless document is written, there are two letters from *Canterbury*, the one addressed to Cardinal Farnese, the other to the Duke of Parma, without any date of *time*, but evidently written after the arrival in England of King Philip, which took place on the 20th March 1557. The Ambassador Surian arrived in London on the 1st of April, when Pole was already at Canterbury, so I suppose this letter to have been written in March, and its bearer perhaps conveyed to the King the Cardinal's apology for not going to him in person; to which apology allusion was made by Henry II., as will be seen by the second paragraph on page 1015.

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the said Church, will thus become much more conspicuous (*multo illustrior sit futura, dubitare non possum*). The mode, however, of uprooting was taught by Him who willed to teach us the mode of praying; for when Satan demanded the sons of the Church, in order to sift them like wheat, He resisted all his efforts, with His sole remedy of prayer (*idem enim et Sathane expetenti filios Ecclesie tanquam triticum cribrare, unicum remedium, suam opposuit orationem*); and He commanded us to use the same remedy of praying in His name, promising that it would profit us, notwithstanding the devices of Satan; piety being purged by afflictions as oft-sifted grain by the sieve, thus rendering more manifest the glory of God. This is what we hope will now come to pass, and with this hope do we comfort ourselves, and by so much the more easily do we trust that thus will it be, inasmuch as we perceive that those things which estranged (*disiunxerunt*) the minds of your Holiness and of the King, arose not from yourselves, but from your ministers; and these [misunderstandings?] seem to me so recent, that they cannot have taken deep root in your minds in so short a time.

The circumstances whereby your Holiness and the King were united emanated from yourselves, and originated simultaneously with yourselves. These ties of reciprocal good-will and love are many and weighty, both public and private, human and divine, it being manifest that your Holiness was born and educated under the ancient dynasty and empire of King Philip's ancestors;* that there your most noble house and family are illustrious by their wealth and honours; that under King Philip's great grandfather† you passed part of your youth; then you were among the number of King Philip's father's councillors, and also exercised the pontifical legation at his Court. These things your Holiness heretofore was wont often to allude to willingly; and immediately at the commencement of your Pontificate you commissioned me to repeat these self-same words of yours when congratulating the King on your accession (*et initio statim pontificatus mihi, ut de ejus adeptione Regi ipsius verbis gratulans, eadem dicere in mandatis dedit*). Then again, what above all should conjoin him for ever publicly to your Holiness by a tie divine, was indeed that noble embassy,‡ which the most serene King, together with the most serene Queen his consort, sent at the commencement of your Holiness' Pontificate, not only to perform an ordinary office of congratulation with you, like the rest of the princes, but also to offer to you, as first fruits, the obedience of this kingdom, to re-establish which they both of them used their application, their endeavours, and their authority.

The causes therefore of union between your Holiness and this King being such and so weighty (*graves*), how could they by any possibility be dissolved? No one can, in fact, imagine their dissolu-

* Gianpietro Caraffa was born at Capriglia near Beneventum, in the year 1476, in the reign of Ferdinand, King of Naples, the natural son and successor of Alfonso I., King of Aragon. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 160.)

† In 1506, when Ferdinand the Catholic took possession of Naples, Pope Julius II. accredited Gianpietro Caraffa as nuncio to him. (See Cardella as above.)

‡ For a printed account of this embassy see Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. I., page 62 to page 100. (Edition, London, 1778.)

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tion, without the counsel and aid of the eternal enemy of all good men, who acted thus in order at this present time to disturb the peace of the Church by means of those from whom its quiet and tranquillity might have been anticipated, more than from any other reigning Pope or King since many centuries. But the prayers (*oratio*) of Christ and of His servants for the Church, against the snares of Satan, will not permit him (as we hope) to advance farther; but that your Holiness' piety towards Christ and the Church, and the King's obedience towards your Holiness and the said Church, will be yet more illustrated; as it will come to pass, should your Holiness now choose to follow and imitate the steps which were taken for the reconciliation of this kingdom to the Church and this Holy See, partly by the late Pontiffs, with your Holiness' advice and counsel, and partly by your Holiness in person, when those who had withdrawn from their obedience to that Holy See were first, with a paternal voice, frequently called; and then, they being converted by that voice, all past injuries were forgiven, and the Church, foregoing (*remittens*) many of her rights, moved towards them, and at length, they having returned to her bosom, she received them benignly.

If, therefore, your Holiness thought fit to act so graciously and openly by those who during so many years waged war not only on the Pope, but on the Popedom itself, and on this Holy See, endeavouring by all means to extinguish and cancel her authority, your Holiness acting thus to gain them, what possible motive can there be at present for exhorting and entreating your Holiness to follow this paternal and divine counsel then exemplified by you, by reconciling yourself to this King, who, if now called upon to confess that he has grievously offended you, is, nevertheless, the identical one who a short while previously never thought of offending the Pontificate and this Holy See, but laboured greatly with all application, care, and authority with those who had not only contemned your Holiness' authority, but had since a long while vehemently combated it, for the purpose of restoring to you your honour and recalling the rebels to your obedience. Of this so pious a labour, by means of his own legates and of those of the most serene Queen his consort, he laid the fruit at your Holiness' feet. Whatever gave offence subsequently was more from suspicion and from the impulse of others than from the King's wish to offend (*magis quam eius voluntate offensum est*).

But if the King himself shall listen to the voice of the Vicar of Christ, the voice of that Father whom we must all obey for Christ's sake, that Father who invites him to peace, I am quite convinced that he will not only not neglect it, but will prostrate himself at your Holiness' feet, and refuse nothing that a Father can demand from his son under whatever title (*ullo iure postulare possit*). Here, however, someone will perhaps say that it is a thing contrary to your Holiness' decorum, if, you being the first who was hostilely attacked (*si ipsa que prior armis est petita*), and the first to be injured (*prior læsa*), should be the first to ask peace, and that this cannot be done without creating a suspicion of feeble defensive forces, which might render the enemy more insolent,

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instead of inclining the King towards the peace. But your Holiness having your forces now ready, and shortly expecting auxiliaries, who will render you no less powerful than your adversaries,* this fact acquits you before the world of any kind of indignity and weakness (*omnem speciem tollit indignitatis, atque imbecillitatis*), although at whatever time your Holiness may do so, you thus declaring the power of the spirit of Christ (*quocunque tempore a Sanctitate vestra id fiat, cum magna* (sic) *spiritus Christi in ea potentiam declaraturus sit*), it will not only not diminish your dignity and authority, but indeed greatly augment and increase it in the minds of men, especially of good men, for whom above all your Holiness ought to have regard. Nor should anything be deemed unworthy of the servant that the Master did, and that he does for the Master's honour. It is manifest that whilst the Lord and King of all, whose Vicegerent your Holiness is on earth, was with us in the flesh, He did this thing, and still continues doing it daily, by means of the Spirit and of His ministers, that He may call His enemies spontaneously and invite them to peace, and benignly offer them His pardon for their offences and His grace; whose example being followed by your Holiness, your apparent loss of dignity (*quod de dignitate sua remittere videbitur*) will thus most especially amplify and illustrate it, to the glory of God and for the salvation of many.

On the other hand, your Holiness knows but too well in how many ways in these times this war will be calamitous for the entire Christian Church and commonwealth, for whatever cause it may have been commenced, and whatever its result; and from your paternal charity given you by God the Son, I trust you will not refuse to invite to peace him (*hunc*) who was drawn into discord with you by the malice of Satan, your Holiness thus teaching simultaneously by your own example the way to the true peace with God and man. This will come to pass if, to provide for the common weal and quiet, you deign to dispense with a small particle (*aliquantulum*) of your dignity and supremacy for the sake of raising the Son to greater glory, and rendering more illustrious—to the honour of God—both your own dignity and his. By this course, the Popes of old (*veteres illi Pontifices maximi*) raised this Holy See and the Apostolic dignity from their very lowly state to such a grade of honour in the eyes of all men, that, at present, there is none on earth more sublime. From such a singular and truly magnanimous deed on the part of your Holiness, it may also be hoped, not only that, all strife being removed, the peace between your Holiness and this King will be easily established, but also that your Holiness may obtain greater fruit than hitherto by procuring and thoroughly confirming peace and concord between this King [Philip] and the most Christian King to the well-being (*salutem*) of the entire Christian commonwealth.

* "Et auxilia brevi expectet, quæ illam nihilo adversarijs inferiorem potentia reddant." This passage, which, by alluding to the descent into Italy of the Duke de Guise (who arrived at Rome on Shrove Tuesday 1557, but did not lay siege to Civitella until the middle of April), gives a clue to the probable date of this letter, is omitted in the printed version, vol. 5, pp. 24-25.

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To say the truth, since many years peace between the Christian powers has been impeded by a certain infirmity and lack of spirit (*infirmitas quædam et angustia spiritus*), owing to which they dared not sacrifice so much of their own private advantage and dignity as was required for the common weal and to promote the honour of God; and by so much the less did they dare to do so as they had no leader, nor any recent example for entering into this road, although it is a very glorious one. Who now could be more worthy than your Holiness to offer himself as the leader in this "*sacra via*?"—you, who, when of inferior grade, despised honour and riches, thus showing yourself most worthy of the Popedom; it being indeed moreover to be hoped that by your Holiness' example, you will call and lead into this "sacred and glorious way," these most obedient sons, who, needing nothing but an example and a leader, and continuing their obedience to the Church, will take this road, to the honour of God, as also to the advantage and welfare of the Christian republic. Who, then, knows the intention of the Lord (*sensum Domini*)? Who knows whether Divine Providence permitted that between such a King and Pope so perilous and fatal a war should arise, that both one and the other (*uterque*) might cede something of their right (*quod de suo jure*) for the public quiet and benefit?

In the meanwhile let the example be given by him who holds the place of Father. Should this take place, I see Satan hurled from his triumphal car; I see the bruised head of the serpent who since many centuries never gloried more in anything than he now glories in this discord between your Holiness and this King; nor for one wont to glory in malice was there ever assuredly greater matter for glorification. This, then, is the boast of him who at the time when the seed of the public peace was sowed by the truce made between these most potent princes, which seed your Holiness had commenced cultivating that it might fructify, by his malice did so much, that not only did this seed of peace not germinate, but the war broke out more grievously between the mediator (*interpretem*) and conciliator himself and that King, whom all extol as being born for peace, by reason of the clemency of his nature and his gentleness (*mansuetudinem*); and this, the boast of Satan, and his triumph, your Holiness will utterly deprive him of, and very greatly (*maxime*) illustrate the glory of Christ by turning this seed of public discord into concord; this King and all the other Christian Princes thus uniting together with your Holiness yourself, as it will easily come to pass if your Holiness prevail upon the most Christian King, who shows himself ready and prepared to defend you, that not renouncing but converting his warlike succour into pacific assistance, he secure your Holiness' dignity, whereby he will most especially secure his own, and that of the entire Christian Republic, which from intestine war cannot but suffer many indignities and grievances such as it has suffered for many years; nor from so many and such great evils can it ever be freed, unless by peace, and by the concord established between these two Kings, so that he who makes the most concession (*qui plus de jure suo remiserit*) will gain the greatest

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amount of true honour and reward with God and man; the which palm, verily the most noble of any, God, as I hope, reserved for your Holiness, to whom He has now divinely offered very great opportunities for effecting this peace, which I, with all pious men, will not cease imploring from the Divine goodness, which long preserve in safety your Holiness to us and to the universal Church!

[Canterbury, March 1557?].

[*Latin.*]

April 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

850. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Mana (sic) has at length arrived from Rome, having been long detained on the road by a disaster which befell him when riding post-wise, and when it was least expected brings news of the promotion of ten Cardinals, which, they not having been of the quality so earnestly sought by his most Christian Majesty, has not proved very agreeable, and it is said very publicly that his Holiness has not had regard for the safety (sicurtà) of his family, nor yet for the satisfaction of his friends, as amongst the said Cardinals there are individuals of such quality that neither can Cardinal Caraffa avail himself of them, nor still less can the King of France rely firmly on their services. What the King and Queen regret more than anything else is that in this number there has not been comprised the Bishop Salviati, whose election was requested by their Majesties with infinite earnestness. M. de Mana (sic) brought the cap (berretta) for the keeper of the seals, and the brief authorising him to exercise that office, with the title of Cardinal de Sens.*

The negotiation with Florence is as it were dissolved (è come dissolta) the Duke de Guise having written to the King that letters brought by the secretary Concino, who is detained at Naples (sic), having been intercepted, it became manifest that the Duke of Florence continued treating, to gain time rather than to come to any conclusion; so the Pope would no longer give ear to the words of the Bishop of Cortona, being quite convinced that the persuasions addressed to him in favour of the agreement were to prevent the advance of the army. The Duke de Guise adds that notwithstanding this the Pope remained very constant in his first opinion that the army should go and attack the kingdom of Naples, dwelling on the following argument, that so many troops were already mustered there that were the expedition (impresa) against Florence made, Rome and the whole of the Papal States would again remain the prey of the Duke of Alva. The Duke de Guise on the other hand, demonstrated to his Holiness that the expedition (impresa) against the kingdom of Naples was very difficult, both owing to the impediments which will be raised by the Duke of Florence, as also because the season is now so near hot weather that although the army might lay waste the country, it could not encamp to besiege any fortress

* This anticipation was verified by the execution at Rome on the night of the 5th March 1561, of Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano.



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without running the same risks as M. de Lautrec* of yore ; but that by now making the attack on Florence, with the assistance of the outlaws (forusciti), and by preventing the Duke from getting in the harvest, it will be very easy ; that towards the autumn there would be greater facilities for invading the kingdom of Naples ; and that in the meanwhile he promised the Pope to give him such an amount of troops as his Holiness should know to be sufficient for his safety.

The Pope, however, who does not care to gratify any other wish than the one entertained by him for many years, for the Neapolitan expedition, knowing himself to be an old man, will not consent to the army's entering on any other undertaking, which might last longer than his own life, and he is therefore so firm in his opinion that the Duke de Guise writes that he fears nothing else but an authoritative letter from the King could make him change it ; so he, Guise, was anxiously expecting the ones mentioned in my last, which were sent express. Concerning that despatch I hear, moreover, that the King wrote to M. de Guise that should he know it to be detrimental for his Majesty's affairs to invade "the kingdom" at present, he is to adhere to his own opinion, and to tell the Pope constantly (constantemente) that in like manner as his Majesty did not fail with his forces to free the Pope and the Papal States from the oppression of the Duke of Alva, so at present, he being released from the promise given by him to his Holiness, it is reasonable that his troops should not engage in an undertaking which it is known must have a detrimental and slightly honourable result. Nor will I omit to add that although after receipt of the first letters from the Duke de Guise, little satisfaction was evinced at the Pope's proceedings, it has now become much less, and the chief personages of the Court say freely (largamente) that his Holiness is intent solely on his own satisfaction, regardless of his most Christian Majesty's advantage or of anything else. In like manner since the Duke of Ferrara disarmed so suddenly, without giving any other sign of himself except to seek his own benefit, his Excellency also is spoken of contemptuously, but not however distrustfully, as they call him a base-minded merchant rather than a prince ; and those same persons who until now favoured his interests and placed him in his present position say they are convinced that his most Christian Majesty will never be able to avail himself of him in any matter of importance, his Excellency's mind being fixed entirely on self-interest. I mention these facts that your Serenity may know in how short a time dissatisfaction has arisen amongst the members of this "Holy League" (questa santa Lega).

The Ambassador from England has performed an office with his Majesty complaining of much damage done to the English at sea and even in the Thames by French men-of-war (*navi Francesi armate*), praying his Majesty to make due provision, in reply to which the King made an ample verbal demonstration of good will ; but the ambassador told me that he greatly fears lest even now, as at the commencement of the first war, they may do great mischief, which would perhaps be less patiently tolerated than it was then.

* M. de Lautrec died under Naples on the 15th August 1528. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.)

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The King has promised his third daughter Margaret, now four years old, to the King of Navarre's eldest son, who is her senior by two years.*

The Constable Montmorency has been very ill of catarrh (*catarro*—gout?) and in a few days has become so aged as to lose his usual robust aspect, and walks leaning on a stick.

La Ferté Milon, 2nd April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

851. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Concino, the Secretary of the Duke of Florence, who, as written by me,† had been imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, is released. The old Florentine ambassador and the Bishop of Cortona, after receiving letters from his Excellency, remonstrated very vehemently with Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, demonstrating to them that he was one of the chief Italian potentates, and to be held in greater account than certain persons believed; that in the late affairs he had shown himself the good son of this See and of his Holiness, and would continue to do so, provided cause were not given him to change, from necessity, as at present by the imprisonment of his secretary after his first release,‡ and by treating him so ill as was reported. Having performed these offices, on being introduced to the Pope (who had always denied them audience), they again obtained the release of the Secretary Concino. They remained for three hours with his Holiness, who told them that being an Italian potentate he would always take care to preserve in their States the Princes found by him in Italy, for which reason he had never chosen to assent to the Tuscan expedition as proposed and counselled by others, because from the Duke's disposition (*animo*) he thought he could promise himself all that a father could expect from a beloved and obedient son; and that therefore, to prove his usual good will, he would again order the release of Concino, who had been treated with all due respect, but that in state affairs it is very often necessary to enlighten and secure one's self. On being set at liberty this Concino told many persons in public that he could not have been better treated than he was by Cardinal Caraffa and the others, and that the Duke his Lord and he himself have cause to be very much obliged to him; *but to those with whom he could speak unreservedly*

* This son, born at the Château of Pau on the 13th December 1553, became Henry the 4th of France in 1589. On the 18th August 1572, in Paris, he married Margaret of Anjou, from whom he was divorced in 1595, and on the 10th December 1600 he married Marie de' Medici, daughter of Francesco de' Medici, Duke of Florence. (See "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," pp. 585, 581, and 583.)

† See before, dates 6th and 20th March.

‡ In an omitted paragraph in a letter of Navagero's, dated 13th March, it is stated that after Concino's arrest at Civitavecchia, at the beginning of the month, he was sent to Rome and imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, where he remained until the night of the 13th, when he was released; but, on the 19th March, the Pope told Navagero that he had again imprisoned him. In a letter dated 20th March, the Ambassador wrote, that after having thrown his letters into the sea, Concino announced their contents to the Duke of Alva; his despatch was intercepted by a Jew, from whom it passed to the papal government, and Navagero now gives the sequel of the story.

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he said that they kept him tied for two hours on the cord (sulla corda), and did the worst they could to him.

This fresh release of Concino has greatly surprised everybody, and one of two things is supposed, either that what had been said about the design on Ancona and other things proved untrue, or else that the Pope being intent on the Neapolitan expedition wishes by this release to soothe the Duke of Florence, and to make almost sure of him on this occasion; and it is also possible that this effect may have been produced by both these causes. The Bishop of Cortona, although he has hurt his foot and requires rest, departed this morning for Florence with Concino, and was heard to utter the following words, "*My master is phlegmatic, and avails himself of circumstances.*"

The Duke de Guise is still here, the cause of this long delay being the small supply of money and ammunition he has obtained here, as having received from the most Christian King the two-thirds due from France down to the end of May, and I know not how much more, he asked the Pope for his portion, amounting to one-third and upwards, and also for the ammunition promised him. With regard to the money he was answered that there were 100 thousand crowns reserved in the Castle for this purpose, and that provision would be made for the rest, as there was no want of many means for doing so; and respecting ammunition, that as much powder and ball as possible should be removed from the Castle, which has been done during the last three days.

The last letters from France addressed by the Constable to M. de Guise, begin to let him know (incominciano, per quanto intendo da bonissimo loco, a farli intender) that should it be impossible to attend exclusively to the affairs of Italy, it will be from the necessity for keeping an eye on the frontiers of Picardy, and other places which King Philip apparently intends to attack. I also hear that the Pope has asked of M. de Guise, the towns held by the most Christian King in Tuscany, as promised to his Holiness according to the treaty. He replied that he knew this to be amongst the articles, but had no orders from the King on the subject; and as his Majesty was to give the Pope, as compensation, a part of what may be obtained in the kingdom of Naples, he does not know how the King will act in this matter until he sees the result of the expedition, but that he will write to him.

On the 30th ultimo an express arrived from Ascoli with news that the troops there mutiny, being creditors for more than three rates of pay. It was proposed here to give the soldiers one rate of pay, but the Marquis of Montebello says it is too little, and that they have continued serving hitherto on his word. In short, there is a great scarcity of money here, and I am told that their chief hope rests on Sauli, who some time ago was confined in Castle St. Angelo as farmer of the alum mines, and offers an additional ten thousand crowns for the monopoly, and proposes freeing himself from the payment by disbursing one hundred thousand crowns in ready money, for which he is to receive ten per cent. interest. This comes from the mouth of the "*Fiscale*," who said he hoped to raise the "bonus" to fifteen thousand crowns, and thus obtain 150 thousand crowns immediately, but as yet nothing is settled. Som

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persons say that the hundred thousand crowns, said to be in the Castle, were indeed seen to be carried thither publicly and with great ceremony, but no one knows how many they were, nor whether they were subsequently removed in secret.

When Messer Paulo's [Consiglieri] life was despaired of by everybody, (many symptoms indicating that his existence was limited to hours and not to days), his recovery commenced through a medicine administered by a tavern keeper, who gave him a cuttlefish (*una seppa*),* in some very strong red wine, having said certain words over it; and then on a piece of foul flannel (*una lana sucida*) he spread two whites of eggs and applied it to his back, opposite his chest, the result being that it is now hoped he will live, much to the Pope's satisfaction; and his brother, Cardinal Consigliero, when laughing with the Pope as usual, said, "Your Holiness will now not take it amiss if I, in like manner, associate with tavern-keepers, seeing that they also can bring the dead to life."

The niece of Giulian Cesarino, with a fortune exceeding eighty thousand crowns, has at length married Matteo Stendardo, the Pope's nephew, heretofore his carver, and now a captain of horse. The ceremony was performed in the palace of the aforesaid Signor Giulian, although he is still confined in the Castle.

Rome, 3rd April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

852. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my arrival I have been waiting for audience of the Queen, who, having a cold and toothache, does not appear in public; nor have I conferred with the King, because his Majesty is still suffering from the indisposition of which he was not quite cured when he left Brussels, but he is much better, and Count de Feria tells me that in two days I shall be able to see him.

On the other side of the Channel, the King was met by many of the chief personages of England, and between Dover and Greenwich, all the rest paid their respects to him; and at each place through which he passed he found two gentlemen sent by the Queen, one of whom after doing the like, returned immediately to give her the news of it at Greenwich, where she was expecting the King, so she thus heard of his Majesty at every stage.

Their Majesties remained two days at Greenwich, very much to their satisfaction, and then came hither to Westminster processionally through London, and on his passage the King pardoned certain prisoners in the Tower, and released them, in order yet more to ingratiate himself with the kingdom† (*per gratificarsi più il regno*); but from what I hear, the Spaniards are so greatly hated, that neither his Majesty nor the Queen are well looked on by the multitude (*dall' universale*).

It is true that all the members of the Council are devoted to his

* Sepa, seppia, called by Linnæus "*sæpia officinalis*."

† In Machyn's Diary (p. 129), it is stated that the procession recorded by Surian took place on the 23rd March 1557, but the diarist makes no mention of the release of the prisoners from the Tower.

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Majesty, owing to the great rewards they have had from him, for when last here he spent and gave a considerable quantity of money, and distributed vast revenues (*grossissime intrate*), in Spain and Flanders, to propitiate the leading people here; and he found by experience that what my father used to say of this kingdom was perfectly true (*verissimo*), that all, from first to last are venal, and do anything for money.* The Count de Feria told me that the King has taken (*preso*) these *grandees* (*questi grandi*) in such a way (in *tal modo*), that he can do what he will with them and the realm, and that it is in his Majesty's power (in *mano di sua M^{tà}*) to make the country wage war against France, when and in what manner he chooses; but not being of opinion thus to do, as it would create too great a stir, and as it is more advantageous for his Majesty to draw money thence (*il cavarne danari*), which will enable him to direct his affairs better, he will therefore have money. The King also intends to secure the Channel by means of a fleet, so that the French may be prevented from attacking Flanders in that direction; and Vannes, late ambassador to your Serenity, told me that the fleets of Spain and England will unite, which will be a way for the King, little by little, to make himself master both of that and of the realm. Count de Feria, who apparently converses with me very confidentially, told me as a great secret, that the King, having found that the Queen has twenty-six councillors, the grade being an honorary one conferred by her on all those from whom she had anything to hope or fear, in order to keep them under obligation to her, has reduced them to only six of his most trusty adherents, without, however, displacing the others, so as not to provoke them, but has so arranged with the Queen and those six, that matters of importance are to be treated by them alone, less momentous business being discussed by all together.†

Thus do the affairs of the Government proceed at present, and those of the Religion are regulated with less severity, both to avoid farther exasperation of the public mind, as also because, although few are perhaps really Catholics at heart (*internamente*), everybody, nevertheless, in appearance, makes a show of living religiously, so there is no cause for proceeding against them.

The King will remain here until the return of Don Ruy Gomez from Spain, where he is said to have induced some two thousand gentlemen of those realms to come and serve the King at their own cost in this war, about which great things are being said; and a memorandum is in circulation with the names and qualities (*qualità*) of the commanders, and the amount of infantry, cavalry, artillery, and ammunition, and of the whole preparation (*apparec-*

* Antonio Surian, the father of Michiel Surian, was Ambassador in England from the 27th July 1519 until the 9th September 1523. (See Venetian Calendars, vols. 2 and 3—Indexes.)

The words translated from Signor Pasini's decipher, are:—"et provò esser verissimo quello che solea dir mio padre di questo Regno, che tutti, dal primo all' ultimo, sono venali, et per danari fanno ogni cosa."

† A similar reduction of the Council was made in August 1555, shortly before King Philip left England, the fact being mentioned in the present volume (p. 178), by the Ambassador Michiel, who also alludes to it in his Report; so the news given by Feria to Surian seems stale.

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chio), which is expected to be prodigious (*grandissimo*); but I delay writing about it until able to do so more authentically, after witnessing the fact, towards the month of June, as until then the thing is impossible from want of victuals, of which there is very great scarcity in Flanders, and but little less in England.

It is also affirmed that Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] and Castaldo will be here shortly, and some persons say Don Antonio Doria likewise, they having to take a very important part in this enterprise, although it is not yet known how these personages will agree with the Duke of Savoy, as each of them will choose to be commander-in-chief, and although, as the King is going in person, there will be no dispute between them about grade, the title of general being dispensed with, the variety of their opinions will nevertheless render it difficult for them to agree together; but in due time your Serenity shall be advised of everything.

There is now here an ambassador from the Muscovites, who demands a loan of ammunition and artillery, his lord being at war, and subsequently another ambassador arrived from the King of Sweden, to prevent the grant of this demand, protesting that it would cause a rupture between his King and this Crown; but these London merchants greatly favour the Muscovite, because they expect through his medium to enrich themselves, by commencing a trade in those parts (*con mettersi a traficar in quelle bande*), he having announced good intentions to them, and they do him so much honour, that greater could not be done to the greatest sovereign; but their Majesties here have not yet formed any decision.*

Westminster, 3rd April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

853. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and Senate.

To-day I had audience of the King, and after congratulating myself on his auspicious journey, I communicated to him the advices from Constantinople, and then informed him that your Serenity charged me to request his Majesty to reconsider the letter he had addressed to the Viceroy of Sicily about indemnity for the damage done by the Messina Galliot in the waters of Zante; assigning the reasons for the recall of the words enjoining the Viceroy to inform himself about the fact, and to make restitution on finding that the property had been seized unjustly. To this effect I presented the King with a memorial, which he merely took, saying he would consider, and give me the reply.

On quitting his Majesty's chamber I found the Count de Feria, who was waiting for me, and having told him what passed between the King and me, and that I had presented a certain memorial, and wished it to be despatched before the King's departure, he promised to remind him of it, and then said I was to ask of his Majesty whatever I wanted, as I should obtain everything, even were it not quite

* According to Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, the English "Russian Company" was established 1554. In Machyn's Diary, date 25th and 31st March, and 19th April 1557, this Ambassador is styled Duke of Muskovea.

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just. I replied that I should never ask anything but what was fair and reasonable; and he rejoined very lovingly that I might ask for whatever I wished, as his Majesty was much obliged to your Sublimity (*molto obbligato alla Sublimità vostra*). In the course of conversation he added that when at Venice the Duke of Ferrara having said that he was your Serenity's good son, and that he was therefore come to give account of all his actions, he received for answer that good sons hold in account the good advice given them by their parents, which anecdote was narrated, he told me, to Monsignor de Priuli yesterday, by the Marquis de Sarria; and although I do not comprehend how this can be true, I nevertheless see that it circulates publicly, and that it confirms these Lords in hope and in great trust of your Serenity.

Westminster, 5th April 1557.

P.S.—Detained until the 6th April.

I have this day had audience of the Queen, who answered very kindly (*con parole molto amorevoli*), showing herself ready to maintain the friendship with the Republic as her forefathers had done, both from her own will, and on account of the King her husband, who is graciously disposed towards your Sublimity.

[*Italian.*]

April 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

854. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Nothing having been heard from M. de Guise since my last of the 2nd, everybody is astonished, the cause being attributed to his inability to settle what he wished with the Pope. I hear that his Excellency wrote to the King that amongst all his ministers in Italy he did not find any one of sounder and firmer judgment than Cardinal Tournon, who by many arguments dissuaded him from the Neapolitan expedition until he had first of all found means to make sure of the Duke of Florence, which by so much the more determined the King to write to his Excellency, as already mentioned by me.

I am also told on good authority that the Pope did not give it to be understood that he intended making this promotion of cardinals until the day before he effected it, and when in the evening he made the announcement to Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, the Cardinal prayed his Holiness to speak first of all with the Duke de Guise, but the Pope replied that he was tired and unable to speak to him, which made the Duke angry, and before he could be appeased Cardinal Sermoneta had to go several times with messages from one side and the other; but nevertheless, after the election, his Excellency chose to dissemble, and made such show of satisfaction as is known to your Serenity. His most Christian Majesty, when talking with the Nuncio here about this promotion, said to him, in adroit language (demonstrating, however, resentment), that he could not but marvel at the Pope's having made so extravagant an election, as he, the King, had proposed to him so numerous a list of personages, all of whom, on every account, should have been preferred to those elected, and in particular he complained that, having so earnestly requested the nomination of

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Bishop Salviati, he should have been omitted, notwithstanding the positive promise made to his Majesty and to the Queen, who also remonstrated subsequently in plainer terms with the Nuncio, telling him that she had letters from Cardinal Caraffa, who in the Pope's name had promised it her assuredly. I may add that of the persons on the King's list, in number upwards of 30, the only two elected are Strozzi and the Bishop of Toulon. The King also complained to the Nuncio that the Pope had largely promised him to advance (*di far la promotione*) the marriage of M. de Montmorency,* and did not do so; on which promise the Constable relying had commenced making preparation for the future espousals; as it was reported that the absolution had been made; but as the French theologians have come to the conclusion that the promise of marriage is dissolved, both parties having consented to the dissolution, his most Christian Majesty chose M. de Montmorency to come to France, and would give him his daughter for wife, it seeming to him that he can do so fairly.† The Constable likewise spoke on this subject to the Nuncio, complaining grievously that the promises he had in writing were now contested (*messe in difficultà*) at the moment when he was expecting his son here with the absolution, but as the Pope persisted in not consenting to it, his most Christian Majesty would not fail to find fitting means.

The Duke de Guise also wrote lately to the King about the bad treatment received by the army in the territory of the Duke of Ferrara, and the scanty provision made, and the great scarcity of victuals and everything else, with other words but little to the honour of the said Duke. M. de Guise likewise complained because, had his Excellency accommodated him with certain artillery at the time when he was asked for it, there would have been a good opportunity for attempting an important undertaking, which was lost by his delay; and in truth from every quarter less satisfactory accounts of his Excellency are received daily, so that his apparent object being to look solely to his own gain and profit, it is improbable that on any occasion not immediately connected with them the King of France can avail himself of his service.

King Philip's troops made a brisk incursion on these frontiers, advancing to the neighbourhood of St. Quentin, where they made considerable booty and took prisoner a very rich merchant of the place, who, when the most Christian King has been in those parts, generally received him into his house, and they sacked all his property (*tutta la sua robba*).

A despatch arrived yesterday from M. de Brissac with news of the affair of the Marquis of Pescara,‡ and his Excellency writes that, having heard how in consequence of it great dissension had arisen amongst King Philip's forces, he determined to join M. de Termes

* See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index, name "Montmorency, François de."

† The marriage took place on the 4th May 1557. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 303.)

‡ *Del caso del Marchese di Pescara.* In Foreign Calendar, Mary, date April 27, p. 298, it appears that Giacomo Soranzo then told Dr. Wotton that he "believed the report of the Cardinal of Trent's nephew having been slain by the Marquis of Pescara is incorrect, he Soranzo having received letters from Mantua which make no mention of it."

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and push forward, in order not to lose the opportunity, but despaired of doing anything of importance unless his most Christian Majesty sent him reinforcements.

La Ferté Milon, 7th April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

855. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At length, on the 5th, at 11 a.m., M. de Guise departed, and on the 4th I went to his Excellency to pay the usual compliments. He told me he had remained here much longer than he expected, and than he ought to have done, *because he had to do with men who never made war before*; that he had found the Pope very well disposed, but that the ministers made many impediments; that his protracted stay here *made him ashamed of showing himself*, but that he should at any rate depart on the morrow, and would have done so on that day had not the Pope given him to understand that he wished to be with him in private before his departure; that he would go first to Ancona, and then to the army, to do what the interests of the war might require, referring himself for the rest to the will of the Lord God. On the evening of the 4th he supped with the Pope and the two cardinal-nephews, the Duke of Paliano, the Marquis his son, and the Marquis of Montebello, and after supper the Pope, Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Paliano, and M. de Guise withdrew, and remained a long while together, and from what was told me by a person who was in the antechamber, many loud words were heard at the commencement, but at the end Guise and the nephews came forth very joyfully (*molto allegro*). It is said the Pope gave him a pointed diamond* worth 3,000 crowns. *It is reported here that he went away dissatisfied with everything except the words and promises given him, though some persons assure me that he took away with him 60,000 crowns which were in the Castle; and what I myself know is that money is very scarce, and that all the soldiers complain of not being paid.*

Yesterday Consistory sat, when, although the Pope was expected to deprive King Philip of the kingdom of Naples, and to give the investiture of it to the second son of the most Christian King, yet what occurred was not to that extent, but nevertheless a commencement, and almost a pledge that it may take place. His Holiness said that until now he had delayed proceeding farther, and put off recourse to the assistance and forces of others, still thinking that the enemies of God would repent them of their errors and perform penance, but that, when expecting this, he found them more impious than ever, choosing to avail themselves of the church property for this present war, King Philip having issued proclamations for all his subjects to quit Rome, so that the Pope was compelled to

* "*Un diamante in punta*," probably in a ring. In the list of Mrs. Holland's jewels, A.D. 1546, one was described thus: "A ring with a pointed diamond, which was sent her as a token from Mrs. Mary Shelton, as she said." (See Nott's "Works of Surrey and Wyatt," Appendix vol. 1, p. cxvii.)

1557.

order all his ecclesiastical ministers, ambassadors, nuncios, collectors, sub-collectors, and all his other agents of every description to return to Rome, and to deprive Cardinal Pole in particular of the power of Legate, that he should no longer interfere in any matter whatever in that kingdom as minister of this See* (*et particolarmente tor la potestà di Legato al R^{mo} Polo, il qual come ministro di questa sede non habbia più ad impedirsi in cosa alcuna in quel Regno*); and although to many members of that Sacred College this seemed a matter of such great importance as it is, not one of them, however, dared to speak, because his Holiness proposed this matter as a settled thing, and that it was not to be debated (*et che non si havesse da consigliar*). The Pope then conferred certain churches; the archbishopric of Naples on his nephew the newly-elected cardinal; an abbacy in France, vacant by the death of the Cardinal de Bourbon, and which has an annual revenue of 30,000 francs, on the Cardinal of Lorraine, brother of the Duke de Guise; and the bishopric of Venaissin† on an "abate" of the Caraffa family.

Messer Paulo [Consiglieri], whose hope of life and fear of death have of late been equally balanced, is now in such a state that of the one there is great fear, and of the other but little hope.

Camillo Orsini has refused a pension of 4,000 crowns, saying that he came to Rome to defend his country, and that as the cost of his living there did not much exceed his expenses at La Mentana he did not consider himself entitled to any provision, not having any grade, and not having been employed out of Rome.

Rome, 10th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

856. The SAME to the SAME.

To-day the Pope said to me, "The affairs of the world are in such a state as must be well known to your Magnificence; we have tolerated much, and by delaying to make use of these French forces and assistance we indeed expected that Philip, repenting him of his errors, would acknowledge the vicar of Christ; *tantum abest* from his having done so that he has published edicts recalling all his subjects here in Rome, and committing many other impious and sacrilegious acts, so that yesterday in consistory we in like manner were compelled to revoke all our ministers in his realms, even our Legate Cardinal Pole, so that though he chooses to persecute (*incru-delir contra*) our subjects he may not have it in his power to boast of persecuting (*incru-delir contra*) public functionaries representing this Holy See. God knows, and you (to whom from time to time we have disclosed the course of events) are witness, that we were dragged into this war by the hair of our head and against our will. They

* In Foreign Calendar, Mary (p. 292), there is a letter from Sir Edward Carne of the same date as Navagero's, giving account of the Consistory, and of the revocation of Cardinal Pole, and adding, that the Cardinals told him "they neither knew the cause of it, nor could help it."

† Venaissin (the county of), ceded by Philip the bold Duke of Burgundy to Pope Gregory XI., and restored to France in 1791. (See Malte-Brun, vol. 2, Italian translation, Venezia, 1833.)

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came even to the gates of Rome, occupying one of our most important places, which is Hostia, by reason of the commodities brought from the sea and from elsewhere, and conveyed hither by the Tiber.

“ We have nevertheless always had our hopes fixed on God, being quite sure that He would not abandon His cause, nor did He, for He raised up that good son the King of France, with such forces as appear not only in these parts but also in Piedmont and Picardy ; although the armies of Italy alone might have liberated this province, and on a mere sign from my most illustrious Signory (*della mia illustrissima Signoria*) incredible ardour and promptitude would have been witnessed. For the rest, the King is a good son, and perhaps the best man in France ; *we have now and then given him some cause for resentment* (resentimento) *in order to try him* (il che è stato quasi spetie di tentatione), *and we assure you that he submitted to everything, and, more obedient than ever, commended what we have done.*

“ The Duke de Guise, as you know, has departed, and we are well satisfied with him, as he likewise conformed to our pleasure. Our nephew the Duke of Paliano will soon depart to unite our forces with the French army, and we have endeavoured to effect a good understanding between these two commanders ; and although he is captain of the Church and our nephew, we have chosen him to acknowledge the Duke de Guise as captain of the League ; and we also told Guise to pray the Duke to be with him on his expedition ; he knows the country and almost all the people, and all know him, and he has many friends of his own and of the family, and we think matters will proceed according to our wish, and harmoniously ; nor will there be any other object in view except the common weal. We shall wait to see what God will do, with the firm hope that He will grant us this contentment to see Italy liberated (*liberata*), we commending and being satisfied with what the Signory has done, and with their prudence and constancy. Supposing the opportunity not yet to have arrived, we shall persevere in the same discretion (*modestia*) as evinced by us hitherto, and not ask anything farther at present, waiting until the game is won (*a gioco vinto*), when, without any danger, securely, felicitously, and with increase of territory, the Signory, who has so great a share in Italy, may be able to do what we know for certain is their intention some day, viz., to release this province from servitude. We have spoken with you in the form invariably used by us, and we repeat that we shall await what God may please to do with those forces now at our disposal, and which as aforesaid we have hitherto restrained to our own detriment, not only from the waste of money but also of repute, and to the great devastation of our places, as after all soldiers are soldiers and the respect had by them is but moderate ; it having still been our hope that these enemies of God, through their repentance, would have given us the opportunity to have mercy on them ; but as they seek anything but this, we also are compelled to do as we are doing.”

Rome, 10th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.

April 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

857. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

No decision has been made hitherto about the assistance (*aiuti*) to be given by this kingdom to the King; many things are said, and I know that much is written on the subject to Italy; but for some days I anticipate difficulty in hearing anything certain, as the Court will pass the holidays at Greenwich and then go to Hampton Court, in neither of which places can I attend, as there is no other lodging but the palace royal.

Peace with the Pope is spoken of very openly, and according to the advices from Italy it seems that his Holiness is not so inexorable as hitherto, and that the negotiation was initiated by him (*sia nato da Lei*). I nevertheless do not know who treated this affair, nor any other particular, though I do know that hope of peace exists here, and that it has been increased by this election of Cardinals, amongst whom the King of England (*questo Rè*) has some partisans, whilst the most Christian King has not so much part in it as was expected. My attempts to ascertain from some of the chief personages here the truth of this have been vain, and when speaking about the war, they merely name the King of France as their enemy, without saying anything about the Pope, and this I have remarked for a long while. Several persons, however, tell me that the matter is in course of negotiation, and that the Queen may send an envoy to Rome for this purpose, (*et che potria esser, che questa Regina mandarà un homo suo a Roma per questo effetto*) in which case I hope to hear of it.

Some French corsairs lately captured a Flemish cutter (*scuta*) bound from this kingdom for Flanders with a variety of merchandise, and as a great part of it belonged to Venetian merchants I went with them to the French Ambassador to request him to write to Boulogne to prevent any division of the plunder, and that it be suspended until the receipt of an order from the most Christian King. The ambassador promised to perform every office, and intrusted this business to his nephew, who has departed on his way to France, but there is doubt of his doing much good, both because he will not be in time, as likewise owing to a French law whereby all goods captured in hostile vessels are a lawful prize. The magnifico Ser Marco Antonio Foscari, son of the most noble Ser Alvise, is gone in person to Boulogne, and should he be in time something may be hoped from his diligence and ability. Besides the risk incurred by exporting merchandise from England, the natives here (*questi*) have laid a plot (*fatto una congiura*) to ruin the trade of all foreign merchants, their attempt being favoured by a statute which from its antiquity has never been enforced.

Westminster, 12th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

858. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In conformity with your Serenity's letter of the 18th ult. I went yesterday to the court to execute the commission about what took place at Adrianople between your Serenity's "Bailo" and the

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French ambassador, and as usual, first made the statement to the Constable. Whilst I was speaking to him his countenance evinced anger, and he answered me harshly (con forma di parole severe) that his most Christian Majesty had heard with displeasure, through letters from his ambassador at Adrianople, of this office performed by your Serenity's "Bailo," which was not such as was merited by the goodwill always borne by his Majesty towards the Republic, who it seemed to him ought also to be mindful of that same goodwill, as always demonstrated towards it by the French Crown, but that your Serenity had taken to favouring this King Philip (si havea pigliato a favorire questo Re Filippo), as you had also done by his father, and had exceeded the terms of neutrality. He then added, "And with regard to you yourself likewise, Lord Ambassador, the King marvels greatly that so many days should have elapsed without your having been to the court, where you were always as well received as any other ambassador that ever went thither."

Knowing that the Constable's object was, as your Serenity had to complain of the French ambassador at Adrianople, to cut that ground from under your feet (tagliar quella strada), and to make it appear that he had reason to find fault with your Serenity, and perhaps lead me astray from my purpose, I said to him, "Most illustrious Monsignor, I am at a loss for words to express my thanks to his most Christian Majesty and your Lordship for the very great graciousness shown me, but the Signory will always acknowledge any favour conferred on me, or on any other minister of the Republic, as your gift, and touching my absence from the court during several days, it was caused by very serious indisposition." Thereupon his Excellency interrupted me immediately, and beginning to clear up (rasserinarsi), said, "So you have been very ill? I pray you, Lord Ambassador, to pardon me for not having sent to perform such offices with you as becoming, for I did not believe your malady to be of importance."

I rejoined that I was very glad to know of his goodwill, and I then said I was sorry the French ambassador had performed this office with his most Christian Majesty, as the most noble the "Bailo" being a gentleman of excellent parts, it seemed to me that his Lordship should believe him rather than false informers (falsi delatori), but that even had he not chosen to give credit to the "Bailo," he should have accepted his proposal to inform himself through the Bashaw; but that now, when his Majesty shall hear the justification from me in your Serenity's name, I was certain he would rest satisfied with it, though it surprised me greatly that his Excellency should have told me that your Serenity had exceeded the limits of neutrality, to which I would reply when he gave me any particulars; but that in like manner as I had constantly told him, so did I now affirm, that your Serenity bore towards his most Christian Majesty as much affection and observance as you had*

* The name of this "Bailo" was Antonio Erizzo, and his "Report" of Sultan Soliman and his ministers, as read to the Venetian Senate in the year 1557, was published by Alberi in 1855. (Series 3, vol. 3, pp. 127-144.)

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ever borne towards any other prince whatever, by reason of the very rare qualities which render him so illustrious, as demonstrated by me from time to time to your Serenity, who was already quite convinced of it. The Constable, having already smoothed his brow entirely (*già del tutto allargata la ciera*), and resumed his gracious form of speech, replied that what he had said to me in particular (*in particolare*) was not as to an ambassador, but to a person his private friend, and having heard that your Serenity had elected my successor, believing my departure to be near at hand, he wished to confirm to me the fact of his Majesty's holding me in such account that he regretted my having been some days without going to him; and that as to your Serenity's goodwill towards the King, he was glad I confirmed it, adding that your Serenity will never find his most Christian Majesty to be of monarchical mind (*animo in sua Maestà Christ^{ma} di monarca*), as some persons went saying, but that he was replete solely with a desire for what was just, and that all men should suspend their judgment until they saw the result of the world's disturbances, as thereby they would know that his Majesty's schemes (*maneggi*) had been well concerted, and were directed to a good end.

After thanking his Excellency for demonstrating to me that he was aware of your Serenity's goodwill, I prayed him to assure the King of the fact, and that this office imputed to the most noble the "Bailo" was an invention of rogues (*de homini tristi*), to sow discord between his Majesty and your Serenity.* Then his Excellency, embracing me, inquired if I knew what cause induced the Duke of Ferrara to depart from your Serenity so suddenly. I said I did not, and I then congratulated him on the return of his son, M. de Damville, after the performance of so honourable a feat in Piedmont, and on his hourly expectation of M. de Montmorency.

After returning thanks he left me in his chamber, and went to the King, with whom after remaining a long while, he sent for me. The statement made to the Constable was then repeated by me to his Majesty, who answered me with a cheerful countenance that he could not deny that his ambassador at Adrianople had written this thing to him, but much more his other agents there, owing to the report current at that court; so had I not gone he would have sent for me to tell it me, that I might notify it to your Serenity, but that, knowing by long experience how you proceeded, and considering the love borne you by his Majesty, he could not believe it, neither would he credit that your Serenity could wish to lose his friendship, which he on his part was always ready to maintain inviolate; and that he had never thought of doing anything but what could prove bene-

* By a ciphered despatch in the Venetian Archives from the Doge and Senate, dated 18th March 1557, addressed to Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in France, it seems that the French Ambassador at Adrianople complained of the "Bailo" Erizzo, because he gave the Porte the news of the prolongation of the truce for 40 days between the Pope and the Duke of Alva, as stipulated on the 27th November 1556, before Sultan Sloiman heard of it from the French; and in Erizzo's printed report there is a note showing (I suspect) that this jealousy about priority of news caused the suppression of the "news-letters," which had previously been sent to the "Bailliffs" regularly for communication to the Porte. (See Alberi, series 3, vol. 3, p. 147.)

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ficial to your Serenity, as he had endeavoured to prove to you lately ; nor would he enter into details, as he supposed them to be perfectly well known to me ; but as it had not pleased your Serenity to accept his offers, it behoved him to take patience and form some other resolve about his affairs.

I returned thanks for his good opinion of your Serenity, praying him to persevere in it, and moreover to believe you would never do anything that was not to his most Christian Majesty's satisfaction. I then had read to him the news-letters from Adrianople, and as I thought he seemed gratified to hear of the honours paid to his ambassador there, I did not fail somewhat to amplify them, as he also, resuming the topic, chose to tell me that he had been extraordinarily well looked on. I then said to the King that I craved his pardon for not having presented myself to him of late, by reason of serious indisposition, from which I was still suffering, and that I very greatly regretted not having been able to pay him my usual respects (fargli la solita riverentia). His Majesty expressed sorrow for my malady, and, after asking me for particulars of it, he then said that he always was and always should be glad to see me, to which I replied that the greater his gracious demonstrations the greater was my gratitude, and that I had never failed to inform your Serenity of them, that you might acknowledge the favours conferred on your representative. Then, after alluding to the exploit of M. de Damville in Piedmont, he said he understood that the King of Spain had removed the Cardinal of Trent [Christoforo Madruccio] from Milan, which surprised his Majesty, as he knew that the cardinal had comported himself very well in that governorship ; and the King said he in like manner understood that the Marquis of Pescara was gone to Mantua because of the death of Madruccio, and that Don Bernardino de Mendoza would go as governor of Milan, and that, being a sea captain, his Majesty did not know how he would behave himself on land.*

I then asked the King if he had any advice about the determination of M. de Guise, and he replied, "Before you came into the chamber I was talking with a person sent by M. Carnevaletto (sic), who is come from Rome, but remains in Paris seriously indisposed, who told me that the Pope, together with the Duke de Guise, had at length determined to invade the kingdom of Naples, and that the army had already commenced marching towards the Abbruzzo, where the heat would be less felt," and he added that, the army having gone to serve the Pope, his Majesty was well pleased that his Holiness should be completely satisfied with the expedition, regardless of anything else. I also congratulated the King on his troops here in Picardy having performed a certain feat against the Spanish forces, and he said, "Mine routed 200 Burgundians, led by 20 Spaniards, who went forth to plunder, and my troops recovered the booty and cut them all to pieces." I asked if the King of Spain was mustering an army in those parts. His Majesty replied, "The words are many, but no deeds are visible, and such is the scarcity of victuals that for some time they will be unable to do anything ; and

* The nephew of the Cardinal of Trent. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 298.)

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I am assured that when King Philip departed from Brussels he left no positive order, nor have they raised any other Germans than those which passed into Italy." I rejoined that it was also heard that his most Christian Majesty was making a levy of 12,000, and he answered me, "I sent to prepare them, but they will not be ready until about the middle of May;" and when I asked if they were destined for Picardy, or for some other quarter, his Majesty said that he had not yet quite determined, as the decision depended on circumstances; and he added that King Philip had crossed over to England, taking with him the Duchess of Parma* and the Duchess of Lorraine;† and that M. de Vaudemont (her brother-in-law) had given the Cardinal of Lorraine to understand that the said Duchess of Lorraine, his sister-in-law, had let him know that the cause of their ladyships' going (*che la causa della andata di loro Madame*) was that on their return they might bring with them "Madama" Elizabeth of England, to give her for wife to the Duke of Savoy; about which scheme (*maneggio*) his most Christian Majesty said that he remembered having spoken to me heretofore, adding, "I really do not know how those people will stand it" ("non so veramente come quelli popoli staranno saldi"). I asked his Majesty, with regard to business, what he understood had been obtained by King Philip from the Queen, and he said, "The King would wish to have troops, but I do not know whether he will obtain them, as it would not turn to that kingdom's account to break with me, by reason of commercial traffic (*trafichi di mercantie*) and for other causes; so, as said heretofore, I believe the thing will reduce itself to money (*si risolverà in danari*)."

His Majesty added, that Cardinal Pole had sent to apologise to King Philip for not going to visit him, he being the Pope's enemy; and then one evening he went alone and in secret to the King's chamber, which seemed to his most Christian Majesty an unbecoming act on the part of the said Cardinal, but that he was afraid of the Pope, to whom the Queen had written that with very great regret had she heard of the rupture between his Holiness and the King her consort, and most especially as she had done so much to bring back England to its devotion to the Church; but she excused herself for giving him assistance, as she could not do otherwise.

I asked his Majesty what Don Ruy Gomez was doing in Spain; he said he was intent on accumulating as much pecuniary supply as possible, but that that gold mine which had commenced yielding so much profit, was lost, it having been discovered that the chief vein (*filone*) came from above, downwards (*veniva-da alto a basso*), whereas had it been the contrary, it would have yielded most immense profit. I also asked the King when he expected M. de Montmorency, and whether he had obtained the dispensation from the Pope; he answered me that last evening the Constable's secretary Dardoes (*sic*) arrived, having left M. de Montmorency at Venice, and that he expected him before Easter; and his Majesty said,

* Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V.

† Christine of Denmark, niece of Charles V., and widow of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and of François I., Duke of Lorraine, who died on the 12th June 1555.

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laughing, "He has not had the dispensation from the Pope." I answered him, that as the first marriage was dissolved (*disgiunto*) with the consent of both the parties, I did not believe that his Majesty would abstain from giving him his daughter; and the King still laughing, said, "This is entirely settled, as it is quite sufficient to have the dispensation from a mere Bishop, without need of the Pope (*perchè basta assai haver la dispensa da un semplice vescovo, non che dal Papa*);" nor will I omit telling your Serenity, with regard to the Neapolitan expedition, that as yet I have been unable to hear that the Duke de Guise determined on this undertaking from any other cause than because the Pope assured him that the Duke of Florence will remain neutral.

La Ferté Milon, 13th April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 17.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

859. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope has borne the fatigues of this week* with incredible vigour, such as to promise him long life. It has been remarked that neither yesterday nor to-day were the prayers made for the Emperor; and it is said that the master of the ceremonies has given it to be understood in the Pope's name to all the churches, that contrary to custom his Majesty is not to be prayed for in particular. In the bull "*In cœnâ Domini*," certain additional clauses have been inserted, which are considered of some importance in the article underlined by me.

Rome, 17th April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

April 18 ††

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 166
tergo.
No date of time
in MS.

860. CARDINAL POLE to GENOA.‡

Has received his letter sent by the Venetian Ambassador Surian, and was glad to hear of Genoa's good plight, and how, besides his other ordinary philosophical studies, he does not fail to nourish his soul with the divine nutriment of Holy Writ, which contains the true and perfect wisdom. Desires that the Lord may lead him always from good to better, and protect him and his family. Pole is well, and at his diocese, endeavouring to do his duty by the people there (*questi popoli*), and to heal the wounds received of late. Thanks Genoa for the ready good will and love shown by him towards that English student whom he recommended to him. Monsignor Priuli is in good health, and salutes Genoa with all affection.

Canterbury [18th April 1557 ?]

[*Italian.*]

* Passion Week. In the year 1557, Easter Sunday was on the 18th April. (See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, p. 32. ed. Paris, 1770.)

† By the correspondence of the Ambassador Surian it appears that he passed the Easter of 1557 with Cardinal Pole at Canterbury.

‡ "*Al Genoa.*" Genoa was a family name. In vol. 6, Venetian Calendar (part 1, p. 393), it appears that he was a layman, as Cardinal Pole congratulates him on the marriage of his daughter.

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April 18.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 166,
tergo.
No date of time
in MS.

861. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Being unable to pay his respects to the King in person during the present holydays as would be his duty, makes amends by this letter, praying God, as he did during Passion week and does always, ever to have the King under his protection, and to favour him to his own honour and for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, and especially of England, whose welfare he is sure the King has and always will have in such great consideration and care as may be expected from his piety, confirming and constantly promoting the work which the divine mercy, by means of his Majesty and of the most Serene Queen, has done there by redeeming it from such great perdition and ruin, to the good state in which it now finds itself. Humbly kisses the hands of his Majesty and of the Queen, and prays God always to preserve and prosper them in his grace.

Canterbury [18th April 1557?]

[*Italian.*]

April 20.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

862. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de Montmorency has arrived; he met with a very good reception from the King and from the Constable his father, and says publicly that he no longer wishes for the first young lady (*la prima giovane*) to whom he had promised marriage. It continues constantly to be asserted that he will not abstain from espousing the most Christian King's daughter, although his Holiness has not given the license, yet this step would be taken very unwillingly, *it being a commencement very like what was done by King Henry the Eighth of England, from which there ensued so many difficulties (tanti inconvenienti)*; so some persons interpret this open declaration of the marriage as a hint to the Pope to avoid their repetition, by giving the license. To this effect the King and the Constable use all possible means, both at Rome, and here with the Nuncio, to whom his Majesty, when complaining of the Pope's refusal to grant him this grace, said, "*His Holiness has had no scruple about making a man who has had two wives a Cardinal, namely, the President of the Chamber [Giovanni Battista Consiglieri], and at my entreaty and for a daughter of mine he does not choose to condescend to my prayers (condiscendere alle mie preghiere), most especially (massime) after giving absolution for three similar cases, one of which had more aggravating circumstances than this one has.*"

His most Christian Majesty has sent 500 Gascon infantry to Scotland, and will send as many more to keep that kingdom well guarded, anticipating what might come to pass, although here it is considered certain that the Queen of England will not openly assist her consort with troops; and through the last advices from the French ambassador in England, I hear that Cardinal Pole, persevering in his ancient good-will, proposed to the King of England the mode for making some adjustment with his Majesty here, having also done the like with his most Christian Majesty; but I do not hear that any farther reply will be made, although a

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friend of mine tells me that when talking lately with one of the chief personages of the court about the dissatisfaction caused by this League, and the Neapolitan expedition not proceeding as required, he said to him that as the Constable had not changed his mind, if reasonable terms of agreement were offered him, he would not be averse from persuading his most Christian Majesty to accept them.

La Ferté Milon, 20th April 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

April 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

863. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my last of the 12th the King and Queen with the Duchess [of Parma] and other personages went to pass Passion Week and the holidays at Greenwich ; and in order not to remain alone during those days in the midst of people, who, from fear rather than from will, appear to be Christians (*gente che par christiana più per paura che per volontà*), I went to Canterbury, where, through the goodness, prudence, and doctrine of the Right Reverend Legate the affairs of the [Roman Catholic] religion have prospered so much that, although that part of England had been more corrupted than all the rest of the kingdom, it is now nevertheless so well reformed that it can set a great example not only to the whole of this island but to France likewise, and to some part of Italy.

I presented your credentials to Cardinal Pole, and he answered me in terms most complimentary and affectionate towards the Republic, commending the religion, justice, and prudence of its government, and especially the offices performed by the Signory to effect the peace of Christendom, expatiating thereon in very flattering language ; and your Serenity may rest assured that in these parts this mediation has so greatly increased the Republic's grandeur and repute that all nations and all people speak of your Serenity with great and unusual reverence, bearing the Signory very great respect.

I returned yesterday to this city, where the King is expected to-day.* I have merely heard that the hope of peace with the Pope has come to nothing (*è risoluta in niente*), and there is more talk of war than ever ; but as yet words are more abundant here than deeds, preparations being greatly procrastinated ; and no army will be mustered until after the next harvest has been gathered, for never in the memory of man was there ever such a scarcity of everything in these countries (*in questi paesi*), and although for a long while it has been said that great supplies, most especially of grain, were coming from Denmark and Sweden, and from the Hanse Towns (*et dalle terre marittime*), but were stopped by the ice, the seas being so frozen, yet no succour appears, although by this time they might be supposed to have free passage ; so hope begins to fail, nor does the price of food diminish, the cost of everything increasing

* The xxij of Aprell the Kyng and the Quen removed from Grenwyche unto Westmynster. (See Machyn, p. 132.) From this it seems that the King's return was postponed for a day.

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more than can be told; and as there are no means of providing for the ordinary consumption of the people either in Flanders or in England, still less could provision be made for so great an army as the one now being mustered.

There has been some disturbance on the frontier towards Clermont (*Chiaramonte* (sic), Charlemont?), where there was a skirmish between the Flemings and the French, in which the latter were worsted; but the French Ambassador has sent me word that they [the French] routed the enemy. Whichever side was victorious, this is the first stir of war as yet on those confines, the dispute hitherto having been whether the Spaniards or the French were the first to break the truce, both one and the other wishing to justify themselves before the world; and as the King of England thinks of availing himself of assistance from this kingdom, so the French seek to prevent it, and would not wish the old treaty between England and Flanders* (which has always been reserved when making peace with France) to be carried into effect, as it is thereby stipulated that in any case should war be waged on the provinces of Flanders, the English are bound to succour them with a certain amount of paid infantry and cavalry for four months, unless I err. On this account the French will not own to having commenced the war, but say they remain solely on the defensive.

London, 21st April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

864. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In confirmation of what was told me by *the Count de Feria*, no decision has yet been formed about the assistance to be given by this kingdom to his Majesty, as England will not declare herself openly against France, though she will not fail to aid the King, and the chief help is expected to be given in money, *of which there is great need*. I hear from Brussels that King Philip's agents there are endeavouring to obtain a loan from all monied persons in that province, according to their means, the like being done at Antwerp also; *but although these agents make great promises they nevertheless find much difficulty, as all excuse themselves to their utmost. I am also informed on good authority that Don Ruy Gomez found the same difficulties in Spain, because the people still continue obstinate (duri) under pretence of not infringing their privileges, whereby they cannot be compelled to hold the Cortes unless his Majesty is present, nor contribute money for expenditure abroad. Unless opinion change, these difficulties, in addition to the others, will further delay supply for the war, great part of which is founded upon these Spanish moneys, as the affairs of the Indies are usually tedious, and for the most part uncertain, although so many miracles are narrated about them; whilst the assistance from England cannot suffice for such great preparations; so that this burden of Flanders*

* The treaty of 1546 between England and the Empire. (See Froude, Vol. VI., pp. 473, 474. ed. London, 1860.)

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and the adjoining provinces would be too great were this entire undertaking to rest on their shoulders (se questa impresa restasse sopra le sue spalle). Some days ago I was told that the French have given it to be understood that they are not much afraid of subsidies from Spain, and still less of those from the Indies, hoping moreover to prevent those from this kingdom either by negotiation or, should that fail, by force.

The supply of money hitherto, nevertheless, is very small, and that of victuals smaller still, notwithstanding which nothing is talked of here but war, horse and foot being expected here from Germany, raised they say by Don Juan Manrique, he having also had money for their maintenance (et ha havuti danari per darsi intertenimento); and should these troops come, they in a few days will consume that which, if divided with great thrift, would not have sufficed for the inhabitants of the country; so the scarcity, which is now very great, will become yet greater.

The Court has received intelligence that the Turks in Barbary have taken several places and are marching towards Tunis, where they have a certain understanding, and think of occupying that kingdom, which here is considered of importance, the King of Tunis being the vassal of the King of England; so the loss of that province might easily cause all the Christian possessions in those parts to fall into the hands of the Turks, and consequently predominance in the Mediterranean (*e per conseguenza il dominio di quel mare*).

The Venetian merchants here are informed that the Admiral of France has directed that their goods seized on board the Flemish schooner (*scuna*) are to be kept in deposit until the receipt of an order from the most Christian King; and an agent, sent by the parties concerned, has been commissioned to make a compromise with the corsair who made the plunder (*che ha fatto la preda*), and if unable to do so he will take a letter from me to the Ambassador Soranzo to obtain favour through him from his Majesty.

London, 22nd April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 23.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

865. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When I went to the Pope to-day to complain of the corsair Moretto, and of the Gascon commander of his Holiness' galleys, he said to me, "It was in our hands to take Anagni and Frosinone, but in order not to employ our forces against those places, with loss of time, and that we might send them to join the French army, we would not attempt those undertakings"; and then after a pause he added, "We will tell you our conceit, we in fact would never consent to attack those places, so that, being in the power of the enemies of God, and everybody seeing that they occupy them, we, choosing to proceed to condemnation and sentences against them, might not have cause to commence with citation and monitions, as the injury being so manifest as it is through the occupation of the aforesaid towns, there is no necessity for the form preparatory to a sentence and condemnation in doubtful and uncertain cases. On Holy

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Thursday, in our bull, we also chose to proceed more mildly than their error and impiety required, though we indeed willed to denote them tacitly, saying as you will have heard, that we saw there very near to us, *qui occupant, qui mandarunt, qui mandant et si Ducali, si Regiâ, si Imperiali dignitate fulgerent*; we have also chosen to show them their impiety, negatively, but not positively."

By this I believe he meant to say that he had not caused the usual prayers to be said. He then added, we have this consolation in the troubles and destruction caused by the present war, that we have been forced into it; you know it, but the whole world likewise ought to know it, that when that Pirro dell' Offredo, whom we have in the castle, came hither to evince a wish for peace, and under this pretext, went making the Cardinals mutiny (*andava mutinando li Cardinali*); at which same time the army was on its march, occupying the State of this poor Church, with a design moreover on this unfortunate city; God assisted us, for that army, without our forces, wasted away, the horses suffering so much that they have not yet recovered, so that *laqueus constrictus fuit et nos liberati sumus*. Even now we are advised that in the Abruzzi and those places they have no forces, nor do they know where to muster them (*nè sanno ove far testa*), *nec denique quo consilio sint usuri*.

"At the commencement of his reign over so many states and kingdoms given him by God, that luckless youth Philip (*quell' infelice giovine di Filippo*) ought to have returned thanks for such great benefits, by gratifying (*intertenir*) all the Princes, and your most illustrious Republic, acknowledging this Holy See, and the Vicar of Christ on earth, and not to have acted thus, as was his duty (and everybody sees that he ought to have done so); we cannot believe it to be without mystery of the eternal Providence of God (*senza misterio dell' eterna Provvidenza di Dio*). Thou, O Lord! knowest what men do not know, and to Thee, everything is present, nor does it become man to investigate Thy secrets more than Thou wilt; but it is well to believe that such public and impious errors would not be permitted were it not for the sake of eliciting good from them, as will be the case in the present instance, through the release of Italy, and her return to that harmony which was so much desired by those most prudent elders, who often came to see me when I was with them at Venice, and you are their sons; and indeed there must be still living many of those who wished to see an Italian Duke of Milan, the one who was so honoured and caressed by you in your city, and of whom we remember that such great care was taken, that he was recommended to be very cautious about his food.*

* *Che era consigliato a mangiar con molto rispetto.* Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, arrived at Venice on the 11th October 1530, and his reception was formally announced by the Republic to Henry VIII. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. 4, p. 261.) Gian Pietro Caraffa was Provost of the Order of the Theatines in Venice, from August 1526 until September 1527, as mentioned by Flaminio Corner, p. 408; and from the Pope's own lips we now learn that he was still there in October 1530, and these precise notices of his familiar intercourse with the Venetian aristocracy render it probable that he really wished well to the Republic, and unbosomed himself more freely to Navagero than to other ambassadors at his Court.

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"It has pleased the Lord God to inspire this good son the King of France to assist us, and contrary to the peculiar nature of that nation, which is not wont to be steady, we find him very firm in this resolution; for this his promptitude and obedience we are bound to do what we can; we shall invest one of his sons with the kingdom of Naples, and in order the better to establish him, and to give cause for the people to accept him willingly, we shall free him from the homage and from the oath of allegiance, so that Philip, who is feoffee, having forfeited the fief, the population may no longer be bound to any but the direct Lord, as we ourselves are. This personage will shortly become an Italian Prince, and we already understand that when talking together, when the Dauphin says he shall be a great King, his brother, although young, replies, 'Should I be King of Naples I shall have little need of you;' and really the Almighty has provided the King with so large a family, to enable him to make the number of Italian Princes what it was formerly; viz., a King of Naples, a Duke of Milan, my most illustrious Signory (*la mia illustrissima Signoria*) and this Holy See; and in truth were there present here Philip and his father, who is no longer of this world, we would say to them, 'The injuries done by you to God, the want of respect shown by you to His Vicar, the extortions practised by you against your poor subjects, and your designs about swallowing-up (*de ingiottir*) the rest, compel us to expel you, if not from elsewhere, at least from this province, heretofore *Domina Gentium*,* and by you rendered tributary (*et per voi facta sub tributo*); and if unable to do it, we have at least this desire.'

"Our belief is, that they would not know what to answer us, and that internally they would commend this our project and this our intention; and this also I must either tell you (who are so dear to us) or else be silent, which I would never do;" and he then continued (laughing), "We with the King have divided the world between us, and have left Sicily to my most illustrious Signory, should they choose to enter this League." His Holiness then expatiated on the advantages of Sicily, in conformity with what he said heretofore adding, "For the present we do not wish for anything from you, because we are your true friend, and true friends love each other, not to obtain, but to confer benefits, one on the other. When it shall seem fit to you, and should it seem fit to you, you have a Pope, who is as much your friend as you could possibly desire, and who has also toiled and continues toiling for you with a King of France. The praise will be all yours for having put the finishing hand to so honourable an undertaking, and therefore you may demand and obtain from everybody whatever you please." He then proceeded to say that great feats are not performed without great risks, and that *pericula non sine periculis vitantur*; for which confidential communication I thanked his Holiness.

Rome, 23rd April 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* Romanos rerum dominos? (Virgil. *Æneid*. Lib. I. v. 285.)

1557.

April 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**866.** GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On St. George's day (23rd April) the most Christian King performed the ceremony (*fece la solennità*) of the Order of England as usual, we ambassadors being present, and having gone to his Majesty after dinner, when talking about several things, he said that he thanked God for this seasonable weather, which promised a good harvest, that of last year having been so bad that all the provinces had suffered so much, that one could not assist the other, a thing which had never happened in France before. The English ambassador having then returned with the Constable to demand the release of sundry goods captured on board a cutter (*scutta*), as by the accompanying letter, the Nuncio, I, and the ambassador from Ferrara, remained with the King, who said he supposed we had heard of the capture of Valfeniera (*sic*),* giving us account of its importance, and how it was taken &c. When we asked his Majesty what troops Marshal Brissac had, he answered laughing, "I know that in Piedmont I pay 35,000 men, but the Marshal will doubtless have 18,000 men in the field." He then added that what had been written hither, that the Marquis of Pescara had slain a nephew of the Cardinal of Trent, was not true; and his Majesty then said that in these parts of Picardy and Champagne matters were proceeding very quietly, as although King Philip kept some German captains there, they were not known to make any stir nor to give money, or anything else (*nè di altro*) (*sic*); but a few days ago, the said King's troops went and made a survey of Marienburg and the new fortress which is in course of construction there, but did not injure them.

His Majesty added that he had advices from his ambassador in England, that the Queen had used every effort (*haveva fatto ogni officio*) with her Council to make them determine on waging war against this kingdom, together with the King her husband; but that they had in fact (*in effecto*) determined not to do so, but merely to adhere to the old treaty made heretofore with the Emperor, and which was subsequently confirmed on King Philip's marriage, whereby they are bound in case of need, for the defence of Flanders, to furnish a contingent (*di concorrer con*) of 5,000 infantry and 500 horse; and he said his ambassador had also written to him (as his Majesty had heard previously through another channel) that the cause of the going to England of the Duchesses of Lorraine and Parma was that they might bring back with them "Madama" Elizabeth to this side of the sea, to marry her to the Duke of Savoy; and then, complaining of the heat and discomfort of that large mantle (*quel gran manto*), his Majesty withdrew.

During Passion week,† the King of Navarre having retired to a place of his called Fère, very near the frontiers of Flanders, some

* Query, Valvera, between Cuneo and Asti.

† Easter Sunday, 18th April 1557.

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thirty Englishmen (in the service of his most Christian Majesty as light horsemen) laid a plot to carry him off to Flanders, and purposed effecting it on a certain day when he went out hunting, after which, on the way home he intended to fly his falcons, the Englishmen having arranged to seize him in the hawking field; but after the hunt, the King feeling tired would not hawk and went home, where a few hours afterwards he received a message from the Admiral telling him of this plot; and the Englishmen (the King not making his appearance at the expected time), supposing themselves discovered, all made their escape in safety to Flanders.*

La Ferté Milon, 26th April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

867. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On St. George's day, the King held the solemnity (*fece la solennità*) of the Knights of that Order, and on Saturday three other Knights were elected; one the Earl of Sussex, Deputy of Ireland (*che è al Governo d' Hirlanda*); another the Queen's Controller, who is the principal person of her Majesty Household, by name the Magnifico Rochester; and the third was Lord Grey, Governor of Guisnes; all three Englishmen, nor hitherto have men of any other nation been mixed with them.

It is said that the Duchess of Parma will depart in two or three days, and I went to visit her. According to the agreement made, her son will remain at Brussels, so she cannot depart otherwise than dissatisfied. As yet the King is not known to have altered the agreement (*la capitulatione*) in any respect, though it was believed he would confer some favour on his sister, who in all her actions has shown herself most respectful towards his Majesty; and being a very prudent lady and full of spirit (*et perchè è Signora molto prudente et piena di spirito*) it is still incredible that she should depart until she has somewhat improved the state of her husband's affairs and her own.†

Don Ferrante Gonzaga's son, Don Cesare, has arrived here, having left his brother, Don Andrea, indisposed at Antwerp. Their father is awaited shortly, as told me by the Count de Feria, and he assumes service here with very great general expectation, although until now he has always been hated by the entire Spanish nation.

The ambassador from Florence, who was also at Brussels, has arrived, and had audience of his Majesty this morning. *It is not yet known what he negotiated, but, as written by me heretofore, his*

* Concerning this first plot, see also a letter from Dr. Wotton, date 27th April 1557. (Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 229.)

† From several entries in the Venetian Calendar showing that the maternal grandmother of Margaret of Austria was a Venetian gentlewoman, by name Michiel, the Ambassador might be suspected of national partiality, were not his panegyric confirmed by all the biographers of Margaret, Duchess of Parma, mother of the Great Captain, alluded to in this letter, and who probably inherited a taste for war from his grandfather, the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

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Duke continues to be greatly suspected here, and although they know what happened to his Secretary at Rome, their opinion of him is by no means good; all he has gained is that they vituperate him less openly; and thus, if the Pope likewise suspects him, he will have rendered all parties his enemies, whilst wishing to make it appear that with each of them he had a fellow-feeling.

Monsignor Fantuccio, who had been ordered not to leave Brussels, has been dismissed by a letter from the Count de Feria, telling him that as the Pope is more than ever determined by no means to make either peace or an agreement, his further stay in these parts would be a loss of time; yet do the provisions for the war proceed very slowly.

London, 26th April 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

April 27 ?*

868. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [ALESSANDRO] FARNESE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 167.

Pole being here at Canterbury at his Church, whither he went as written in a former letter, the secretary of the Duke, Farnese's brother, when passing through gave him his loving letter, and especial account of his State (*Stato*).† May God preserve and prosper him always, and vouchsafe of his mercy speedily to relieve Italy and Christendom from so many perils and dangers!

With regard to the other business about which the Secretary spoke in the Cardinal's name, refers himself to his verbal statement, nor need Pole say how anxious he shall always be to do whatever may give pleasure to Farnese.

They are expecting the Duchess of Parma at Canterbury in two days. She departs leaving the Queen and the whole Court very affectionately disposed towards her. May God conduct her prosperously to the end of her journey.

Canterbury [24th April 1557 ?]

[Italian.]

April 27 ?‡

869. CARDINAL POLE to the DUKE of PARMA.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 167.

Has received his letter from his secretary, and heard with pleasure of the Duke's state and of that of his family, which may God prosper always. When quitting the Court to come hither to his Church; saw, much to his consolation, the Duchess, his Consort, and the Prince, his son,§ who, in truth, shows such a disposition as to give the best hopes of him. Is expecting the Duchess at Canterbury in two days; and in like manner as her coming was very agreeable to the Queen, so does her Excellency on her departure leave her Majesty and the whole Court very much attached to her. May

* No date of time in MS., but by a letter from the Ambassador Surian, dated London, 26th April 1557, it is seen that the Duchess of Parma purposed departing towards Canterbury on the 28th or 29th April.

† In the month of October 1556 King Philip consigned Piacenza to Octavio Farnese Duke of Parma, whose secretary probably gave Pole details of the circumstance. See also Foreign Calendar 1556, p. 271.

‡ No date of time in MS.

§ Alessandro Farnese, born in the year 1544, one of the greatest military commanders of the 16th century.

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God grant her prosperity and an auspicious journey, and comfort everybody by soon putting an end to so much tribulation in Italy and all Christendom. Thanks the Duke much for the love he shows him.

Canterbury [24th April 1557 ?]

[*Italian.*]

April 29.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

870. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my last of the 26th there arose in this kingdom a sudden tumult, caused by an English gentleman of noble birth, by name Stafford,* who was an outlaw, and now came to England with two French ships and some 100 soldiers, part French and part English rebels.

He seized a castle called Scarborough, 150 miles hence towards Scotland, and had himself proclaimed king (*et s'è fatto gridar Principe*), but in like manner as the tumult was sudden, so was it suddenly quelled, for it is heard this morning that the militia of the province, having marched against him by the Queen's order (*per ordine di questa Maestà*), under the command of the Earl of Westmorland,† who is said to be the brother of the said Stafford's mother, captured him and the greater part of his followers. Although this was effected so immediately, it has nevertheless revealed the disposition (*animo*) of many persons, who could not refrain from showing themselves desirous of a change in the present state of affairs, as usual with the people and the commonalty (*come è parte del popolo, et di homini vulgari*), who, according to the natural custom of this realm, delight in riots and sedition; but as this opportunity has placed within the power of the law not only this ringleader, but others likewise who were with him, and who will end their lives on the gibbet, it has freed the Queen (*questa Maestà*) from suspicion of them, and frightened others who were meditating rebellion in England.

An express has arrived from the Cardinal of Trent to acquaint the King with the condition of the Milanese, and to let his Majesty know that unless he provide him with what is necessary, and most especially with money, he is in very great danger, and that assistance is expected solely from this quarter, where there is no less need, nor any greater abundance.

London, 29th April 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April ?

St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv.

Cl. X. p. 183
verso, p. 184
recto.

871. CARDINAL POLE to "SIGNOR" STEFANO SAULI, very magnifico Lord as a brother [honoured].

The Reverend Father President of the Congregation of Monte Cassino had requested him by letter to obtain from Sauli the receipt which he has never given for the 800 crowns paid at Magunzano

* "Thomas Stafford, second son to Lord Stafford, and grandson to the last Duke of Buckingham." (See Lingard's History of England, vol. 5, p. 250. ed. London, 1854.)

† Henry Neville, 5th Earl of Westmorland.

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by the late Don Lorenzo Sauli, who shortly before disbursed that sum at Rome to the Proctor the Reverend Don Entitio. Requests him to make out the letter of acknowledgment and cancel the contract by which the congregation is still bound, an act which in like manner as Cardinal Pole supposes Sauli to have omitted hitherto, not without some suitable reason, so is he certain that Sauli will not fail doing it in conformity with justice, and the sooner it is done the better will the Cardinal be pleased; wherefore he with all earnestness prays him thus to do, as he greatly wishes to hear speedily of the congregation's release from all cost and trouble in this matter, most especially as its members were induced at his (the Cardinal's) suggestion to make this agreement with him, to whom he recommends himself with all affection.

London, (blank in MS.) April 1557?

[*Italian.*]

May 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

872. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Easter day (18th April) the ships from Spain with the 3,000 Spaniards bound for Flanders, passing along the coast of Brittany, landed the said troops on an island called Belleisle, which the King of France has commenced fortifying, and endeavoured to make themselves masters of it, but they having no artillery, and the garrison being better provided with ammunition and other necessities than the Spaniards supposed, the latter, after doing as much damage as they could, re-embarked, and continued their voyage.

A few days ago, from these parts of Picardy, some 120 horse and foot in the pay of the King of Spain went forth to plunder, and fell into an ambuscade made by the garrison of St. Quentin, killing some and making others prisoners, from whom it was heard that the Duke of Savoy is not making any great preparation, but intent solely on his own affairs, and on creating suspicion where he can; so here they are more than ever convinced that unless some stir be made with this fresh Spanish reinforcement, affairs in these parts will proceed very quietly, and most especially as from England nothing more is heard than what I wrote on the 26th, although the most Christian King has had a proclamation for the "*arrière-bandes*" and the gentlemen of his household to be in readiness for the 8th of next month.

Since the departure of the Duke de Guise from Rome, there have been no further advices from him, and the intended re-enforcements have been suspended until there be greater need. The general hope of that army's obtaining any advantage is so small, that it could not be less, not only owing to the slight foundations in its favour visible in Italy, but also by reason of the disagreements here.

La Ferté Milon, 2nd May 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.
May 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

873. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the suppression of the tumult narrated in my last of the 29th ultimo, a resolution has been formed about the succours (aiuti) for the war to be given to the King. This resolution met with many difficulties, both on account of the French as also to avoid subjecting the realm to cost and trouble, but they have all been removed by the authority of the Queen, together with the stimulant afforded by this accident, which has rendered the French more odious, they being said to have fomented it.

The substance of the resolution is to give the King 5,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, to be paid by the kingdom for four months, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Grey, the Lord Warden (Milord Guardon—sic), Lord Montagu, and some others; all of whom are considered good soldiers (hanno nome di boni soldati) except Montagu, who was appointed because he is very rich, and spends willingly on these troops, who are to serve the King in Flanders. Three thousand additional infantry will be raised to garrison the English fortresses on the other side of the Channel; and a powerful fleet is to be fitted out, carrying 6,000 soldiery, should such an amount be needed, one half to be paid by the King, and the other half by England; which many persons consider a strong foundation for the King making himself master of the army (della armata), and perhaps, in time, of the kingdom likewise.*

The Government (questi signori) does not intend to break the peace with the most Christian King, as they say that the troops destined for Flanders are sent by virtue of the old treaty between this realm and those provinces, and solely to defend the King's States, but not to invade France; and that the other 3,000 are merely for the defence of Calais and its frontiers; the fleet (armata) being to secure the passage of the Channel, and not to attempt any aggression. No one, however, believes there will be peace with the French, who, suspecting a rupture, have already supplied all their places on the English frontier with ammunition, victuals, and soldiers. They have also sent 1,500 infantry to Scotland, which force, together with the Scots, as told me by the French Ambassador resident here, are sufficient not only for the defence of those frontiers, but also for an attack on this kingdom in that direction.

Since the aforesaid resolution, which was made on the 1st of this month, the Government is intent on providing money, military stores, and other necessities, of which the King will have as much as they can give him; and it is said the troops will be in marching order† or move probably next month.

This, in fact, is the first important provision that has been made for the war in these parts of Flanders, as respecting the talk about so many other measures nothing but words have been heard hitherto; whilst for the need of the Milanese, which, according to the advices thence, increased daily, no provision of any sort has yet been made

* Sir Tho. Cheyne, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. (See Domestic Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

† Corroded in MS.

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here, save that they are expecting Don Luis Caravajal from Spain, but, although he set sail so long ago as the 3rd of last month, he has not yet made his appearance. He is bringing money, but not much, for the Count de Feria told me it would be about 250,000 crowns, though the Court reports it to be much more; and it is destined for the Milanese.

London, 6th May 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 6.
Senato Terra,
Vol. 41, p. 18.

874. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Not content with what we wrote to you on the 29th ultimo about the Flemish cutter (*la scuta Fiamenga*), the chief part of whose cargo consisted of goods belonging to our noblemen and citizens, which, having left England on its passage to Flanders, was taken by French corsairs, we further charge you at any request from our nobleman M. Antonio Foscarini, one of the parties interested, or anyone else commissioned to act in this business, to endeavour both with his most Christian Majesty and the Constable, and all other persons requisite, to obtain the free release of all the goods of all our aforesaid noblemen, citizens, and subjects, in accordance with justice and our friendship with his Majesty.

De literis 162.

De non 0.

Non sync. 0.

1557, die 6 Maij, Lectæ Coll.

[*Italian.*]

May 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

875. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have written several times my opinion that the original good understanding between the Pope and his most Christian Majesty had come to an end; but as my advices were derived from the results of this misunderstanding rather than from its causes, I have endeavoured minutely to investigate the truth, and on the best authority have heard what follows, and give the particulars.

When Cardinal Caraffa [on the 27th November 1556] prolonged the truce with the Duke of Alva, I understand that articles*

* In a despatch from Giovanni Michiel, date London, 14th April 1556 (Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, p. 412,) a ciphered paragraph has been omitted, of the following tenour: "But should Clinton in France, or Paget at Brussels, have other matters to negotiate in those Courts, your Serenity will receive thence more certain intelligence, as there is less difficulty in concealing transactions, where they end, than where they originate." The end was, to harass Queen Mary in England, by assisting the outlaws; and the negotiations between the Pope and the Duke of Alva in November 1556 had for object to circumvent France. Contrary to Soranzo's expectations his colleague, Navagero, at Rome, had not unravelled the plot, which having been directed against France, was first revealed by the Venetian ambassador there, who thus confirms Michiel's theory; and here I may add, that in July 1876, the ex-premier Minghetti, when reading in the Venetian Archives, Pasini's decipher of Michiel, thus, "*potendo meno difficilmente occultarsi le cose, in quelli lochi dove si fniscono, che là dove nascono et hanno principio,*" paid great attention to this aphorism, and read it over several times, thus implying that it was a wise one, and coincided with his own views of statesmanship. Thinking, perhaps, that more was known about the Eastern question at St. Petersburg than at Constantinople, he had therefore in April 1876 arranged the mission of Prince Umberto to the Czar.

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of peace were in fact concluded between them, their ratification being reserved to his Holiness and the King of England. The chief articles were that his Holiness should restore the Colonnas to their State, and that on the other hand his Majesty would give the Duke of Paliano Sienna, with such parts of that State as are in his hands; and the King, moreover, promised to make the Duke of Florence give his daughter in marriage to the Duke of Paliano's son; by which means coming to a still closer understanding together, they seemed to hint, that should the most Christian King refuse to give the fortresses held by him in the Siennese to the Duke of Paliano, it would not be difficult to take them from him by force; and the Duke of Alva and Cardinal Caraffa promised each other reciprocally to announce the decision of their princes within a certain number of days. The Cardinal reported the negotiation to the Pope, but his Holiness distrusting the Duke of Alva, and fearing lest, if the French heard of this treaty (*trattatione*), the Duke de Guise, who had already crossed the Alps, would halt in the Milanese, and lest he (the Pope) should thus run the risk of losing sure friends, without well securing those who were uncertain, he cooled the negotiation but did not dissolve it, and wrote to the King of France, that the Duke of Alva had offered him the aforesaid compact, of which if his most Christian Majesty approved, and if he were at the same time content to give him also on his part, the fortresses held by France in Tuscany, that he would accept it. Having written this despatch, the day arrived on which Cardinal Caraffa had promised the Duke of Alva to let him know the decision of his Holiness, and he not doing so, his Excellency wrote a letter to the Cardinal, enclosing another for Cardinal Pacheco, which letters, their bearer being made prisoner, passed into the hands of the Duke of Soma, who was commander at a certain pass. He opened and read them, and found that the Duke of Alva complained to Cardinal Caraffa because the time he had appointed for letting him know the Pope's will had expired without his sending any message, whereas he the Duke had already received a reply from his King, who readily accepted the treaty agreed to between them. On seeing this, the Duke of Soma, after copying the letters, showed them to the Pope, who, having read them, said, "This then is the way in which these nephews of mine (*questi miei*) treat me? I will provide for them well;" and in his presence he made the Duke of Soma burn the said letters. The Duke did not communicate this to the Cardinal, whose suspicion of his having told the story to the Duke de Guise, was the cause of the disagreement between them, of which your Serenity must have heard. Whilst what is aforesaid was being negotiated, the Duke de Guise with the army arrived at Reggio, and the Pope choosing by all means to make sure of being able to dispose of the French forces, insisted at any rate on their passing into Romagna; yet he did not wish to relinquish (*disabbracciare*) the negotiation with the King of England, but to benefit himself as much as he could by delay; for which purpose King Philip was informed by Fantuccio, in his Holiness' name, that he was ready to conclude the agreement, but that he would not negotiate with the Duke of Alva.

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In the meanwhile there arrived from France the reply to the proposal about Sienna, which not having pleased his most Christian Majesty, he answered irresolutely, but the Pope comprehended his dissent, which mortified Cardinal Caraffa, who was already inclined towards the agreement, considering it beneficial for himself and his family; and finding the Pope averse to it, unless it had the approval of the King of France, he vented his wrath in violent language against the Constable as the author of this decision formed by his most Christian Majesty. Amongst other words uttered by him in anger against the Constable, were the following, that he would perform such offices against his Excellency with the King of France, that his Majesty would have him beheaded; which words were subsequently repeated here to his Excellency, and inspired him not only with anger but perhaps even with hatred towards the Cardinal. The result of this determination on the part of the most Christian King was, that the Pope, seeing he could not dispose of him in his own fashion, would not make the promotion of Cardinals according to his Majesty's wish, and according to report he in like manner, to injure the Constable, did not choose to give the dispensation for the marriage of his son, hoping thus to render one and the other more propitious to his will. Whilst things were passing thus, and the Pope was undecided, being drawn in one direction by his desire for the Neapolitan expedition, which forbade him to detach himself from France, and being urged towards the other by the Cardinal and his other nephews, who for the security of their family wished him to make peace with the King of England, there arrived at Rome a person from his Majesty soliciting the Pope to conclude the agreement; and if he would not negotiate with the Duke of Alva, his Holiness was to appoint some person more agreeable to him, to whom King Philip would send the commission to conclude. This, adding to the Pope's indecision, compelled the Duke de Guise to remain idle at Rome for so many days, but little to the honour of the army, and at length when he determined on marching towards the kingdom of Naples, he not only failed to diminish the Pope's suspicion and distrust, but increased it, so that coupling this with Cardinal Caraffa's disposition towards the agreement with the King of England, it is supposed that the Pope may at length consent.

Such is the doubt about the Neapolitan expedition that the Cardinal of Lorraine is doing his utmost with the King of France to make him recall the Duke de Guise and appoint the Duke d'Aumale in his stead; besides which I have heard that a few evenings ago the Constable, when discoursing in his own chamber, said, "The Pope believes that we do not see him, and that we are ignorant of what Fantuccio did at the Court of the King of England, and of the consequences of his having detained our army so long without performing any feat. Neither he nor the Cardinal hold me in account (mi stimano), and I will let them see what I am able to do." These words and others even more ample (più large) about the inclination evinced by his Excellency to come to some adjustment having reached me from several quarters, I did not fail to inquire whether

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there was any commencement of negotiation to that effect, but as yet have I been unable to learn anything else, except that messengers have passed twice between the Admiral [M. de Chastillon] on this side, and the Count de Lalain on the other, which two personages as your Serenity will remember concluded the last truce at Vaucelles.* Nevertheless since the arrival of the advices of these victories in Piedmont I think I perceive that this inclination towards agreement is certainly cooling, it being wished first of all to see what progress M. de Brissac shall make. In addition to this, by the last advices from Rome, dated the 16th April, it is heard that the Pope shows himself by deeds more warm in favour of the undertaking than he seemed to be at first, and that to secure everything the Pope was sending hither to the Court the son of the Duke of Paliano; and moreover that the Pope having heard that the most Christian King was so dissatisfied with the promotion of Cardinals, he offered to make another one at his Majesty's request.

La Ferté Milon, 6th May 1557.

[Italian, in cipher throughout, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

876. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day a Switzer, one Walter Rollo, came to dine with me. He seems to be a man of spirit, and very intelligent; and conversing with me apart about the great esteem in which his nation, and especially his canton and family, hold your Serenity, saying that he is still enjoying the benefits conferred by your Serenity on his late father, by name Peter Rollo, who was in your service; he said it greatly surprised him, considering the nature of these present times, which are so important, that you should not try to have some particular understanding with his countrymen, so as in any case of need to have as many of them as you wanted, even for offensive warfare. I told him that your Serenity considered the cantons so friendly and trusty that in any case of need they would not fail to give you any amount of troops you required, wherefore it was unnecessary to attempt any closer understanding, most especially as you were now at peace with all the powers, and had no occasion either to attack others or to dread their hostilities; and that your territory is now so strong and populous, and replete with other conveniences, as by the grace of God to enable you to defend yourself single-handed against any adversary.

He rejoined, making a prudent and very sensible discourse, alluding submissively, like a man of experience (come homo pratico), to the need your Serenity might have were one of these two Kings to overcome the other, or unite together; and that for self-defence

* See a former letter of Soranzo's date 27 December 1555, and Foreign Calendar, Mary, 1556, February 5, Abbey of Vaucelles, p. 208.

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in open war it does not suffice to hold one's own, but is requisite to attack that of others to damage the enemy and divide their forces; and that although your Serenity has the means of garrisoning your fortresses, it nevertheless would not be so easy for you to put a large army in the field, without which it is difficult to defend States, nor can they be truly called powerful unless they have forces to attack others, which would be easier for your Serenity than for any other prince, if allied with his nation, which, being near your Serenity, might in eight days pour into your territory any amount of troops you required; and having this King for your neighbour, and France likewise, you would thus be enabled to attack both of them. He then added that it was a wise act of prudence not to attempt a closer understanding with all the cantons at present, but that your Serenity might obtain your intent without causing suspicion to anyone by conferring a moderate gratification (as you do to many others who are not more useful than these would be) on some of the leading Switzers; nor would the expense be great, as 500 ducats annually, or a little more, for each individual would suffice; and that a good commencement might be made at present by taking one, two, or three of them.

I replied kindly, but in general terms, not choosing either to give him hope nor yet to deprive him of it, but rather to communicate the whole to your Serenity.

This Rollo is a bold man, and told me he was free and not bound to anyone. He spoke about the method to be observed whenever levies were required, and knows the advantages attainable both with regard to the quality of the soldiers and their cost, all which it would be long to write, and perhaps unnecessary. He was much honoured and favoured by his Majesty and the personages of this Court, and especially by the Councillor Damon (sic); and the most Serene King, that he might depart satisfied, knighted and gave him 2,000 crowns. He was supposed to have come hither to offer his Majesty Switzer troops, but as yet of this there is no confirmation, and when I hinted it to him he rather denied than affirmed, and by his discourse he did not seem to hold this Court in great account, saying that the King allows himself to be ruled in everything by his ministers, in whom Rollo perceives dilatoriness and a lack of judgment throughout.*

London, 7th May 1557.

[*Italian, entirely in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

877. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I asked his Majesty if he had any news, and he said he had heard the particulars of the affair of Chierasco, which he narrated to me, greatly commending Marshal de Brissac, adding, with regard to the

* Simon Renard, Lieutenant d'Amont, Imperial Ambassador in France and England? (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

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Duke de Guise, that his army was well provided with good troops and artillery, and that he (the King) would send a reinforcement of 3,000 infantry, and that by the next letters he expected to hear that he had entered the Abruzzo. I then asked his Majesty if it was true that the Duke of Paliano's son was coming hither, and he said, "Yes, he will come assuredly with the Archbishop of Vienne, and they will travel by sea;" *adding spontaneously, "O! of the Pope there is no longer any doubt."* I then inquired what news his Majesty had from England, and he replied, "*The Queen has determined to give her husband 6,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, their captains having been already appointed, and the Earl of Pembroke will cross the Channel with them, they coming under pretence of defending Flanders, but from defence to offence the passage is soon made, though, in truth, I never expected her to come to any other determination but this. Still she will not find us unprovided, for the Admiral informed us just now that our fortresses in Picardy are in as good a state as possible.*" I then asked his Majesty if he had heard of any stir in that kingdom about a fleet. He said, "Yes, they are also assembling some ships, and I have done the like, having written to Normandy and Britanny to fit out a good number." I inquired if he was making any preparation for Scotland, and he said he had already reinforced the garrison there with about 3,000 infantry, and in case of need he hoped the country would not fail to assist him. He added that some ships from Spain lately made a landing at Belle Isle, and that, being unable to take the small fortress there, they burned what they could, and that although at first they were supposed to be Spanish troops bound for Flanders, they were known subsequently to be men of bad character who went robbing at sea. I asked how things were passing on these frontiers, and he replied, "As yet there is no innovation whatever, but mere suspicions, save that on the other side they have mustered a certain amount of troops, drafted from the garrisons (*dalla guarnisone*), and on the day after to-morrow the Admiral will depart, so as to be ready." I asked if his Majesty was making any fresh levy of Switzers, and he said, "To tell you the truth, I have still the means for raising 6,000 which have been promised me, but I shall first make use of these 12,000 Germans, to whom I have given earnest money, and then do by the Switzers according to time and need."

It seems that this coming of the Duke of Paliano's son has greatly comforted everybody (molto sollevato ciascuno), although no advices have been received of his having yet left Rome, and it seems that this arrangement renders his most Christian Majesty better satisfied with the Pope's will, so that the hopes of the Neapolitan expedition are higher; and they talk of sending the Ferrarese ambassador resident here to his Duke, to ask him to lend a certain sum of money to the Duke de Guise, and to accommodate him with such other things as he requires. His most Christian Majesty is hotter about the invasion of the kingdom of Naples since he heard of this resolution on the part of England, which, to say the truth, was unexpected,

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and of great moment, and when the King communicated it to me, I knew by his gestures that it troubled him.

La Ferté Milon, 7th May 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

878. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Giovanni Toraldo has arrived from Civitella to ask these Lords to send to the Duke de Guise the ammunition and troops promised him. He was subsequently followed by the Marquis of Montebello, who dismounted at the garden where his brothers, Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, were dining with Cardinal Sta. Fior. On his arrival they were seen to burst into passion (*furono veduti alterarsi*). The Duke mounted on horseback and went to the Pope, the Marquis remaining with Cardinal Caraffa. Montebello's coming hither has caused much comment, and yesterday Leonidas Malatesta, who accompanied him, dined with me, and said that the Marquis had departed, not merely dissatisfied, but enraged with the Duke, the causes being that Guise chose to have the plunder (*preda*) of all the places which had surrendered to Montebello for his own Frenchmen; that he had made M. de Tavannes quartermaster-general; that he often dislodged the Marquis's Italian horse and foot to give their quarters to his own troops, and would not give them their pay, as he was bound to do, so that almost all the Italian infantry had disbanded; and that the Duke had not chosen to listen to him at the council board, nor to show him any mark of deference. Montebello's brothers resent his departure, especially the Cardinal, as they would have wished him to show more patience and greater dissimulation. Malatesta added that the Marquis's nature is such that he cannot long restrain his feelings; and he then told me that the French army consisted of 8,000 infantry only, more than one half being Switzers and the rest Gascons; that Civitella was very strong, from its position, the possibility of taking it by storm being very doubtful, as, although they are battering it with 13 guns, yet, to make the assault, they will have to ascend its valley, and the garrison consists of 800 paid infantry and 1,000 of the inhabitants; and that as the Switzers, according to their custom, do not choose to give assault, but to remain in battle array (*ma di star in battaglia*), he does not see how, with merely 1,800 Gascons, they can carry the place by storm, the enemy having the advantage of the citadel and of their position.

M. de Sipierre has been sent to the Pope by M. de Guise to confute the charges brought against him by Marquis Montebello, the French saying that he chose to do many things in the army of his own accord without awaiting the orders of the Duke de Guise, who is commander-in-chief, and that at Civitella he raised a private battery (*una particolar battaria*), and then made an assault with his Italian troops. The said Marquis is, in short, very dissatisfied with the French, and he told my secretary, whom I sent to visit him, that their discipline (*governo*) is bad, and their mode of proceeding very insolent, for on entering the kingdom of Naples

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they exasperated the inhabitants, instead of treating them kindly. He also added, "The Duke de Guise did not choose to give ear to me about anything, and if he had he would perhaps have made some progress, as I recommended that the army should encamp under Atri, which could have made no defence, saying that that place being taken, Civitella would have surrendered on being surrounded, whereas, by going under Civitella, they would repeat what took place in Tuscany, where, by attending to Montechiello, time was given to fortify Mont' Alcino. The Duke rejected my advice, and having invested Civitella, the Imperialists fortified and garrisoned Atri, so that it is now safe. When at Civitella I said that the spade and pickaxe should be used beneath the principal bastion. The Duke chose to employ the artillery, and on the first of this month the battery opened, but produced little effect, the distance being too great, &c. &c. On that evening I departed, *having broken with the Duke de Guise, being unable any longer to tolerate his insolence, and the wrong he did me, principally by failing to give my soldiers four rates of pay, so that they disbanded, and the army remains with only 6,000 infantry. Whilst I was there advices were received of the Duke of Alba's approach, and that he was already at Pescara with 12,000 foot and 2,000 horse, so that, to speak freely with you, unless news come in the course of Monday next that Civitella is taken, rest assured that they never will take it, and that the Duke de Guise will be compelled to retreat. God knows that I have always disapproved of this war, but could not be unfaithful to the Pope, foreseeing the ruin of Italy unless a resolution were formed; and I am come to let his Holiness know the state of affairs rather than for any other purpose, so that he may open his eyes and make such honourable agreement as he can, for if he does not the two kings will, and the Pope will be compelled to receive the law from them. We have a recent example of his inducing them (li condusse) to make the truce, and now in like manner he might lead them (condurli) to the peace.*"

Rome, 8th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 8.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

879. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Florence has written to his ambassador that the French troops, on quitting Elba, landed and sacked a certain castle* (plundered formerly by the Turks, when they took the island), where the women, having taken refuge in a church, the soldiers profaned it by violating them there and taking away the chalices and sacerdotal ornaments, doing worse than the Turks would have done. The Duke desired the ambassador to tell this to the Pope, not because he supposes it to have been done by order of their general, who was not present, but that his Holiness may see with what sort of troops he has to do (*con che sorte di gente si ha a far*). The ambassador says that the Pope waxed wrath, and promised to complain to the Baron de la Garde, who was then here.

* The Castle of Campiglia was sacked on Thursday, 15th April 1557 (see post).

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Three congregations of the Inquisition have been held on extraordinary days, the cardinals being summoned by cursitors, but none of the ministers (*ministri*) were present. The Pope enjoined the strictest secrecy, for which no one gives his reason. *Cardinal Puteo's familiars have seen him constantly studying of late, although he is very unwell, and in the midst of a purgative cure;** and from what I can elicit the Pope proposed to deprive King Philip, and it seems that it was proved to his Holiness that he cannot reasonably do so, not having first of all cited him by a monitory. It is said he will delay, though on this the cardinals do not much rely, as the Pope may be seized with a wish to make (*di farla*) and publish it on the sudden; and concerning this matter, a leading cardinal said that the Pope has three bulls already drawn up, and is about to publish them, one of the deprivation of King Philip (*l'una della privation del Re Filippo*), the second recalling the cardinals to Rome, and the third imposing a tax of one per cent.

On Wednesday, in the presence of his Holiness, there was congregation of the cardinals of the Inquisition, and of others, including many theologians, about the dispensation for Montmorency. Subsequently the Spanish Jesuits, Laines and Bobadilla, voted that it could not be given, to which opinion the Pope seemed to assent; and when the Master of the Sacred Palace (*il maestro del Sacro Palazzo*) wished to say that it might be done (*che si potea dispensar*) his Holiness got into a rage, and when the master insisted on repeating his opinion, the Pope drove him out of the congregation (*lo scacciò dalla congregazione*), using I know not what violent language, nor was anything settled. Many persons are confounded at seeing that a congregation had been summoned to revive a matter which caused the Constable to be dissatisfied with the Pope, who now refuses to hear those who speak in favour of the dispensation.

The agent here of the Cardinal of England has been heard to say that amongst many advices written to him thence, is the following expression: "Here we are apprehensive of not remaining quiet." Yesterday Consistory assembled, and remained sitting until night, so that something was expected about the three bulls, but nothing was said concerning any of them. The audiences, however, were many and long. Some churches were expedited (*si expedi*), amongst which was one in England,† and I have heard that when Cardinal Morone, the vice-protector of that kingdom, asked leave to propose it, the Pope spoke very well of the Queen, but by so much the more evilly of King Philip, saying that he was a putrid member; that his Holiness was compelled to cut it off and separate it from the body (*che era sforzata sua Santità a tagliarlo et separarlo dal corpo*), but that he could not do otherwise, as the King persisted in his perfidiousness, and gave no sign whatever of amendment; adding "This schismatic makes us spend even our blood (*ne far spender fino il*

* Jacopo Puteo was one of the most famous lawyers of his time, and Paul IV. employed him to examine and annul certain bulls of Paul II., alienating Church property. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 314.)

† Namely, Chichester. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 303.)

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sangue), and take money at interest, all which he will have to pay back eventually."

Rome, 8th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 8.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(3rd letter.)

880. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to the Pope at 4.30 p.m. and found that he was in his chamber with Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano, and in the audience chamber the French Ambassador and M. de la Chapelle were waiting, and presented him with a letter from the most Christian King, praying his Holiness to give leave to the Cardinal of Armagnac to quit Rome. The Pope in a long discourse showed how desirous he was to gratify his Majesty in everything, as the eldest son of this Holy See; he said he greatly loved the Cardinal, but that he had now on hand such work to do for the honour of God and for the dignity of his own grade (*grado*), that the cardinals in the most distant parts of the world ought to come to Rome instead of those already there departing thence; that he is about to recall the absentees, inserting such clauses in the summons as to enforce obedience; that he trusts the King and Cardinal will be content with what it is in his power to do for them, and that on his citing the absent Cardinals the King will permit his subjects to come, except those who are aged and impotent, for whom he will have regard, to please the King; so that his Majesty will know that he takes the good road to accomplish the undertaking on hand.

Having dismissed the two Frenchmen the Pope called me and said, "Come always gladly, for we see you willingly, and will always tell you what news we have; we are at work (*noi travagliamo*); the Duke de Guise has sent to give us notice of all the events; he is before Civitella; the undertaking is a difficult one by reason of the position, but he is determined and purposes taking the place by force. We believe he will succeed, for the enemy have not yet shown themselves; they made a demonstration against Sulmona, but I am told it is nothing of importance. We hope that God will assist us, or rather that He will aid His own cause, for those people (*coloro*) show no sign of amendment; His Divine Majesty knows that we should prefer peace to war, as the end of war is peace, nor will we allow any opportunity for obtaining it to escape us, provided it can be had without compromising the dignity of this See, because we cannot fail towards what *Deus credidit nobis, et mandavit fidei nostræ*; there remain adversaries who *conceperunt* universal monarchy *et spe omnia devoraverunt*; they consider all Italy as despatched (*per spaciata*); you remained as a salad (*per una insalata*); but they did not succeed in their plan, and they now find it difficult to obliterate (*cancellar*) the phantasies formed by them which they had placed in the cells (*cellule*) of their brain.

"That individual (*colui*) [King Philip] is gone to England; we do not know what he will do; we are indeed of opinion that that kingdom would gladly remain at peace, because the English are not very easy to cook (*perchè Inglesi non sono molti boni da cocer*), nor can we believe that they will remain under the dominion of the

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Spaniards. In the next place the kingdom is not altogether quiet, there is also still much to do about their opinions, and however badly things may go, were they to rebel (*si volessero mover*), the King of France has Scotland, which is a scourge for England, nor is it credible how willingly the Scots pass into England, because being almost savages and poor (*perchè sono quasi selvatici et poveri*) they go joyfully with the hope of gain.

"The Queen's Ambassador,* who for a native of those regions is modest and very intelligent, has been to us in the name of the Queen and of the kingdom to pray me not to abandon them, but to remember that it has come lately to our obedience. We answered him that we love the Queen for her own sake, as she is good, and has done good works; for the sake of her mother, who honoured us extremely when we were sent to that kingdom by Leo,† and for the sake of her grandfather the late Catholic King, to whom we are much obliged for the love he bore us, and he was assuredly a worthy King,‡ nor could we ever have believed that his descendants would have degenerated so much as Charles and Philip (*come questi Carlo et Filippo*); but we told the Ambassador that we would willingly separate the Queen's cause from that of her—(we know not whether to call him husband, cousin, or nephew (*nepote*)) and have her as daughter, bidding her attend to the government of her kingdom, and not to let herself be induced to do anything to our detriment, nor to that of our confederates, as for instance the King of France, for we would spare neither relations nor friends but include (*involveremo*) in our maledictions and anathemas all those who shall desert the cause of God. Even yesterday we had a letter from the Cardinal of England telling us that on the arrival of Philip in London he departed for his bishopric, and he did well, for he could not in honour remain there. He says that he visited King Philip in his own name, as he could not do so in ours, seeing that he has no commission to that effect, as we on the contrary have revoked the legations (*le legatione*) and recalled nuncios and all the ministers of the Apostolic See in the realms of that individual (*di colui*), to deprive him of the means for doing injury to God and to us. Cardinal Pole also writes that the said individual (*esso*) told him he would gladly be reconciled to us, and that he has provided for his realms so as to prevent their molestation. This reconciliation fails through him as *induratum est cor ejus*, and we believe that he will not reform (*rivedersi*) until his head has been soundly beaten (*fino che non li sia dato bene su la testa*). God knows that for nothing do we pray Him more earnestly than for our quiet, and that of all Christendom, which were He to grant us, we should close these eyes

* Sir Edward Carne. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary.)

† As stated in former notes, Gian Pietro Caraffa was nuncio in England from Leo X., from February 1514 until the spring of 1516, when he went to King Charles of Spain in the Low Countries, and accompanied him to Spain in September 1517.

‡ In the 30th year of his age Caraffa was sent as nuncio by Pope Julius II. to Ferdinand the Catholic at Naples, where the King remained from the 19th October 1506 until the 4th June 1507. I am unable to find any documentary evidence of Caraffa's having accompanied King Ferdinand to Spain, or of his having resided there during his reign.

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most contentedly." I then said, "Your Holiness' entreaty will be granted, as you pray with so much ardour and for so holy a purpose." He replied, "For the present we do not see the way owing to their obstinacy, nor do we know when it may come to pass; we are intent on doing our duty."

In the course of my conversation to-day with the French Ambassador he said, "With these lords what is true to-day is untrue to-morrow; there is a great scarcity of money, and to obtain it they have recourse to chimerical projects, and I perceive that they do not tell the Pope the true state of affairs."

Rome, 8th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

881. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I, this morning, made a fresh demand of the King to have the letter reformed that was written heretofore to the Viceroy of Sicily about the damage done by the Sicilian galliot in the waters of Zante, and in consequence of what the royal secretary said, as mentioned in my letter of the 12th ult., I enhanced my charge against the malefactors to his Majesty, saying that under pretence of attacking Infidels, and his enemies, they outraged his friends, plundered your Serenity's merchants and ships, and impeded navigation, which all just princes have always chosen to be free and secure; and that the many good orders and commands issued heretofore by the Emperor and his Majesty had been of no avail, not being enforced, as the malefactors never received the due punishment, so that the mischief is not remedied, to the loss of reputation on the one hand and increase of insolence on the other.

The King replied that his intention is to oblige your Serenity in everything, so far as regards himself, and that he therefore gave an express order for indemnity to be made, the delinquents punished, and summary justice done; but that my demand for justice to be done according to the information sent by your Serenity without further investigation could not be conceded so absolutely, as it concerned private individuals and an act of justice.

I rejoined that what I demand is also justice, it being just to punish corsairs and robbers, and that the persons accused were corsairs and robbers was notorious; it having been also known before they put to sea that they were fitting out for no other purpose than to cruise (*che per andar in corso*),* so that were there no other complaints against them this would suffice for their condemnation; and I added that from the many appeals made by your Serenity's subjects I did not see what surer proof could be needed of the evil nature of the delinquents through any other channel; but that as to the quality and quantity of the plunder made by them, if there was any doubt about it, it could be cleared up through

* This proves the correctness of Dr. Johnson's interpretation of the word "Cruise, *v.n.* "To rove over the sea in search of plunder." His etymology of "Cruise" given to "*cruisers*," because they bore the cross, and plundered *only* infidels, may be disputed. *Corso* in Italian signifies *course*; and the term, "*andar in corso*," gives the etymology of "*corsair*."

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your Serenity's governors and ministers as trustworthy witnesses, which it would be impossible to do in Sicily, as those who might give evidence would not quit their homes to go thither for such a purpose; so unless his Majesty have the letter written to the Viceroy put into better form, neither justice nor the King's will would be done.

The King replied that he would consider the matter, that he wishes to comply with your Serenity's demands in whatever is possible, and that knowing you to regulate yourself in all your actions with justice and prudence he is certain you will be satisfied with what can be done equitably in this business.

I have chosen to write the whole of this discourse that you may see the state of the case, which would have been much bettered had the information given by your order to the Spanish Ambassador's secretary been so well founded as to leave nothing doubtful nor uncertain.

London, 9th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

882. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My demands made of the King, the Constable, and the Admiral, for the restitution of Venetian property seized on board the Flemish cutter bound from England, were of no avail, the two chief obstacles being, that the grant of this favour to our subjects would have seemed very strange to the English Ambassador, who, by the Queen's order, insisted on similar restitution to many parties concerned, who by privilege, are citizens of London, being called Dantzickers? (*Danesini*); but as I clearly foresaw that their goods would not be released, I kept our suit as far apart from theirs as possible; and had the Dantzickers got back their effects the like must have been done by the Raguseans, who were also much favoured; but the true cause (of the refusal?) was the presence here of the Admiral [Gaspar Coligny Count de Chastillon], the Constable's nephew, and more than son to him (*et più che figliuolo*), who did his utmost to have the prize legalised, to favour his sailors and encourage them to fresh plunder, which, with this precedent, will be declared lawful, and the Admiral will also make much profit.

After the despatch of this business I had a visit from the English ambassador,* who greatly resented this decision, telling me he was certain his Queen would not put up with it, as it was too unfair and too prejudicial for the kingdom that the French should give law there with regard to the ships of other Powers; and that although similar seizures had been made heretofore they were either restored, or, by address, time was gained, but that never did he remember the passing of so definitive a sentence, and that he had given speedy

* In Foreign Calendar, Mary, date 7th May 1557 (p. 303) there is a letter from Dr. Wotton, showing that amongst the sufferers on this occasion was "Bartholomew Compeigne, and other merchants, not native but naturalized Englishmen."

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advice of it to her Majesty that she might make such provision as shall seem fit to her.

La Ferté Milon, 11th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 11.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
Second Letter.)

883. The SAME to the SAME.

On hearing the determination of the Queen of England to give assistance to her Consort, his most Christian Majesty determined to raise a fresh army for this part of Picardy and Champagne, especially from its being heard that besides the rumours in Germany musters of troops had been already commenced towards Luxemburg. He will therefore raise 60 bands (*bande*) of Frenchmen, 40 of which will consist of Gascons, and 20 will be recruited from other provinces, the number of men thus raised amounting to about 16,000 infantry. Commissions (*patenti*) have been already given to certain captains to go and raise their bands, so that they may be ready next month, together with the 12,000 Germans who will also be in marching order by that time; and besides this infantry there will also be 1,500 men at arms, and 2,000 light horse, and 1,000 Blacksmiths* (*ferraroli*), besides the "*arrière-ban*," and the Royal household. The general of this army will be the King of Navarre. But the scarcity of victuals on both sides being very great, it is believed that the meeting of the armies (*il metter insieme li esserciti*) will have to be delayed for some time; *in addition to which his most Christian Majesty will do his utmost not to give cause for greater strife in this quarter, both for the avoidance of farther expenditure, as also because there is nothing that alarms the French more than the invasion of their territory; and although the English are no longer so powerful nor so brave as of yore when they were superior to this nation, the forces of England having greatly diminished, much time also having elapsed since she made war, the country moreover having no ordinary militia whatever, this mere report nevertheless of her troops succouring King Philip, by calling to mind their ancient valour, causes great perturbation.* (*Oltra che sua Maestà Christ^{ma} farà quanto potrà per non dar occasione di mover arme maggiori da questa parte, sì per non far maggior spesa, come perchè non è cosa che spaventi più li Francesi che assaltargli il regno; et con tutto che li Inglesi non siano di quella potentia nè valore che erano già quando sono stati superiori a questa natione, sì per esser diminuite assai le forcie di quel Regno, come per esser molto tempo che hanno fatto guerra, nè vi essendo in esso Regno militia alcuna ordinaria, però con questa sola voce che uscivano queste genti al favore del Re di Anglia, raccordandosi di quel antico valore, dimostrano grande alteratione.*)

* That distinguished soldiers were occasionally surnamed after the colour of their armour, may be inferred from the title of "*Black Prince*" given to the heir apparent of the English crown in the 14th century. In Italy, in the first quarter of the 16th century, Giovanni de' Medici was styled "*Captain of the Black Bands*;" and in a despatch from Brussels, dated 3rd August 1554, a Venetian Ambassador gives the etymology of the word "*Ferraroli*," then applied to a new corps of German cavalry, thus—"They are so called, because their surcoats, weapons, visors, gauntlets and horses, being all black, they look like our farriers or *blacksmiths*."

1557.

The King is going post-wise to Paris with a few attendants to raise fresh pecuniary supply, as required by this fresh stir, but he will only remain there three or four days, and then return hither.

Your Serenity will have heard of the rebellion (moto) which Cardinal Pole's nephew, Stafford, proposed making in England, and the English here (questi Inglesi) say that it was by order of the most Christian King, who for this purpose gave him money and accommodated him with three of his ships; but at the Court it is said he went of his own accord, and that the ships in which he crossed belonged to his most Christian Majesty, and were conveying foot soldiers to Scotland.

The last advices from the Duke de Guise announce the capture of Accumuli? (Campoli), and that he was putting the artillery in position under Civitella to batter it; but it being heard that the Duke of Paliano's going to the army has almost entirely cooled, as likewise the coming hither of his son, although they said that the Marquis of Montebello would go thither, it seems to me that the suspicions and distrust of his Holiness are worse than before, most especially as ever since the entry of the army into the Neapolitan territory, it is not seen that the Pope has proceeded to deprive the King of England of the kingdom of Naples, as distinctly promised by him over and over again to his most Christian Majesty (si come tante et tante fiate ha chiaramente promesso a sua Maestà Christianissima). I am assured by a person who knows it for certain that this promise not only stipulates the deprivation of the kingdom of Naples as a fief of the Church, but that in virtue of it his Holiness would excommunicate the King, and also deprive him of the State of Milan (anci mi viene affermato, da chi lo sa ben di certo, che non solo sta questa promessa de questa privatione del Regno come feudo della Chiesa, ma che Sua Santità devenneria ad escommunicare esso Re, et lo priveria, in virtù di quella, anche del Stato di Milano). None of these things having been done, not even the one which his Majesty holds in more account than all the rest, namely the promotion of Cardinals to his satisfaction, and not seeing the Duke of Paliano go to the army as was considered quite certain, nor any decision being made about sending hither his son, your Serenity may well infer that the suspicions increase in every quarter.

La Ferté Milon, 11th May 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 13.
MS. penes me.

884. REPORT of ENGLAND made by GIOVANNI MICHEL, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, on the 13th May 1557.*

Most Serene Prince, most Illustrious and most Excellent Senate. Being bound to make a "Relation" of the affairs of the Island and

* Giovanni Michiel arrived in England as ambassador from the Republic of Venice to Queen Mary on the 22nd May 1554, and his last letter from her Court, now preserved in the Venetian Archives, is dated London, 26th January 1557.

The copy of his "Report," from which the following extracts are made, was transcribed by Francesco Contarini, ambassador extraordinary to James I., in the years 1609-1610,

1557.

Realm of England, which in these present times are considered of so much the more importance, as it is requisite to give account of a kingdom by custom and nature very different from others, and of the qualities of two Princes whose recent accession induces much thought about themselves, and the position of other potentates; I feel that for the due performance of such an office in the presence of so many and such grave Senators a person would be needed of more judgment, experience, and physical force than I possess. The obligation, however, to which the Senate subjected me by my appointment, forbids me to fail in the performance of this duty; and the graciousness of your Lordships will pardon my insufficiency, as also my feeble constitution, which has been yet more impaired lately by rheumatic gout, brought on either by the many inconveniences of my journey or by change of air, and which has so harassed me since my return, that having no hope of speedy recovery I determined to pay my debt to the best of my ability, rather than in a matter so necessary to keep the Senate waiting any longer; and hoping that the goodness of my will and intention may be received as amends for the imperfection of my work, I will endeavour to restrict myself to what is most necessary, so as in part to spare your Lordships prolixity and weariness, and also to lighten my own fatigue and trouble.

England
described.

The kingdom of England is conveniently provided in every direction with harbours and rivers, and above all with a very temperate climate. It is not altogether level, but divided in part by such pleasant hills that when viewed from a distance they can scarcely be distinguished from the plain. In proportion to its inhabitants the soil is fertile, as it has abundance of all the necessities, whilst with such things as are rather for convenience and luxury it is supplied by foreigners; but in exchange for their imports England gives more of her own produce, viz., wool, woollen cloths, to a great amount and of excellent quality, tin, lead, leather, coal, meat (*carni*) [salted meat?], and sometimes wheat, and every sort of grain, besides beer. The principal imports of England are spices, sugars, and all sorts of fruit from Spain and France, wine, oil, and what they call hops (*obloni*), the flower of the hop plant, and the "*bruscardoli*," * needed for the brewing of beer; also cloths of gold and silk, the greater part of their linens, and every sort of mercery; as also woad, madder, and the like, for wove manufactures (*testure*). From these and other equally important sources of trade, and by reason of her convenient local position, England is frequented by all the nations of Europe, from Poland onward, and lately, even by Muscovy and

the task being self-imposed, for the sake apparently of familiarizing himself with England, as it was, half a century before he went thither.

Francesco Contarini was one of the most able diplomatists of his time, and died Doge of Venice on the 6th December 1624, so his holograph transcript of Michiel's "Report" may be considered the most authentic of the many copies of it existing in various libraries, one of which was translated by the late Sir Henry Ellis, who published it in 1827, in vol. 2, "Second Series of Original Letters illustrative of English History."

In Vol. V., Venetian Calendar, will be found summaries of the "Reports" of England by Barbaro in 1551, and by Soranzo in 1554, and the present sequel to them will perhaps be read with additional interest, after perusal of its author's correspondence, which renders him better known to the public than he was 50 years ago, when the first English version of this State Paper was published.

* In the Venetian dictionary "*Luppoli*," *alias* Hops. Perhaps hop-cuttings.

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Russia, and by the West Indies, that is to say by the country of "the Mine,"* by Brazil, and by the Guinea Coast; so it is considered commodious, delicious, and wealthy beyond all the other islands of the world.†

London.

To the historian and the geographer it appertains to give account of the most remarkable maritime and inland places of the Island; and for me it will suffice to say a word about the City of London, the metropolis of the kingdom, and truly royal, being with reason regarded as one of the principal cities of Europe, whether it be from the abundance and convenience of whatever is required for the use of man, or from the amount of its population, estimated ordinarily, including the suburbs and the town of Westminster, which serves as a suburb, at 185,000 souls. It has handsome streets and buildings, especially the bridge, which has 19 arches, all of solid stone, over the river, and the cathedral church of St. Paul. But yet more beautiful is the site of the City, placed, as it is, advantageously on the banks of the Thames, from which, besides beauty, it derives great wealth (*gran commodità*), from the vast concourse of ships, of three and four hundred Venetian tons burthen, which enter the river from every quarter, being aided by the strong ebb and flow of the sea, although more than 60 miles from the city. Above all, London is most opulent, not only from her trade and great commerce with other countries, but by the many privileges enjoyed by all the inhabitants themselves, without exception, that is to say, by the commonalty (*huomini popolari*), merchants, and artificers, from amongst whom some 25 persons, called "Aldermen" (elected from amongst the wealthiest and most monied amongst them) rule the city with supreme power, almost like a Republic, neither the King nor his ministers interfering in any way. I have used the term commonalty (*huomeni popolari*), because the nobility, according to the custom of France and Germany, all live in the country remote from the city.

Merchants.

In order to say something of their riches, it is estimated that in the two companies of *Adventurers* (those who by special privilege can alone import goods from Flanders into England, and from England into Flanders), and of the *Staplers* (those to whom the exportation of wool is exclusively conceded), there are many individuals possessed of from fifty to sixty thousand pounds sterling, all or the greater part in ready money, which, according to the present course of exchange, makes more than two hundred thousand gold ducats; besides an endless number of others of various companies, such as dealers in tin, in spices, and other grocery wares (*et altre cose grosse*), who are called grocers (*chiamati grossieri*), and, which will appear incredible, the company of those who deal in salt fish, they being extraordinarily rich, either to the amount aforesaid, or to a greater sum; so that it may be said with truth that that city may doubtless stand comparison with the wealthiest in Europe.

* E dalle Indie Occidentali, dal Paese, cioè dalla *Mina*, dal Brasil, e Costa di Ghinea.

† Ond' e stimata sopra tutte le altre isole del mondo, commoda, delitiosa, e ricca.

1557.

The Navy.

But passing over this part, and to speak first of the maritime forces, which must be principally considered, the kingdom being insular, the Crown, in the times of King Henry the Seventh and King Henry the Eighth, possessed more than a hundred ships, all ready appointed and provided with officers who received constant pay, that they might be ready to put to sea on the sudden, and go on any expedition. At present the number of ships scarcely amount to forty, either from neglect or necessity, in order to save the expense, part having been sold, and part having become unseaworthy (*sono fatti innavigabili*.) Yet these few remaining ships (when joined with those of private individuals, his subjects, of which the King makes use on all occasions as if they were his own, giving them pay, doing the like also in case of necessity by foreign shipping), are not only sufficient for defence, but if required would form a considerable force for offensive operations; for it is said that there are scattered in the different ports of the kingdom large vessels, and of all other sorts, but equally fit for service, and to act against an enemy, so great a number that if they were united together (which in time of need could easily be done by the King's command), they would form an extraordinary amount of many hundreds—the English say upwards of 200,000—we say, that were they of a middling number, it would doubtless be such (*arrivariano a una quantità straordinaria de molti centinara, meglio di $\frac{m}{200}$* (sic—12,000 ?)

dicono gli Inglesi; diciamo noi, che fusseno unnumero mediocre, tale senza dubbio) that by arming part of them with soldiers, artillery, and other necessary things (which, when occasion required, might be done without trouble, as in point of artillery, and every sort of ammunition and arms for their outfit, of which store is made constantly with all diligence, England has no cause to envy any other nation, even those the best provided), were they not to attack, they would at least have no fear of being unable to defend themselves against any force, however great (*se non si opponessero, almanco non temeriano, mettendosi su la difesa, qual si voglia maggior forza*).

The Army.

With regard to the land forces, speaking first of the infantry and footmen (*fantarie e genti da piedi*), these would indeed be innumerable were all those taken into account who, in case of need, ought to rise (*uscire*) as they are bound for the defence of the kingdom; for in one county alone of the 39 into which the kingdom is divided, viz., that called York, it is said that for this service are enrolled 70,000 men and more, the vulgar rating them at 100,000; but not speaking of these, but only of men of deeds (*huomeni da fattione*) who would voluntarily and without compulsion come forward to serve as soldiers within the kingdom and abroad, these likewise would be in great number; and it is thought by competent judges that on coming to the proof, and making a general effort, a body of 20,000 or 25,000 would be found, who might all be armed with breast-plates (*corsaletti*) and steel weapons (*arme bianche*) by the Court. To these forces were there to be added those of the Lords and of private gentlemen (*quelli dei Signori, e particolari baroni*), for there is not one of them (however insignificant) who, in pro-

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portion to his retinue and rental, has not a store of arms for a considerable number of people, it being said that some of the chief of them, such as the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, and Westmoreland, and above all the Earl of Pembroke, could arm thousands. These troops, although armed, not being experienced and trained soldiers (because there would be few among them who would know how to move under arms, and to handle the pike, harquebuse, or other sort of weapon, it not being the custom in that kingdom for the inhabitants to perform any sort of exercise with similar arms (*non usandosi in quel regno alcuna specie d'esercizio di simil sorte d'armi*), yet having veterans for their comrades, and many of the English themselves being experienced soldiers, as like other nations they go abroad and take part in one war and the other, they, at any rate, would produce great effect, and make a stout defence, from their natural disposition and tendency as common to them all, for which reason the recruits in like manner would stand firm, as everybody knows there is not a nation in the world that fights with less regard for danger and death than the English (*non essendo, come ognun sa, nazione alcuna nel mondo, che combatti con stimar meno il pericolo, nè la morte delli Inglesi*).

Weapons.

This much concerning the infantry; nor will I omit to notice that among their offensive weapons in those parts they use certain long poles of the height of a man, thick, and armed with certain iron spikes at the head, three inches in length, issuing from all parts, which are very perilous weapons, calculated to smash and break the hardest substances (*atte a spezzare e rompere qual si voglia duro incontro*). But above all, their proper and natural weapons are the bow and arrow, of which so great is the number, owing to the general use made of them by all sorts of persons, without distinction of grade, age, or profession, that it exceeds all belief. This does not proceed merely from choice, but also from the obligation imposed generally on all heads of families to provide each individual of his household with them, including the little boys when they come to the age of nine years (*et i putti piccoli come arrivano alli 9 anni*); all for the sake not only of suppressing (*rimover*) every other exercise, but with all diligence to increase this one, in which the English place all their strength and all their hope, they, to say the truth, being most expert archers, so that they would not yield to any other people more trained and experienced than they are; and such is their opinion of archery and their esteem for it, that they doubtless prefer it to all sorts of arms, and to harquebuses, in which they trust less, feeling more sure of their bows and arrows; contrary, however, to the judgment of the captains and soldiers of other nations. They draw the bow with such force and dexterity at the same time, that some are said to pierce corslets and body-armour; and there are few among them, even those that are moderately practised, who will not undertake at a convenient distance, either aiming point-blank, or in the air (as they generally do, that the arrow may fly farther), to hit within an inch and a half (*un mezzo palmo*) of the mark. Such, for the most part, are their offensive arms.

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Armour.

As to defensive armour they have nothing of importance, either because they do not think about it, or that they hold it in no account, as whether on foot or on horseback when fighting against each other they prefer being nimble (*expediti*) and active, in order to be able to move forward and backward, and to run and leap, rather than to weight themselves with armour, which would impede their movements, though their persons would be much more secure; so generally for the defence of the head they use nothing but certain light sallets (*alcune cellade leggieri*) like ordinary skull-caps, rather than morions or anything of greater importance; and for the body they either use some sort of breastplate (*qualche petto di corsaletto*) which guards the forepart, although indifferently, or else more willingly (especially those who have the means) some jack (*zacco*) or shirt of mail; but what they usually wear are certain canvas doublets, quilted with many layers, each of which is two inches or more in thickness; and these doublets are considered the most secure defence against the shock of arrows. Upon their arms they place plates of mail, put lengthways, and nothing else.

Cavalry.

As to the cavalry (I speak of light cavalry) if it were but of a good description it might be very numerous (*questa se fosse buona saria certo infinita*), as that island produces a greater number of horses than any other region (*regione*) in Europe; but the horses being weak and of bad wind, fed merely on grass, being like sheep and all other cattle kept in field or pasture at all seasons, the mildness of the climate (*la temperie del aere*) admitting of this, they cannot stand much work, nor are they held in much account, but, nevertheless, as they are mettlesome and high couraged, most especially if they chance to be Welch, when in the field, they are said to do fairly (according to their small strength) for reconnoitering and foraging, and to harass the enemy, and they would do much better were they better fed. With regard to heavy horse, good for men-at-arms, the island does not produce any, except a few in Wales, and an equally small amount from the Crown studs; so the country cannot have any considerable quantity of heavy horse. The need of this sort of cavalry being by degrees ascertained, and as all the lords, barons, and prelates are bound to keep a certain amount of them for the defence of the kingdom and for the service of the Crown, all those who have the means, finding it more advantageous, endeavour to form studs of their own. The heavy horse, therefore, now seen are all foreign, imported from Flanders, the Queen having chosen all persons to provide the amount assigned them, lest from want of horses the thing should fall into disuse, as it was doing. Now, if all the forces which exist of this description were brought together at a general muster, accompanied by those of the "Pensioners," and of the gentlemen called servants,* and of the archers of the Court, who are all bound to serve on horseback in armour, they would form a body exceeding 2,000 men, a considerable force to have, all excellently armed as "men-at-arms," most

* E delli gentil huomeni, che chiamano serventi.

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perfectly,* and many of them having barbed horses, enabling them to serve in any conflict.

Of this sort are the forces of the English, capable, as is evident, to resist any invasion from abroad, provided there be union in the kingdom; to which might also be added any amount of auxiliary soldiers from the kingdom of Ireland, a wild set of men (*huomini selvaggi*), subject to the Crown of England, who without impediment would be sent, after a passage of one day, or in some places of only eight or ten hours, as has been done on former occasions, when, according to report, they acted fairly well.†

Defences.

Besides these defences, the kingdom is strong in itself, from what nature has provided it with, having placed it on an island surrounded by a sea exhibiting phenomena quite different to those of all the seas hitherto discovered, as on no other shore in the east or west, except on that coast and on the opposite one of Brittany, is such a strong tide to be found, with so remarkable an ebb and flow that the ordinary high-water mark exceeds that of low-water by 12 or 15 fathoms (*di 12 fin 15 passa*), which is the reason that, as the kingdom may be considered as one general fortification, the sovereigns have paid but little attention to fortifications in detail, deeming the latter superfluous either with regard to domestic or foreign enemies. For, as to the former, the point always was, and still is, to gain the field, of which whosoever is the master, has been, is, and always will be, the master of the kingdom; and he will reduce the enemy (were he to retire to a fortress) to consume himself, and perish, without relief, by famine; such is the nature of the island. As to foreign enemies, since these could not act except by means of fleets, the system has been, and continues to be, to prevent them from approaching any part of the island except with risk and danger. With this view, therefore, in suspicious times, guards are stationed round the island, and along the coast on eminences, to give notice by means of signals, as is done in the Levant when apprehensions are entertained of the corsairs (in the day-time by smoke (*con il fumo*), and in the night by fires), thus giving notice to the whole kingdom of the unexpected approach of vessels, so that the country people, apprised by these signals, may hasten immediately to the point which is threatened, as they are bound to do (all heads of families being answerable with their lives) with an armed force, and provisions for four days at least. By these, together with the guards, and stores of arms, artillery, and ammunition with which the ports are usually furnished, the defence is secured; for the forces thus mustered can never be so few nor so feeble as not to be able to oppose any sudden attack, and with the succour that would hourly reinforce them, to maintain a good defence and avert the danger, so much the more as on the part of the enemy the invader would be at the mercy of wind and tide in attempting to approach the ports, which cannot be entered except at high water, or with so very fair a wind as may be able to overcome the force of the tide. The example afforded by Cæsar and

Beacons.

* Tutti armati di huomeni d'arme per eccelentia benissimo.

† Con nome di haver fatto honestamente bona prova.

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The Scottish
Borders.

others, whose expeditions (*armate*) miscarried (*andate a traverso*), discourages all invaders from venturing to remain off the coasts, which are very dangerous, and the winds most changeable, so that from the sea no sudden attempt can be made on the kingdom without great danger and inconvenience.

On the land side it is only the northern provinces, towards Scotland, that require garrisons. The Scots might otherwise at any hour make inroads and commit depredations, stimulated not only by the hope of plunder (a great temptation, as they inhabit a barren and consequently a poor country), but also by the hatred which neighbouring nations generally entertain one towards another, which is increased, in this instance, by constant wars, old quarrels, and disputes about confines. This frontier is secured by a force of 1,500 soldiers, distributed in four places; the greater part in Berwick, the frontier to the east at the mouth of the Tweed, a strong town, and which has a great trade from the salmon fishery; it was taken from the Scots in a war long ago, and never either restored to or recovered by them. Another garrison is in the city of Carlisle, the frontier town to the west. The remainder are stationed in two other towns of less importance, situated between the former, viz., one called Norham, the other Wark, besides the city of Durham, a place in very great renown among the English. Though in this city no soldiers are commonly kept and paid, yet, being very populous, it has always been reputed one of the chief bulwarks against the inroads of the Scots, of whose disposition towards the present Queen I will tell hereafter, when speaking of that of other sovereigns.

Calais and
Guisnes.

Another frontier besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated from it, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais. For this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own nor access to other countries; at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so that if they were deprived of it they would remain as it were (being on an island) separated from the mainland, and thus quite shut out from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent on the good pleasure of other princes in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas by way of Calais, which is directly opposite (*opposita per diametro*) to the harbour of Dover, distant only about 30 miles, they can at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors (*tanta è fatta la pratica, e l'ardire di quei marinari*), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare, offensive and defensive, besides causing jealousy and suspicion, as Calais not being more than two (*sic*) (10 ?) miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, and the same distance from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, they can

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promise to join either the one or the other as they please, and to unite their forces to those of him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of the enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony sent to reside there shortly after its first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty (*confidenti*) barons in the King's service, with the title of deputy, with a garrison (*una guardia*) of 500 of the best soldiers, besides a troop (*una compagnia*) of 50 horsemen. It is considered by everyone as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although certain engineers doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same care, though being a smaller place, only by 150 men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which serve to inundate the territory stagnating there (*stagnando di là*). So by these fortresses, besides the forces which I have described, the kingdom is secured.*

Laws.

With regard to the government of the realm, it is very different from that of other kingdoms, for in judicial affairs it is not ruled by civil and imperial laws like other Christian countries, but by municipal ones, like this Republic (*Havendo detto a sufficienza delle forze e fortezza del Regno, resteria, ch' Io dicessi della forma del Governo, perchè fusse conosciuta la molta diversità di quello alli altri regni e provincie Christiane, non governato da leggi civili et imperiali, ma da municipali, come questa Repubblica*); which code having been instituted by William of Normandy, "the Conqueror," it is no wonder that they should tend to the King's advantage, and but little to that of his subjects, and that they should abound in contradictions, intricacies (*intrighi*), and doubts, having been instituted by the Norman nation, than which there is none in the world more versed (*più istruitta*) in the fallacies and delays of litigation. These laws are observed inviolably in all their rigour when sentences are passed; and in the Inns of Court in London (*nelli collegij di Londra*) they are read in the Norman tongue, in which, a few years ago, law-suits were conducted, all legal deeds performed, and all public documents written; and, what will seem strange in these same laws, they confer the degree of doctor (a custom quite peculiar to England), and, besides that, they give the doctorate in civil and canon law, as at the Italian universities.

The monarchy.

With the exception of judicial matters, the government of the kingdom, and the affairs of state likewise, all depend on the will of

* Then follows an account of the revenue and expenditure of the Crown, but as the reports of Barbaro and Soranzo were printed in vol. v. I will only remark that in 1554 Soranzo represented the Queen's archer-guard as 150 in number, and in 1557 Michiel doubled the number. Possibly the force was increased on the King's arrival in England.

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the kings, they having made themselves, as they are, masters and absolute lords ; so either from indolence, or for their convenience, or for their additional grandeur (*per maggior grandezza*) (following in this respect the custom of the Grand Turk), they do but rarely give ear (*admettre*) to business or negotiations, and have formed a Council similar to that of the Bashaws, composed of the chief personages, viz., the most confidential ministers they have, who almost in the same fashion as the Bashaws assemble together, and, following the King's person (for which purpose they have board and lodging at court, and are served with great pomp and respect), they ease the King of the fatigue and inconvenience of governing, and they are applied to, not only by their Majesties' subjects and the public servants, but by the ambassadors of crowned heads, so that it may be said they are the ears, the person, and the voice itself of the King. Into this sort of council, called the Royal Council, are usually admitted the three or four principal officials of the realm, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the one styled by them Privy Seal, that is to say, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the Admiral, besides the principal officials of the Court and of the King's Household, such as the Steward, whose office corresponds to that of Grand Master in France, and *maggior-domo maggiore* in the Emperor's court, and the Comptroller, who has the particular charge of the expenses and provisions of the Court. All of them are usually chosen from amongst the chief nobility, though not from obligation nor of necessity, but by the King's will, though it is presupposed that the principal charges and offices of the realm and of the Court can only be conferred on great personages, and above all on such as are in the confidence of the sovereign, who, never limiting himself to any certain number, also admits others into it, regardless of nobility or ignobility (*senza riguardo di nobiltà ò d'ignobiltà*), either of ecclesiastical or secular grade, such persons, in short, as are most to his taste ; and in this matter likewise fortune and favour often prevail over merit. By these individuals the kingdom is governed in all circumstances under the pleasure of the King. But inasmuch as occasionally certain public matters occur concerning either the benefit or detriment of the realm or the subjects, such as passing new laws, revising or amending old ones, making provision of money for any intended war, or for other public necessities, in such and similar cases the kings, from discretion (*per modestia*), continue the ancient custom of calling Parliaments, assembling in them the three estates and orders of the realm, viz., the clergy, the nobles, and the commons, in order that, the necessary matters being investigated and decided by them, their kings may then either confirm or reject the Parliaments' decrees. It is certain that at the beginning, when the Parliaments were ordained, and for many subsequent years, their licence and security were so great that the most insignificant members seated in them (*etiam il minimo di quelli, che vi intervenivano*) might without any danger (even had he spoken against the King's person) have said freely whatever he thought most becoming patriotic zeal and the common weal, as to say the truth, in those times the kings were civil and political chiefs, rather than

The Privy Council.

Officers of State.

Parliament.

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lords and monarchs, as they now are ; so that whereas at the beginning the power of the kings appeared, as it really was, depressed by the Parliaments, by so much the more, on the contrary, since the time of Edward III., who reigned in 1327, and subsequently, owing to the potency (*potentia*) of the kings, the power (*podestà*) of the Parliaments was greatly diminished, there remaining in existence at the present day their ancient form rather than any of their original authority and liberty. The kings now make use of them more to cloak, by this appearance, their own desires and appetites, and to rid themselves of fatigue and inconvenience in consultations on doubtful and detrimental matters concerning perilous affairs, rather than to resign any of the power which they possess, for nothing determined upon in Parliament is valid unless confirmed by the King, nor can Parliaments of their own accord (*da loro*) pass any act or decree, nor even assemble unless called by the kings, who by a variety of means keep out and bring in (if they have a mind to do so, and if it answers their purpose) whomsoever best pleases them, and on whose will they think they can most rely, they having now rendered themselves so formidable and powerful that they "can what they will" (*che possono ciò che vogliono*), as no one either in or out of Parliament, save to their grievous injury and utter ruin, dare, not merely to oppose their will, but to make the slightest sign against it, so that in like manner as the members returned are servants and subjects, so are the acts of the said Parliaments servile and submissive* (*in modo che si come servi, e sudditi son quelli, che vi intervengono, così serve, e suddite sono le attioni che si trattano in essi*).

Queen Mary.

As known to your Serenity, England is now ruled by Queen Mary and by her husband, Philip of Austria, King of Spain. To commence with her, as mistress of the kingdom, she was born (of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon, daughter of King Ferdinand the Catholic, his first and legitimate wife) in the month of February 1516, so she entered her 43rd year last February. Besides her noble descent, she in our times is a very great and rare example of virtue and magnanimity (*di virtù e di valore*), a real portrait of patience and humility, and of the true fear of God, by whom (it may be supposed) she was miraculously reserved (*riservata*), after so many troubles and perils, for no other cause than to be raised to so high a grade from one so very abject (to use that term) and very vile (*vilissima*) in which she was kept for so long a course of years. Few other women in the world of her rank ever lived more wretchedly, as must be known to your Serenity and to every one, not only owing to the divorce, which, with such great impiety, solely from violent and rabid lust, she saw her father effect from the Queen her mother, after she had lived with her husband for 20 years, and borne him, besides herself, a son, who died three months after his birth, but from seeing herself, with the same impiety, disinherited and declared a bastard, instead of legitimate, and only daughter, and heiress of the kingdom, as she was. But yet worse treatment awaited her, for with very great indignity she had to serve as her mistress (*come*

* Compare with Michiel's despatch dated London, 16th December 1555 (p. 283), showing what Sir Anthony Kingston dared to do in the House of Commons.

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a *patrona*) a public strumpet (*una publica meretrice*), her father's concubine, that famous Anne Boleyn, whom she saw not only succeed to her mother's place, but also, during that mother's lifetime, raised to the crown of England. Besides this, and to the degradations, the injuries, the threats, and the affronts endured by her after the change of the religion and the spoliation of the churches and their final ruin, from her never having chosen to apostatize, nor to adhere to the heretical opinions of those who ruled in the time of her brother King Edward, her life having then been often in danger, she subsequently, on his death, saw herself excluded from the succession by the act of one of her own subjects, that no less daring than impious Duke of Northumberland, she being also abandoned by everybody, and miserably put to flight, together with her forces (*con gli eserciti*), her enemies intending to annihilate her completely; and, last of all, after her coronation [1553, September 29] from the insurrections to which during three years she has several times been exposed, it is evident that from the commencement of her life until now she has never been free since sorrows and dangers (*non è mai uscita di affanni e pericoli*), against which it seems impossible for her to have been able to struggle had she not been assisted by some great favour from God, and by some especial care which He has of her innocence.

The Queen's
personal
qualities.

She is of low rather than of middling stature, but, although short (*piccola*), she has no personal defect in her limbs, nor is any part of her body deformed (*offesa*). She is of spare (*magra*) and delicate frame, quite unlike her father, who was tall and stout; nor does she resemble her mother, who, if not tall, was nevertheless bulky (*masiccia*). Her face is well formed, as shown by her features and lineaments, and as seen by her portraits. When younger she was considered, not merely tolerably handsome, but of beauty exceeding mediocrity (*non pur tenuta honesta, ma più che mediocrementemente bella*). At present, with the exception of some wrinkles, caused more by anxieties than by age, which make her appear some years older, her aspect, for the rest, is very grave (*adesso cavate qualche cresphe causate più dalli affanni, che dalla età che la mostrano attempata di qualche anni di più nel resto molto grave*). Her eyes are so piercing that they inspire, not only respect, but fear, in those on whom she fixes them, although she is very short-sighted, being unable to read or do anything else unless she has her sight quite close to what she wishes to peruse or to see distinctly. Her voice is rough and loud, almost like a man's, so that when she speaks she is always heard a long way off.* In short, she is a seemly woman (*una donna honesta*), and never to be loathed for ugliness, even at her present age, without considering her degree of queen. But whatever may be the amount deducted from her physical endowments, as much more may with truth, and without flattery, be added to those of her mind, as, besides the facility (*facilità*) and quickness (*accortezza*) of her understanding, which comprehends whatever is intelligible to others, even to those who

* Ha la voce grossa et alta quasi da homo, sì che quando parla e sempre sentita un pezzo da lontano.

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are not of her own sex (a marvellous gift for a woman), she is skilled (*instrutta*) in five languages, not merely understanding, but speaking four of them fluently, viz., English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse, although it is well known to her; but the replies she gives in Latin, and her very intelligent remarks made in that tongue (*et con gli propositi che tiene intendentissimamente*) surprise everybody. Besides woman's work, such as embroidery of every sort with the needle, she also practises music, playing especially on the claricorde (*manicordo*)* and on the lute so excellently that, when intent on it (though now she plays rarely), she surprised the best performers, both by the rapidity of her hand and by her style of playing. Such are her virtues and external accomplishments (*ornamenti*). Internally, with the exception of certain trifles, in which, to say the truth, she is like other women, being sudden and passionate (*subita e sdegnosa*), and close and miserly (*streta e misereta*), rather more so than would become a bountiful and generous queen, she in other respects has no notable imperfections; whilst in certain things she is singular and without an equal, for not only is she brave and valiant, unlike other timid and spiritless women, but so courageous and resolute that neither in adversity nor peril did she ever even display or commit any act of cowardice or pusillanimity, maintaining always, on the contrary, a wonderful grandeur and dignity, knowing what became the dignity of a sovereign as well as any of the most consummate statesmen in her service; so that from her way of proceeding, and from the method observed by her (and in which she still perseveres), it cannot be denied that she shows herself to have been born of truly royal lineage. Of her humility, piety, and religion it is unnecessary to speak, or bear witness to them, as they are not only universally acknowledged, but recently blazoned by proofs and facts which fell little short of martyrdom, by reason of the persecutions she endured; so that it may be said of her, as Cardinal Pole says with truth, that in the darkness and obscurity of that kingdom she remained precisely like a feeble light buffeted by raging winds for its utter extinction, but always kept burning and defended by her innocence and lively faith, that it might shine in the world as it now does shine. It is certain that few women in the world (I do not speak of princesses or of queens, but of private women) are known to be more assiduous at their prayers than she is, never choosing to suspend them for any impediment whatever, going at the canonical hours (*di hora in hora*) with her chaplains either to church in public or to her private chapel, doing the like with regard to the communions and fast days, and, finally, to all other Christian works, precisely like a nun and a religious (*apunto come una monaca, et una religiosa*).

† The clarichorde is described by Kircher in his *Musurgia universalis*. It was a sort of spinnet, or small harpsichord. Luscinius in his *Musurgia seu Praxis, Musica*, 1536, p. 9) described those instruments thus, *omnia hæc instrumenta habent plectra (sic enim illa vocant) chordas diversis in locis contrectantia, &c.*" The virginal and clarichord were similar in fact to small harpsichords. (See "Original Letters," &c., Second Series, vol. 1, p. 272, footnote, by the late Sir Henry Ellis.)

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The Queen's
reliance
on Cardinal
Pole.

Respecting the government and public business she is compelled (being of a sex which cannot becomingly take more than a moderate part in them), according to the custom of other sovereigns, to refer many matters to her councillors and ministers. The truth is that, knowing the divisions which exist [amongst them (*che conoscendo le divisioni che sono tra loro*), her Majesty, in order not to be deceived, and for the prevention of scandal, willed (with the King's consent) that Cardinal Pole should hear and have everything referred to him, it being evident that, whilst showing the utmost confidence in him, she distrusts almost all the others; and she says freely that in government affairs, most especially in cases of conscience and of offence against God (about which she shows herself beyond measure sensitive) (*sopro modo gelosa*), she refers herself to the Cardinal, protesting that should errors be committed they will be attributed to him. In this she is most judicious and most fortunate, God having provided her with a minister so much in conformity with herself, and of such great qualities (as your Serenity will hear in full when I come to speak of him), that she might live with her mind at ease, and quite consoled, were she likewise undisturbed by her own thoughts and passions, both public and private, which often subject her to a very deep melancholy, much greater than that to which she is constitutionally liable, from menstruous retention and suffocation of the matrix (*per la retentione de' menstrui, e soffocatione della matrice*), to which for many years she has been often subject, so that the remedy of tears and weeping, to which from childhood she has been accustomed, and still often used by her, is not sufficient; she requires to be blooded either from the foot or elsewhere, which keeps her always pale and emaciated (*pallida e macilente*). Amongst her afflictions, what she chiefly laments is the fruitlessness of her marriage, and consequently the dangers which threaten the restoration of the Catholic religion and of the obedience of the English Church, both of which she sought with so much zeal and ardour. These now doubtlessly prevail (*prevagliano*) because they are sustained (*sustentate*) by her authority and presence, but were she to die, their utter failure is apprehended, as your Serenity will hear when I come to speak of the religion. Besides, she is also greatly grieved by the insurrections, conspiracies, and plots formed against her daily, both at home and abroad, and although hitherto, by the mercy of God, they have not caused any damage or detriment, but have resulted auspiciously for her and inauspiciously for their authors, yet nevertheless, it being necessary, on such occasions, to proceed to capital punishment or confiscation against one person or another, sometimes for crime and sometimes on suspicion, she knows that by these means the hatred and indignation she inspires are increased, the delinquents being not only excused almost by everybody, but the causes, such as the expulsion of foreigners (who are most odious to the English on account of the Spaniards), or the religion, or both together, assigned by the conspirators for their movements, being tacitly approved of.

Insurrections
against her.

The consequence is that as until now the plots have been set-on-foot (*mosse*) by the commonalty and persons of mean extrac-

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Her debts.

tion (*da gente bassa e popolare*), so from the fickleness of that nation (*per la inconstantia di coloro*), were they excited (*mosse*) by some personage (*signore*) or nobleman of importance, there is no doubt they would create a great revolution throughout the realm; much to the personal danger of the Queen, and of her life; the kingdom being still full of humours and discontent, and the country (*gli animi*) showing a greater inclination and readiness for change than ever, provided it had a leader. Besides these and many other distresses the Queen witnesses the daily increasing decline of the affection evinced towards her universally at the commencement of her reign,* which in truth was such and so extraordinary that never was greater shown in that kingdom towards any sovereign; and she is also harassed by the poverty in which she sees the Crown, owing not only to the past debts and disorders but to the many expenses and to the wants incurred in her own time, which prevent her from showing courtesy and liberality such as become a sovereign, either to her own subjects or to others. She is compelled on the contrary (there being no other remedy) daily to repeat her demands for loans and subsidies, which have now become such a grievance, and so much the more odious to the people (*alli populi*), as notwithstanding all the subsidies the creditors remain unpaid, the majority having arrears due to them for entire years, so that their clamours and complaints being redoubled, the hatred of all the other malcontents increases proportionably. These and many others are the public causes of the Queen's distress, and although they are held by her in great account, she nevertheless feels them less painfully than certain others which affect her personally, as respecting those already mentioned by me, she comforts herself with the hope of their being remedied in the course of time by the counsel and diligence of some of her ministers, especially Cardinal Pole, through the care taken by them to investigate and retrench superfluities and abuses, and thus with the aid of parsimony getting out of debt, as she expects to do shortly, so as then to be enabled to use liberality, confer favours and rewards, and relieve those who are in want. For those distresses she consoles herself, but for these others of which I will now tell she has no remedy, and but little or no consolation. They arise from two causes, or rather from two contrary effects, viz., from love and from hatred. From love proceeds her being enamoured, as she justly is (so far as could be known whilst they lived together),† of her husband, and of his character (*natura*) and manners, which are such as to captivate any one, and above all a person who had such good companionship and good treatment as she enjoyed with him, for in truth no one could have been a better husband to her, nor so good a one; and now to think of losing him, as they can only meet by accident, he unfortunately being from necessity always in motion and always travelling, leaving her bereaved, not only of that company, for the sake of

Her love of
King Philip.

* Michiel speaks as an eye-witness, he arrived in England on the 22nd May 1554, the Queen having been crowned on the 30th September 1553.

† From August 1554 to August 1555, nor did he return until March 1557, after the departure from England of Giovanni Michiel.

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which (besides the hope of lineage) marriages are formed; this separation, which to any person who loves another heartily, would be irksome and grievous, is assuredly so to a woman naturally tender (*ad una donna tenera di natura*). From this fear and violent love for him (*martello*) she may be said never to pass a day without anxiety; and if besides the violent love (*martello*) there were to be added jealousy, which as yet she is not known to feel, for if she does not hold the King chaste, I at least know that she says she believes him free from love for any other woman; were she, I say, jealous, she would be truly miserable; and this separation is one of the anxieties that especially distresses her.

Mary's hatred of
Elizabeth.

The other, which proceeds from hatred, is owing to her evil disposition (*mala dispositione*) towards her sister my Lady Elizabeth, which although dissembled, it cannot be denied that she displays in many ways the scorn and ill will (*lo sdegno e la mala volontà*) she bears her; the Queen, whenever she sees her, fancying herself in the presence of the affronts and ignominious treatment to which she was subjected on account of her mother, from whom in great part the divorce from Queen Katherine originated. But what disquiets her most of all is to see the eyes and hearts of the nation already fixed on this lady (*sopra costei*) as successor to the Crown, from despair of descent from the Queen, to whom the demonstration and the thought are by so much the more bitter and odious as it would be most grievous, not only to her but to any one to see the illegitimate child of a criminal who was punished as a public strumpet, on the point of inheriting the throne with better fortune than herself, whose descent is rightful, legitimate, and regal.* Besides this the Queen's hatred is increased by knowing her to be averse to the present religion, she having not only been born in the other, but being versed (*dotta*) and educated in it; for although externally she showed, and by living catholically shows, that she has recanted, she is nevertheless supposed to dissemble, and to hold to it more than ever internally.

Lady Elizabeth.

Of this sister of hers I must remind your Serenity that after the repudiation of Queen Katharine (the present Queen's mother) she was born of Henry VIII. and of his second wife Anne Boleyn, an Englishwoman and of noble birth, although two years afterwards she was beheaded for adultery. My Lady Elizabeth was born in September 1533, so she is now 23 years old. She is a young woman, whose mind is considered no less excellent (*bello*) than her person, although her face is comely (*gratiosa*) rather than handsome, but she is tall and well formed, with a good skin, although swarthy (*ancorchè olivastra*); she has fine eyes and above all a beautiful hand of which she makes a display (*della quale ne fa professione*); and her intellect and understanding (*spirito et ingegno*) are wonderful, as she showed very plainly by her conduct when in danger and under suspicion. As a linguist she excels the Queen, for besides Latin she has no slight knowledge of Greek, and speaks

* Quanto non sol da essa, ma a ciascuno saria gravissimo di veder il sangue bastardo di una condannata, e punita per publica meretrice dover esser presto con miglior fortuna nella successione del Regno, al sangue vero, legittimo, e regale, come il suo."

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Italian more than the Queen does, taking so much pleasure in it that from vanity (*per ambitione*) she will never speak any other language with Italians. She is proud and haughty, as although she knows that she was born of such a mother, she nevertheless does not consider herself of inferior degree to the Queen, whom she equals in self-esteem; nor does she believe herself less legitimate than her Majesty, alleging in her own favour that her mother would never cohabit with the King unless by way of marriage, with the authority of the Church, and the intervention of the Primate of England; so that even if deceived, having as a subject acted with good faith, the fact cannot have invalidated her mother's marriage, nor her own birth, she having been born under that same faith; and supposing her to be a bastard (*e posto che fusse bastarda*), she prides herself on her father and glories in him; everybody saying that she also resembles him more than the Queen does; and he therefore always liked her and had her brought up (*e fatta nutrir*) in the same way as the Queen, and bequeathed to each of them 10,000 *scudi* per annum, and, what matters more, substituted her in the stead of the Queen as successor to the Crown, should he die without male heirs. She now lives upon this settlement (*provisione*) from her father, but is always in debt, and would be much more so did she not steadily restrain herself to avoid any increase of the Queen's hatred and anger, either by increasing the number of gentlemen and servants of her household, or by adding to her expenditure in any other way; and here I may add that there is not a lord or gentleman in the kingdom who has failed, and continues endeavouring, to enter her service himself or to place one of his sons or brothers in it, such being the love and affection borne her. When requested to take servants she always excuses herself on account of the straits and poverty in which she is kept, and by this astute and judicious apology she adroitly incites a tacit compassion for herself and consequently yet greater affection, as it seems strange and vexatious to everybody that being the daughter of a King she should be treated and acknowledged so sparingly (*così miseramente*). Since Wyatt's rebellion she may be said never to have been at liberty, for although she is allowed to live at a house of hers called Hatfield, 12 miles from London, the Queen has nevertheless many spies and guards in the neighbourhood who keep strict watch on all persons passing to and fro, nor is any thing said or done that is not immediately reported to the Queen, so she is obliged to act very cautiously (*molto intertenuta*).

Favour shown
by Philip to
Elizabeth.

At the time of the Queen's pregnancy, Lady Elizabeth, when made to come to the court, contrived so to ingratiate herself with all the Spaniards, and especially with the King, that ever since no one has favoured her more than he does; for not only would he not permit but opposed and prevented the Queen's wish to have her disinherited and declared a bastard by Act of Parliament, and consequently ineligible to the throne, which, besides affection, implies some particular design on the part of the King with regard to her. (*Il quale non solo non volse permettere, ma si oppose, et impedì, che non fusse, come voleva la Regina, per atto di Parlamento esheredata e*

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dechiarata Bastarda, e consequentemente inhabile alla successione, il che arguisce oltre l'affettione, particular disegno che'l re ne habbi.) His Majesty also dissuaded and prevented the Queen from sending her out of the kingdom, to Spain or elsewhere, as she wished to do. From this your Serenity can comprehend what the Queen thinks of her, for there is no doubt whatever but that had not her Majesty been restrained by the King, and by the fear of some insurrection she for any trifling cause (*con ogni mediocre occasione*) would gladly have inflicted every sort of punishment on her; so great is the effect produced by recollection, not only of past offences but also of present ones, for it unfortunately appears that never is a conspiracy discovered in which either justly or unjustly she or some of her servants are not mentioned. But the respects to which I have alluded hold the Queen's hand, and having no suitable cause to proceed against her she dissembles her hatred and anger as much as she can, and endeavours when they are together in public to receive her with every sort of graciousness and honour, nor does she ever converse with her about any but agreeable subjects (*ne mai le parla se non di cose piacevoli*). Such is the position of my Lady Elizabeth, of whose marriage and of what may be hoped about it, your Serenity will be better able to form an opinion when I shall have occasion to speak about the succession to the Crown (*della successione del Regno*).

The Queen's
supposed
pregnancy.

Returning now to my first discourse about the Queen, I repeat that from the aforesaid causes and considerations, she the more distresses herself, perceiving daily that no one believes in the possibility of her having progeny, so that day by day she sees her authority and the respect induced by it diminish, nor is to be told how much hurt that vain pregnancy (*quella vana gravidanza*) did her; which, as I know that many persons interpreted it in a different sense to what it deserved, I therefore, to rectify the mistake of some of those who had a contrary opinion, assure your Serenity that there was neither deceit nor malice in the matter, but mere error, not only on the part of the King and Queen, but on that of the councillors and of the whole Court, which for a long while rendered their belief common to everybody, as besides all the other manifest signs of pregnancy there was that of the swelling of the paps and their emission of milk (*perchè oltre tutti gli altri manifesti segni di gravidanza, non vi mancò quello dello ingrossarsi le tette, e mandar fuor del latte*), although as known by the result, that likewise proceeded from the stoppage of her courses (*retentione de' menstrui*).

King Philip.

Having spoken sufficiently about the Queen's qualities, whilst reserving for my conclusion what concerns her understanding with other sovereigns, it is well for me to tell briefly of those of the King, to make known the authority held by him in the administration of the kingdom, and in what way he exercises it, as everybody calls him King, and as such (precisely like the Queen) he signs all public acts; but I will not speak about his paternal forces and States, as they are foreign to the present subject, and would require a particular "report," which your Serenity may expect, in a very

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His personal
qualities.

ample form, from the most noble Messer Ferigo Badoer, in conformity with his charge and especial office.*

King Philip is the very image and portrait of the Emperor his father, resembling him most perfectly in complexion, face, and features, his lip projecting more than the Emperor's, whose other qualities (*qualità*) are all common to him, but he is of lower stature, being short though very well formed and strong, as has been often seen at several sorts of tourneys when armed or disarmed, on foot, or on horseback. Besides being like the Emperor in appearance, in habits (*costumi*), and mode of life, he imitates (to commence with this) to the utmost his benign and gracious ways and actions (*vie et attioni*), maintaining also gravity; it being said that hitherto in these respects he is superior to his father, who although extremely grave (*gravissimo*) was nevertheless very gracious, and he has quite lost that haughtiness and *sosiego* as the Spaniards call it, which rendered him so odious the first time he went out of Spain.† The patience and facility with which he gives audience to all persons, however lowly their condition, cannot be exceeded, for not only at the usual audience hours (when no mediator is required) but whenever suitors please they can approach him freely, occupying his time with petitions and memorials without ever being repulsed or impeded, and even when he has retired either for business or convenience, the slightest medium suffices to obtain extraordinary audiences.

Although his replies are limited and of few words, as he is also said to be in conversation, yet nevertheless in the despatch of business (which is tedious, according to the custom of the Spanish nation) he concedes much more than the intention announced by him verbally would imply. His ability is excellent, as he easily comprehends and remembers‡ what is said to him, and although he never departs from his maternal and native Spanish tongue, he understands and speaks Latin likewise, but not well (*benchè debilmente*), understanding Italian without difficulty, and French also it is said. Besides ability (*ingegno*) he is supposed to have fair judgment (*onesto giuditio*) I do not say for his age, (as having now entered his thirtieth year, he ought as a sovereign to know more than is known to other men at the age of 40) but with regard to his little experience; and his counsellors narrate many cases and very striking examples of the same assiduity and patience displayed by him in business, as that with which he gives audience, for he does not disdain to attend the Council during four or five consecutive hours at a time. Respecting liberality, the chief attribute of a King, (were he not restrained by present penury owing to incessant wars) from the proof afforded by him of it, the greater his revenue, the more largely would he distribute his money. As

* The "Report" here alluded to may be read in Alberi's first series, vol. 3, pp. 177 to 330.

† Philip, Prince of Spain, in the 21st year of his age embarked at Barcelona for Italy in charge of the Duke of Alva, the squadron being commanded by Andrea Doria, and it arrived at Genoa on the 27th November 1549. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 181, and Robertson, p. 630, ed. London, 1831.)

‡ Con un nome d'intender facilmente, e capir cio che gli vien detto.

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Philip's war with
the Pope.

for religion (which in a Prince is a chief consideration) no better opinion could be formed than from external appearances. He is assiduous and most punctual in his attendance at masses, vespers, and sermons, like a "religious," much more so than many persons think becomes his station and his age. The like is said of him intrinsically, both by certain friars, theologians, his preachers, who are doubtless estimable men, and also by others who treat with him daily about cases of conscience, and do not desire any better or more pious intention than his; and although at present he seems to have lost much of this opinion through the war waged by him against the Pope, his Majesty having been the aggressor, yet must your Serenity know that he did not move of his own accord, nor without the counsel and opinion of all the theologians and doctors in the University of Louvain and many other places, he being jealous and most scrupulous in this matter. They assured him accordingly, that he was not acting contrary to piety, nor in opposition to the office of Catholic King (the title borne by him), because they said that moving war solely for the security and defence of his states, it is lawful in similar cases for the vassal, and yet more so for a son, to anticipate the attack which he sees is being prepared against him by his [spiritual?] father and by his prince; there being also some of them who spoke more freely, saying that it was lawful to disarm the frantic prince (*che era licito levar le armi di mano al Principe furioso*); so with the favour of these theologians, King Philip thought himself justified conscientiously both before God and man; nor have I more to say about his religion.

Comparison
between
Charles V. and
King Philip.

For the rest, as to his not giving promise of that magnanimity and spirit which becomes so powerful a prince, nor such ambition and desire for glory and domination as was displayed by the Emperor his father, taking a totally different course, namely that of quiet and repose; in this matter, I for my own part believe that as yet no positive opinion can be formed, for he only now begins to act and rule. Nor do I think it can be well known whether his present inclination proceeds from nature, from choice, or from necessity, owing to the many and great difficulties in which he is placed, but even were he thus inclined by nature, time, and the various accidents which may occur in the world from one hour to another, may make him change both his resolve and his nature. He has no want of enemies who believe him to be alert (*svegliato*) and will perhaps find him more so than needed, for to argue by a simile at his age, even the Emperor had scarcely stirred, and on the contrary everybody, or the majority, believed him to be stupid and sluggish (*stupido e adormentato*)*, and then on the sudden and

* This remark of the Ambassador Michiel is in accordance with what was disseminated at Rome on the 16th September 1517, by the Marquis de Pescara, and one Theodoro Boccali, who had just returned from the Court of King Charles in Flanders, and said of him: "*Non è di alcun valor et è governato da altri.*" (Venetian Calendar, p. 420.) This was written to the Doge and Senate by the Ambassador Marco Minio, who on the 22nd July 1517 had informed the State that the Spanish ambassadors in Rome said their King had written to them that "*he well knew who had sold, betrayed, and sacrificed him, but that on arriving in Spain he would so provide for his need as to prove himself NOT A LAD.*" (See Venetian Calendar, p. 407.) And in the Venetian Calendar, date 30th October 1514 (p. 201, there is yet earlier proof of the precocity and spirit of the future Emperor, whose contemporaries having represented him so variously, posterity can tint his portraits as they please.

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unexpectedly he showed himself so brisk, so daring, and so courageous, as is known much better to your Serenity than to me. It often happens that certain persons constitutionally tardy and quiet, and by nature placid and sluggish (*dormentati*), when roused and stimulated, at length wake up and easily turn the other way, most especially if some prosperous event befalls them from which they take courage, and become intrepid and terrible. But as the King until now has not taken part personally in any warlike expedition, his defenders, to exonerate him from the charge of timidity and cowardice, say that it did not proceed from his own resolve and disinclination for war, in which he often wished to take part, but from the Emperor's will, to which never was there a more obedient son. Being his sole male heir, and the King's constitution delicate, the Emperor would not expose him to fatigue and dangers, and even now his Majesty shows signs of becoming soon infirm and a valetudinarian, not only because he is naturally languid and taking but little or no exercise, but also from being subject to very frequent bowel-complaints (*dolori colici*) which daily harass him more and more. So the Emperor would not expose him to those fatigues and perils; besides which, to have removed him from Spain to keep him about his person, and to have made him his companion in the camp, would have prevented him from governing his kingdoms, which, as known to everybody, cannot remain without the presence of a ruler, independently of expense, &c.

Philip's abhor-
rence of war.

Now that he is his own master and dependent solely on his own will, it will soon be seen what he will do, as it cannot be doubted from the provisions and preparations now being made, that (as reported) he will take the field this year; but even should he do so, I can say that it will be of necessity rather than from choice, as I have it on the best authority, that by nature he abhors war, though now inclined to wage it in person; nor would he ever bring himself to this except under constraint, as at present, for the sake of undeceiving the world, and especially his enemies with regard to their opinion of his being cowardly and spiritless (*vile e di da poco*), and that he is incapable of resenting injuries and knows not how to do so. This was the cause which principally induced him to take up arms against the Pope, rather than any suspicion caused by the Pope's arming and negotiating leagues and confederacies (*leghe et intelligentie*) with other princes, against him and his States, these proceedings being less resented by the King than the contempt with which he was treated, and the Pope's mean opinion of him, expressed moreover in scurrilous language (*con parole poco honeste*). Apart, however, from the necessity for him to battle in person, I know that if compelled to wage war either offensive or defensive, he prefers the procedure of his ancestor the Catholic King [Ferdinand] (who had it made by his captains without going himself in person) to that of the Emperor his father, who chose to command his own armies; and in this opinion the King is confirmed by the Spaniards, and by his most intimate advisers, who tell him that the Emperor himself gained more, and was more glorious through the feats

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performed by Antonio de Leva, by the Lord Prospero [Colonna] and by the Marquis of Pescara [Ferdinando Francisco d'Avalos] and others, than by what he did with his own hand. By nature therefore and from choice, or from necessity, owing to the many difficulties and impediments in which he is left by his father, it may be considered certain, not only that he will follow the advice given him, but adhere to it more and more as he advances in life, even had he not the heavy responsibility of defending and preserving his realms, in which should he succeed he will have accomplished no slight achievement, the enemy being so powerful as he is, and the more daring as his forces are united and not dispersed, and he has good fortune, whilst on the other hand he knows how the Emperor left King Philip, not only with an exhausted exchequer, but overwhelmed with debts, (although at present this penury is common to both of them) the provinces being mortgaged (*impegnate*) and a good part of the ordinary revenues alienated and sold; so the King is compelled to have recourse to taxes and heavy impositions (*taglioni*) which have now become intolerable to his subjects, and very grievous to himself. He has no military commanders, and what matters more his councillors and ministers are all new men (*huomini novi*) and the greater part of them inexperienced, and detested by the [Spanish ?] nation. King Philip's nearest blood-relations envy him, and consequently he is hated by them also, so it is from no want of ill-will that they abstain from declaring themselves, and God knows what will take place after the death of the King of the Romans.*

Philip's relations
with France.

To all these troubles must be added this fresh one about the affairs of England, on which he is forced to keep his eye, by reason of their present threatening aspect, lest through the death of the Queen, or from some other accident, which owing to the nature of that kingdom may occur at any moment, he be not only deprived of it, but, what matters more, lest his enemies who aim at this should occupy England, or cause that realm to fall into their hands. By reason of these and other equally great difficulties, even were he naturally inclined to war, he would be compelled to abstain from it, there being no better remedy than repose, and the benefit of time, to repair the ruins and heal the wounds. On his first arrival in England he endeavoured by all means to effect some sort of adjustment between the King of France and his father, and was very dissatisfied when at the conference of Calais, which was attended by Cardinal Pole, and by the others on behalf of the Queen (*con l'intervento del Cardinal Polo, e delli altri per parte della Regina*), the Emperor would not allow a truce to be made,† although the French assented to it even then, as the Emperor did in like manner, but on worse terms, eight months later, induced by necessity, which King Philip foresaw long previously. He hoped through the truce, if not to pay all debts, at least not to increase them, disburdening the people in part and relieving and comforting them by acts of gratitude

* The Emperor Ferdinand died at Vienna on the 25th July 1564.

† This was the cause of Cardinal Pole's failure at the Conference of Marck. (Compare with Hook, p. 337).

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and liberality such as cannot be practised in time of war; and by showing and making himself known first in one, and then in the other of his kingdoms, to secure their possession (*attendere a stabilirsi*); and by means of justice and religion, and his so great, not only goodness, but as the Latins say, evenness of mind, for as yet he is not known, either by word or deed, ever to have behaved strangely or insolently to any one, either his subjects, or to others, however lowly their condition, by these so great and especial virtues, and having no observable vice, not only to make himself loved, but by his power to inspire respect and fear (*ma con le forze che ha, rispettare e temere*). This was his object, but after the rupture of the truce, as he told me himself lately (*ultimamente*) when I took leave of him,* he could by no means trust the French unless he showed them his teeth (*se non mostra loro il viso*).

His authority
in England.

But to proceed to the authority exercised by him in England, let others say what they will to the contrary, your Serenity may rest assured that everybody is mistaken, for in all the affairs (*tutte le attioni*) of that kingdom (either public or private) of any importance, they gave him such share of all of them, submitting to him what they would were he their native English King. The reverence and respect borne him by the Queen is infinite, and her example is followed by Cardinal Pole, and consequently by all the other ministers; but until now he has derived little benefit from his marriage, having hitherto a mere temporary interest in the kingdom during the Queen's lifetime; and with regard to matters relating to the realm, being a new-comer (*uomo nuovo*), and consequently having but slight knowledge of them, he therefore with infinite modesty and judgment has always referred himself, as he does at present, to the Queen and Cardinal, leaving them to act (with the assistance, if it seem fit to them, of the other councillors and ministers), and ratifying all their decrees, knowing that they do nothing that can injure him or his affairs. By proceeding in this way he has won the whole Court, especially the chief nobility (*gli grandi*), by so much the more as he has made no alteration whatever in the style and form of government, nor has he departed a hair's breadth from the marriage contract, thus dissipating entirely the very great fear which was at first entertained that on taking possession he imperiously and despotically (*e con la potentia*) would give commands and dispose things in his own way, removing government officials and substituting them by aliens or others at his option. He has rendered himself yet more popular, not only by purposely dispensing with many pecuniary advantages and prerogatives, to which he had a personal right, but also because during his stay in England,† in order to show that he had not come from ambition to be King, he having so many crowns (*abondando lui di tanti Regni*), nor to avail himself of their kingdom, being too well aware of the Queen's helpless position (*il stato e la impotenzia della Regina*), he always paid his own expenses (even for the merest trifles), and those of all his atten-

His liberality.

* In March 1557, probably at Brussels as Michiel left England in February.

† From July 1554 to July 1555.



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dants, with the funds remitted to him from Spain and Flanders, having in this manner given such a profit to the country that it has not received the like for many years, for according to the computation of what he and his attendants, together with the other foreigners who came to England on his account, expended in little more than one year, the sum total amounted to upwards of a million of gold, the whole of which remains in the island. Besides all this, on his first arrival in England, under the pretence (*sotto spetie*) of acknowledgment and liberality, it seeming to him the office of a bountiful and beneficent Prince to remunerate some of those who had been faithful to the Queen on her accession, and at the time of Wyatt's rebellion, he gave to some of them pensions for life, to others salaries, and many were received by him into his household and service, at a cost exceeding from 53,000 to 54,000 ducats annually, which have always been paid, as is the case at this moment, nor has he ever availed himself of their friendship except for some conveniency (*alcuna commodità*). The King when in England, although according to his custom he receives petitions and memorials, does so as mediator and intercessor with the Queen (towards whom he shows deference in everything), rather than from any wish to be considered either master or lord-paramount (*principal Signore*), leaving to the Queen and the ministers the execution of sentences of confiscation or capital punishment, in order that he may obtain the royal pardon and clemency.

Hatred of the
English towards
the Spaniards.

All these personal details show that he is not only popular (*ben veduto*) and universally beloved, but even longed for (*ma anche desiderato*), most especially if the Spaniards who surround him could be got rid of, as they are feared, and consequently hated, from the dread the English have of their altering the King's nature and custom, and turning him aside from his present mode of proceeding; but with all this, notwithstanding the detestation of the Spaniards, he is desired (*desiderato*) by good men, and by all who know the good effect (*il frutto*) produced by his presence. But in proportion to the King's popularity, and to the respect felt for himself, individually, is the impossibility of his remaining in England to his own dignity and honour, the customs there and the mode of governing differing so much from what he has been used to, for having his Court full of men of divers nations, Flemings, Burgundians, and Italians, besides the Spaniards, all being indifferently his subjects, the English do not brook (*non patiscono*) being treated as their companions, and when a dispute arises between any Englishman and one of them, justice is not administered as it ought to be, for as it is a question of a foreigner and an Englishman, their verdicts are so interminable, and there is so much cavilling, delay, and endless expense, that right or wrong the foreigner must succumb. Nor may it be supposed that the English will submit (like other nations) to an official of Spanish birth entitled "*Alcalde de Corte*," who proceeds summarily against all persons, but according to the ways and terms of Spain (*per vie peró e termini Spagnoli*), they having their own law, from which not only will they not depart, but they moreover insist on its observance by

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all other nations. These wrongs and injustices the King cannot with dignity tolerate, and were he to choose to investigate and remedy them by fresh orders, it would turn the English constitution topsy-turvy (*saria un metter sottosopra la constitutione di quel Regno*) and perhaps revolutionize the kingdom completely. Therefore his Majesty, who knows that the English choose to keep to themselves (*che vogliono star da loro*) and not to have communication nor participation with other nations, contents himself for the present by paying as a Christian what he owes his wife, and availing himself as much as he can of the friendship of England, being already certain that during the Queen's lifetime the country will not detach itself from him, though he may not be able to move and interest it at his own pleasure, as it may now be supposed he will attempt to do with all his might, though with what success is doubtful.

Little aid to be
obtained by
Philip from
England against
France.

To state my opinion of the nature of England from what I observed during my stay there, although the Queen is absolute mistress, and may or may not move war,* I do not believe that she will be induced to attack, and that it is her wish to gratify her husband, as besides what will be told her but too clearly, she herself knows the character of her subjects and the great detriment they and the Crown would incur from the suppression of trade, with but little hurt to the enemy. The kingdom on the other hand is no less sufficient for its own defence than feeble for offensive operations, with the exception of plundering at sea (of which the French are always in dread from the English), and disembarking and burning a few villages; nor do I believe that France would be subjected to any other damage; whereas the King and Queen can only place limited trust in the good will of the English, as in case of war, should they have to fight, it will be with two hearts, their former ardour being quite changed, and especially as they are still enraged with the Queen for her marriage, and because she brought foreigners into England. With the exception, therefore, of a certain sum of money (it being reasonable for a wife to assist her husband), to which the Council would assent liberally, I do not think he will succeed in this; and also with regard to this money, my opinion is that the Queen will take great care not to impoverish herself to such an extent as not to know where to have recourse for funds, in case of insurrection at home or of invasion by the Scots at the instigation of France. She will also proceed with reserve in order not to increase the indignation of the kingdom, as under this pretext of her own security, and that of the realm, she lately obtained the last loan, and then saw how unwillingly it was paid, so that now by depriving herself of it to accommodate others she would not only increase the hatred borne her, but also lose all hope of future supplies. With regard therefore to the sum I do not believe it can be considerable, both because besides what she got from the loan and from the last subsidy (which sums fell due (*maturorno*) last March) she has no other money, but, on the contrary, is very deeply in debt. It must also be borne in mind that if she be obliged to raise

* Compare with a despatch from Michiel's successor, Surian, date London, 7th June 1557, announcing the declaration of war.

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fresh funds the country is much exhausted, above all the nobility and the commonalty (*la moltitudine*) who chiefly contribute to the subsidies, this penury being caused not so much by the scarcity (which for several years has been very great and still continues), as by the cessation of all sorts of supplies (*provisioni*) and salaries (*trattenimenti*) which the Court used to give, thus relieving many persons; and the only monied men are the merchants, and those (who take on lease the lands of one individual and another) whom they call farmers, and who, either to avoid envy, or from a feeling of insecurity, concealing for the most part their money, would not give great assistance. So, according to my judgment, the King will be unable to avail himself of any notable amount, though, for his own repute and that of the kingdom, it will be reported contrarily; but whatever he may get he will also hereafter find it necessary for his popularity to distribute it amongst the people themselves by taking a great body of them with him to the war, as otherwise I think he would render himself extremely odious to the whole nation.

This is all I have to say about the King's qualities, and the authority exercised by him in England; and concerning the means he has for maintaining himself there I will speak hereafter, it seeming to me necessary to say a word previously about the qualities of some of the chief Ministers, who, by reason of their counsel and authority in the Government, are in these times of the utmost importance (*importantano in questi tempi il tutto*).

The new
Council.

Cardinal Pole;
his descent.

I remember having written to your Serenity heretofore on the King's departure that he and the Queen had ordained a new form of Council,* almost in the fashion of a Council of State, to exclude from it any sort of members who had seats in the old and ordinary one, persons who, although of noble birth and true to the Queen, were, however, not considered either adapted to State affairs, or capable of treating them. These new councillors were nine in number, all chief personages, some temporal, and others spiritual, over all of whom, by reason of his grade and nobility, the Cardinal was appointed superior. As your Serenity well knows his descent and conduct, and how he arrived at his present dignity, as also what his religious principles (*dottrina*) and piety are (he being, as said by me repeatedly, the chief instrument in the realm), I will merely say that in the female line his nobility is great and ancient, for his mother was the legitimate daughter of George Duke of Clarence, the brother of King Edward IV., but his paternal descent was moderate, not to say low (as many do) rather than illustrious, for although his father Richard Pole was a Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain of King Henry VII., and Governor of his son Prince Arthur, there is, nevertheless, no record of the nobility

* The despatch here alluded to is dated London, 3rd September 1555, and is printed in the present volume of the Venetian Calendar, pp. 177-180. Dr. Lingard in his History of England (vol. 5, p. 242, ed. London, 1854), made the following footnote about the new Council: "The Cabinet, after the King's departure, consisted of the Cardinal, the Chancellor (Stephen Gardiner), the Treasurer (William Powlett, Marquis of Winchester), the Earls of Arundel (Henry Fitz-Alan) and Pembroke (William Herbert), the Bishop of Ely (Thomas Thirlby), and Lord Paget, Rochester, and Petre, the Secretary. See the instrument of appointment in Burnet, III. Rec. 256."

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or greatness of any of his male ancestry, with the exception of his father, who was a Welshman and first cousin (*cugin carnale*) through a female (*per via di donna*) of Henry Earl of Richmond, who by chance (*per sorte*) became King with the title of Henry VII.; but he likewise was of very low origin (*ma anco quel Re veniva di oscurissimi principii*), his grandfather (*avo*) having been one Owen Tudor (*uno chiamato Owino Tiderio*), an individual of the lowest condition of any in the said province of Wales (*delli più infimi che fussero nella detta Provincia di Walia*), who was put to death by a public decree for having dared to marry Queen Catharine, daughter of Charles VI. of France, widow of Henry V., and mother of King Henry VI.;* so your Serenity can see that by the father's side not even the present Queen descends from noble lineage, having been born of Henry VIII., the son of Henry VII.; but this does not matter in England, where antiquity and nobility are not held in account.

His early
history.

The Cardinal, therefore, both by the father's and mother's side, is the Queen's kinsman and uncle (*zio*), viz. (*sic*) second cousin of her father, by whom, in like manner as in his youth, by reason of the great hope he gave of himself, he was esteemed, beloved, and maintained (*intertenuato*) at the Universities of Paris and of Padua,† receiving stipend from the Crown (*con publica provisione*), so subsequently when the King began to think of the divorce, the Cardinal (who was then called the Lord Reginald), not having chosen to flatter him, nor to consent to his wishes, was persecuted; and after being made Cardinal his brother was beheaded, and shortly afterwards his mother likewise, she being then upwards of 60 years of age, of most exemplary life, and the present Queen had been educated by her; so that at the commencement of the King's anger it suited him to select for himself a voluntary exile (*convene ellegersi esilio volontario*), which lasted for 25 years until now.

His offices
and personal
qualities.

The Cardinal at present is in his fifty-seventh year, and on him rests the entire weight and government of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal. Until deprived of the Legateship *de latere*,‡ he exercised his spiritual charge in virtue of that office, and subsequently as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the kingdom, with the perpetual title of "Legate born" (*Legato nato*), his temporal authority proceeding from his degree of Councillor-supreme (*Consiglier supremo*), in both of which capacities he has certainly not disappointed nor does he disappoint the expectation entertained of his integrity, sincerity, and great worth; so that the cause why he failed to obtain the Popedom heretofore§ when so nearly elected is clearly manifested, God having reserved him for this other

* After the battle of Mortimer's Cross (1461), in which Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke (uncle of Henry VII.) escaped by flight, his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders, but of the decree mentioned by Michiel there is no notice in Hume, vol. 3, p. 380.

† For notices of Cardinal Pole at the University of Padua, see Venetian Calendar, vol. 2, Index.

‡ Cardinal Pole was revoked as Papal Legate in England on the 10th April 1557. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 292.)

§ In November and December, 1549. (See vol. 5, Venetian Calendar, pp. 280 and following.)

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Pole's secret
enemies.

especial purpose, were it solely to bring back England to her obedience to the Church, and to relieve the country from schism ; for in truth the result procured at his hands could not have been attained through those of any one else, it being the universal opinion that in the whole world no other person could be found with so many qualities as he possesses, for besides his dignity and station, his learning and goodness are so infinite ; and what matters much to move those people, his nobility was so great ; but then to gain the English entirely (and in this consisted everything) he was their countryman and spoke their language. In this joint pontificate and reign (*in questo Pontificato adunque e Regno insieme*) he therefore goes from day to day continuing his edification (*la sua edificazione*) with wonderful improvement, through the imitation and example afforded by his actions and by his life, which all who know him know to be utterly undefiled (*incontaminatissimo*) by any sort of passion or worldly interests, as in what concerns his office he is not influenced either by the authority of Princes, nor by the ties of blood, of friendship, or of any other sort, being most strict (*severissimo*) with everybody, and unparalleled. For these qualities, therefore, in proportion as he is beloved and revered by the King and Queen, and universally, so is he in secret envied and hated by some of those who rule, because they are no longer able to advance themselves by authority and favour as they were accustomed to do formerly, having to submit and refer everything to him, so that they are compelled to act with great caution, much more so than was their wont, as otherwise a mere hint given by him to the Queen about the misconduct of any one of them would suffice to deprive him of his authority and grade, and to have him severely punished according to his demerits. Such is the force of his testimony and the trust reposed in him. From this his so great and extraordinary authority it may with truth be said that he is both King and Prince, though he exercises it so graciously and modestly as if he were the least of them, not choosing in any way to interfere, not even in public affairs, unless in such as are especially assigned to him, referring himself for the others, and leaving them to those they concern ; thus doing precisely the reverse of what is the humour and mode of proceeding of the English, who, when they have authority or public charges, endeavour also to meddle with those that do not concern them, so as to have themselves considered and held to be more than they are, choosing right or wrong to maintain the undertakings assumed by them, whether for the good or evil of the persons to whom they relate.

The Cardinal exercising his authority with so much respect and modesty causes those who negotiate with him to suppose that he is not only timid and submissive (*rispettoso*) but very cold, because they would wish him to do like the others, either in benefiting or injuring, and that he should demonstrate his power and authority in another form. In his personal affairs (*nelle cose sue intime*), most especially such as concern political business on account of the Legation and the Government, when he has occasion either to write to the King when he is absent or to the Pope and other Princes, he employs none but Italians ; and whatever has to be done, either

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His reliance on
Mons. Priuli.

by the Ministers or by the Cardinal himself, he discusses it with Monsignor Priuli, to whom, as to his soul, he communicates all his thoughts, so great is his reliance on Monsignor Priuli's judgment, and on the love he bears him. Their mode of life, their doctrine, and their will, are in most perfect conformity (*conformissimi*), and their union is so close as to surprise the world, and to afford it an example, they being quite happy when they have leisure to enjoy each other's society. It is certain that were not Monsignor Priuli there to lessen his fatigue, above all that of writing, the Cardinal would fare badly, for being occupied from morning till night with perpetual audiences, besides his interviews with the Queen, who for the most part chooses to remain apart with him daily for two or three hours, the Cardinal, without the assistance of Monsignor Priuli, either would be compelled to resign, or would soon expire from over exertion. Thus Monsignor Priuli relieves the Cardinal, as the Cardinal does the Queen, and your Serenity [the Doge] may assuredly greatly congratulate yourself* (and be this said without flattery, and with the sincerity and reverence due to this Senate-hall) on having amongst your kinsfolk a personage so good and incorruptible (and I ought to add truly holy (*veramente santo*), but I omit the term from modesty), who is learned and discreet, adapted to any negotiation or important business, and, above all, most worthy of the favour and protection of your Serenity and of this most serene Dominion.

It is unnecessary to speak of the Cardinal's regard for your Serenity, as he demonstrates it clearly by all his acts, never omitting to commend the Republic, both in public and private, being most grateful and mindful of all the demonstrations received, so that he never tires of making them known to everybody; and he is accustomed to say openly that he considers Italy, and your Serenity's State in particular, no less his country than England, for he expresses himself thus :

"Una me genuit, altera me excepit."

The other
Ministers.

By reason of my familiar conversations held with them, I might narrate the qualities of all the other Ministers one by one, but as they are only slightly known to your Serenity it would weary you ; so as the Republic, by the grace of God (*Dei gratia*) has no political business in that kingdom, it seems to me that information about its ministers is of no consequence, though otherwise, a knowledge of the humour and inclination of each of them might be desirable, in order to keep them well disposed, as the will of Sovereigns depends for the most part on their ministers. It will suffice therefore for your Serenity to know that although they are apparently all united, their opinions essentially are as many in number as they themselves, and they are openly divided into two or three factions, so that were a change (*novità*), by misfortune, to take place in the kingdom, with the exception of one or two, all the rest would be of doubtful faith, and adapt themselves to circumstances.

Having told about the ministers, it remains for me to say what

* Lorenzo Priuli was Doge of Venice from the 14th June, 1556, till the 17th August 1559.

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Relations be-
tween England
and Venice :

(1.) Diplomatic.

the Queen's understanding is with foreign powers, which I can do with a word, as she is well-disposed towards all but one.

Her Majesty bears your Serenity, in particular, true friendship, remote, as all friendships ought to be, from any sort of interest, being anxious as she frequently told me not only to preserve, but so far as in her power to increase it; and assuredly, I speaking with such respect as due, notwithstanding the removal of the English Ambassador,* your Serenity ought not entirely to suppress (*levar*) the friendship, as although the Queen was the first to withdraw her representative, she gives it to be understood that by having left another resident here in ordinary for herself and her husband, she has not made any alteration; and when I took leave of her,† anticipating me (*prevenendome*), she said so distinctly, in the form of a complaint, as if she believed your Serenity to be offended, seeing that you recalled me, and did not leave anyone in my stead, it seeming to her that this want of reciprocity implied that she was not held in such account as became the antiquity and nobility of that kingdom, independently of her own affection for the Republic, and the opinion she has of it. Were the King to reside ordinarily in England, one ambassador might suffice as your Serenity's envoy, but going away as he will do, it would be well, for many reasons, to keep either a secretary, or a consul, or an ambassador there to preserve our recollection of this Queen (*di tener viva la memoria di questa Regina*), irrespectively of the need there is on account of the commerce and traffic practised by Venetian residents in London, between England and Venice, and by reason of the ships which pass to and fro daily; nor had our merchants ever greater need of assistance from the State than at present, as they are on the way to be compelled to abandon the English trade entirely. The reasons may be stated briefly thus; the Venetians export from London wools and woollens, which are of such great importance for these parts, and especially for this city; from Venice they import wines, currants, and other produce from the East (*e le altre cose di Levante*). With regard to the woollens, the last orders issued in England prohibit their exportation [for Venice overland] by way of Flanders,‡ except at the time of the fairs there, which are held thrice every year; and as for the wools, every sort of export-permit being stopped entirely, and the ships forbidden to unload elsewhere than at Hampton,§ things are brought to such a pass that the Venetians must perforce quit the country, with such injury and loss to this city (which maintains itself chiefly by trade) as may be imagined, unless they are assisted by your Serenity, and recover their privileges, from regard for you and your authority.

(2.) Commercial.

To return to my former topic; the Queen is well disposed towards all the powers, with the exception of the King of France.

* Peter Vannes.

† On the first Sunday in February 1557. (See Michiel's despatch dated London, 26th January 1557.)

‡ The Bishop of Ely told Michiel that they might be sent through France. (See his despatch of the 21st July 1556.)

§ See letter of Giovanni Michiel in this volume, date London, 21st July 1556, p. 534.

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Relations between England and Scotland.

She is even friendly with the Scots, (although her natural enemies,) and they are much more so with her, being thus moved by the hatred lately conceived by them against France, and which arose from the innovation (*novità*) commenced in Scotland by the Queen Regent,* mother of the young Queen,† who is in France, through the unusual and extraordinary taxes which she unscrupulously imposes on the whole country.

It was told me as a fact by some of the chief lords of Scotland, that were the Queen of England a man, instead of being a woman as she is, they would rise (*si solleveriano*) and come spontaneously to place themselves under her dominion; as speaking all the same language, they desire nothing more than to find themselves in like manner under one and the same prince, and in one united island, as they have lost all hope of ever again seeing their Queen in Scotland, and are afraid lest the country become shortly (as it will) a French province; the Scots having been deprived of their fortresses and government (*levati dal governo*), and they are in short commanded by French governors, losing all their ancient liberty. From these causes the Scots have turned all their hatred and ill-will against the French; they are on good terms with the English, and the English with them, the Queen in particular, she knowing this their inclination, and beyond measure appreciating their conduct in never having changed the Catholic religion, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, and the bad example afforded them by the schism.

Relations between England and France.

With regard to the King of France, there are too many reasons why the Queen should not stand well with him (*perchè la Regina non stia bene seco*), not so much on account of ancient claims which are still pending, (such as the pension paid by the French for the cession of Normandy and Aquitaine, besides compensation for damages, and the cost of military assistance rendered by England to France, amounting in all to one million and several hundred thousand crowns, which the Queen is at liberty to redemand of them,) as by reason of the intention which she knows the King of France has, to occupy England, in right of the Queen of Scotland, who is in his power, and also on account of the personal injuries received from him through the assistance given to the Duke of Northumberland on her accession, with a view to expel her from the kingdom and deprive her of the Crown; and by his encouraging (for the prevention of her marriage) Wyatt's conspiracy, and that of the other delinquents last year, who endeavoured to rob the Exchequer; as also the constant solicitations made to her cousin Courtenay to allure him to France, not only for the sake of thwarting her designs, but also through his instrumentality to foment discord and division in England. To these grievances must be added the following one, that the King of France makes his subjects incessantly circulate reports about the quantity of money which the Queen sends out of the country in secret to her husband, leaving her creditors unpaid, and impoverishing the Crown; and about the pensions which in her

* Marie de Lorraine, widow of James V.

† Mary, Queen of Scots (affianced to the Dauphin) in her 15th year; she was affianced in 1548, and the marriage was consummated in April 1558. (See Mignet, p. 40, ed. Brussels, 1851.)

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consort's name she pays the English lords to keep them suborned (*per tenergli subornate*) and to prevent them from opposing King Philip's designs for occupying the kingdom. But what troubles her most of all, is the reception given in France to all who rebel against her, they being permanently pensioned and provided for, France favouring all plots and conspiracies against her, for which purpose many spies and coadjutors are employed, and increasing the hatred and enmity borne her by all possible means. It is also credited that on her account the King of France moved war, with a view to keep her husband occupied and embarrassed, so that he might be unable to go to England, or at least not remain there, thus depriving her of his presence, which is so necessary, and leaving her quite disconsolate.

In all these respects your Serenity may imagine what her position is, although she dissembles her anger and hatred as much as she can; and with the French ambassador resident at her court, although she assists herself with words, her countenance belies them, for with great difficulty can she look at him civilly (*perchè dura gran fatica a guardarlo con buon occhio*); and I believe her to be deterred from a rupture solely by the poverty of the Crown, and by the doubtful mind and allegiance of her subjects.

It remains for me to give account of the state of the Religion, and of the Succession.

Restoration of
the Catholic
religion.

It is indubitable that externally and in appearance the Catholic religion seems day by day to increase and take root, through the Queen's authority and the assiduity of the Legate, for monasteries are being built, and within this short period (three years not having yet elapsed since the reduction (*dopo la riduzione*) of the realm) when I left England seven* were completed (*eretti*); persons are seen to enter them, the churches are frequented, the images replaced, and all the ancient Catholic rites and ceremonies performed as they used to be, the heretical being suppressed. These things are done either from fear or to deceive, some persons, by appearing Catholics, wishing to ingratiate themselves with the Queen. Suffice it to say, that in general they make a great show and cause the matter to appear much more than it really is, it being known on the other hand that the public mind is more than ever irritated, though they dare not show it from fear of losing both life and estate, although there are many hardened persons (*molti indurati*) who expose themselves willingly to the stake. But with the exception of a few most pious Catholics (evidently reserved by God as a miracle or by especial grace in the midst of so much error and confusion), none of whom, however, are under 35 years of age, all the rest make this show of

* In Francesco Contarini's transcript of this report the numeral "7" is written very distinctly; in Alberi's printed version the number is omitted entirely, but the late Sir Henry Ellis' English translation gives the number "ten," with a footnote thus: "These were King's Langley in Hertfordshire, to which she annexed the nunnery of Dartford in Kent; the College of Manchester in Lancashire, St. Bartholomew's Priory in Smithfield, the house of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, the Savoy Hospital, Syon Nunnery, and Westminster Abbey in Middlesex, Wolverhampton College in Staffordshire, and the Carthusian Priory of Shene in Surrey. Michiel is correct in the number of houses restored, but not as to the precise nature of their foundations."

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recantation, yet do not effectually resume the Catholic faith, and on the first opportunity would be more than ever ready and determined to return to the unrestrained life previously led by them, were it solely for the sake of being exempted from confession and fasting, and to be allowed to intermarry with kinsfolk (even the clergy being permitted to marry), and in short to be free from all the external acts (*opere*) enjoined to Catholics. As all these things, indulging their senses for 20 consecutive years (during which the schism lasted), took such deep root, it is marvellous they are not much more licentious and daring than is apparent after being so long habituated to other customs; and this taciturnity and quiet evinced by them, owing to so sudden and unexpected a correction, is also by many persons considered yet more suspicious. With regard, however, to religion in general, your Serenity may rest assured that the example and authority of their Sovereign can do anything with them, and that in proportion as the English estimate religion and are influenced by it, so do they discharge their duty as subjects towards their Prince, by living as he lives, believing what he believes, and in short doing whatever he commands, making use of it for external show to avoid incurring his displeasure rather than from any internal zeal; for they would do the like by the Mahometan or Jewish creed, were their King to evince belief in it and willed it thus, accommodating themselves to anything, but more willingly to such doctrines as gave them hope, either of the greatest licence and liberty in their mode of life, or of some profit. (*Ma quanto alla Religione, parlando in generale, sia certa V. Ser^{ta} che ogni cosa può in loro l'esempio, e l'autorità del Principe, che in tanto gli Inglesi stimano la Religione, e si movono per essa, in quanto soddisfanno all' obbligo di sudditi verso il Principe, vivendo come egli vive, credendo ciò che egli crede, e finalmente facendo tutto quello che egli comanda, con servirsene più per mostra esteriore per non incorrere in sua disgratia, che per zelo interiore; perchè il medesimo fariano della Macomettana ò della Giudaica pur che il Re mostrasse di creder, e volesse così, e si accomoderiano a tutte, ma a quelle più facilmente, dalle quali ne sperassero overo maggior licentia e libertà di viver, over qualche utile.*) On these grounds many persons who are more in their confidence are of opinion that could they feel sure of not being molested about the Church property held by them, when a little more accustomed to the present religion, they would adapt themselves even to that (*anco alla presente*), but they are still afraid of being one day or another compelled to give back all or part of it, the Cardinal at the beginning not having chosen to give a dispensation as desired by them, but leaving it to their consciences (early or late) to do what they pleased.

This fear is increased by what they see done daily by the Queen, who, on account of such monasteries as are re-established, and for other religious purposes, unscrupulously (*senza rispetto*) gives back this sort of property, although incorporated with the Crown; so as most of her subjects are interested in this matter, they think there is no safer remedy than again to destroy the monasteries and return to their former condition.

Church
property.

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What would
occur in case
of Elizabeth's
succession.

Such is the state of the affairs of the Catholic religion, which are in the more danger, as should my Lady Elizabeth succeed, were she not by nature and education inclined towards the contrary one, she would tend thither to do the reverse of what the Queen has done, this seeming to her a sort of revenge. Besides this, she would think that nothing could render her more popular, independently of her own interest through the restitution to herself and to the Crown of all those revenues amounting to upwards of 60,000*l.*, of which the Queen has deprived it. And even in case she do not abolish the ceremonies and the use of the sacraments according to the Catholic ritual, they would at least be put back in the state they were left by her father King Henry; and above all she would withdraw the obedience to the Pope, were it solely for the sake of not seeing money go out of the kingdom for the despatch (*nelle espeditione*) of its bishoprics, nor is it to be told how great a grievance that is to everybody.

Your Serenity may come to the conclusion that in other state affairs, as in religion, the Prince's example will be followed by his subjects, such and so great is the fear and respect for his dignity.

The succession.

To proceed now to the competitors for the succession; the first and principal one is my Lady Elizabeth, the Queen's sister, who by her father's will was declared his heir and substituted for the Queen, the will being confirmed by Act of Parliament, which signifies, by the will of the whole kingdom.

Elizabeth's
opponents.

She is opposed by the nearest relations of King Henry, namely, the descendants (*gli figlioli*) of his sisters, who maintain that kings cannot dispose of the succession of their kingdoms to the prejudice of succeeding generations, otherwise than it is ordained by God and by nature, as she, being a bastard (*poichè essendo bastarda*), cannot take precedence of the legitimate heirs; and the Act of Parliament in favour of her is styled by them an act of violence, it not having been made by the will and free election of the Parliament, but from fear of the King, the which Act the Parliament can annul, as seen daily, and as was done by the Act which excluded the present Queen as disqualified and a bastard (*come inhabile e bastarda*).

Mary Queen of
Scotland.

My Lady Elizabeth being thus excluded as disqualified (*come inhabile*), the second competitor is the heir of King Henry's eldest sister Margaret, who was married in Scotland, from whom Mary Queen of Scotland, now in France, descends, she being the daughter of King James, Margaret's son. Although this claimant seems to be opposed by a municipal law of the kingdom (*una legge municipal del regno*), which prohibits a person born out of England from inheriting anything within the realm, her supporters nevertheless raise the same objection to this law as they did to the King's will, namely, that a municipal law, even were it a true one (*ancorchè fusse vera*) which they utterly deny, cannot in the case of succession be opposed to the law of nature, because neither by law, by testament, or donation, nor by any other sort of compact or convention, can a successor be deprived of his natural right, constituted by God, except by force, or when the heir is acknowledged to be a rebel and traitor, and after condemnation as such; and admitting this to have been the law, they say that it was not made prior to the

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marriage of Margaret to the King of Scotland,* as it is not to be found amongst the ancient statutes of the Crown, and that the Act was passed subsequently to invalidate her claim (*per haver voluto far questo pregiudizio a lei*).†

With these and other arguments they justify the claim of Mary Queen of Scotland, which would be yet more strengthened in case of need (*se occorresse*) by the might and power of the King of France, she being at his court as the destined wife of Monseigneur the Dauphin.

The heirs of
Mary Duchess
of Suffolk.

The third claimants are the heirs of King Henry the Eighth's younger sister Mary, who was first married to King Lewis XII. of France, and took for her second husband Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. These claimants, the granddaughters of Mary Tudor,‡ born of her eldest daughter Frances [Duchess of Suffolk], besides their natural right, were confirmed as heirs by the will of the said Henry VIII., and substituted for the present Queen and for Elizabeth in the event of their dying without heirs. The unfortunate Lady Jane Grey was their sister, and their father was also beheaded at the same time. These two young ladies (*queste due sorelle giovanette*) are living with their mother§ the Duchess of Suffolk, and on the death of Queen Mary they, like their eldest sister, who was assisted by her husband or by others who had followers, would lay claim to the succession, in preference even to my Lady Elizabeth (*di esser preposta a tutti etiam a Miladi Elisabetta*).

Margaret
Lady Strange.

The fourth claim proceeds from another only daughter of the younger sister of the Lady Frances [Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk by name Eleanor, who was married to the Earl of Cumberland,|| and died shortly after giving birth to a daughter named Margaret, now married to Lord Strange,¶ the eldest son of the Earl of Derby, one of the chief noblemen of the kingdom, so she is first cousin to the daughters of Frances, whose house being convicted of treason on account of Jane who was beheaded, her sisters likewise, being themselves reproached (*macchiate*) with the same crime, are consequently excluded from the succession; so that Margaret Lady Strange is the nearest of all to the blood royal, and to her the succession belongs.

* Henry VII. stipulated the marriage of the Princess Margaret to the King of Scotland at the commencement of 1502, when the Republic of Venice congratulated him on it. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. I., p. 293.)

† Sir Henry Ellis's remark on this passage is as follows: "It is evident that the vulgar opinion alluded to by Michiel arose from the law of private inheritance being construed into a rule for the succession."

‡ Namely, Lady Katharine Grey, who married Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, and died a prisoner in the Tower in 1567; and Lady Mary Grey, married to Martin Keys, Esq., and who died *s.p.*

§ At the period in question there were two Duchesses of Suffolk, one the widow of Charles Brandon (his fourth and last wife, who was at Venice in August 1554, as seen at p. 122 of the present volume); the other, Frances, Lady Brandon, the Duke's eldest daughter, married to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset (afterwards Duke of Suffolk), and secondly to Adrian Stokes. Michiel is alluding to the widow of Henry Grey, and not to the relict of Charles Brandon.

|| Henry Clifford, second Earl. The date of the marriage is not given either by Collins or Burke.

¶ The marriage took place on the 7th February 1555. (See Collins' *Pecrage*, vol. 3, p. 80.) Henry Stanley, Lord Strange, became fourth Earl of Derby on the 16th November 1580.

1557.

Male competitors for the Crown.

The Queen averse to naming a successor.

The King anxious for a settlement.

It is thus seen that all these claimants are in the female line, the male competitors being much farther removed since the recent death at Padua* of the Queen's only cousin Lord Courtenay, who solely by his own fault failed to be her husband and consequently King (*il qual sol per difetto suo, perdè di esser marito, e consequentemente Re*). Through his death the English have utterly lost the hope of ever having a king of the blood royal, unless in a very remote degree.

To pass from these competency claims I will now tell your Serenity whether the King and Queen have more reason to incline towards her Majesty's sister than towards her second cousins (*ò alle nepoti*); there being no question whatever of the Queen of Scotland either with the sovereigns or with their subjects, and although the ties of blood would require the Queen to prefer her sister if but in accordance with the command (*voluntà*) of her father, yet is she deterred by the above mentioned causes of hatred, as also by the doubt about the Catholic religion (which matters more), and by the jealous suspicion lest, if declared heir, she form all sorts of plots against her Majesty in order to rule more speedily. All these considerations, and others besides, induce a belief that even were the Queen undeceived, which she as yet is not, about the possibility of having children, she for her own part will avoid forming such a resolve as much as she can, and will rather leave it to time to act (*e più lascerà far al tempo*), referring the matter after her death to those whom it concerns either by right or by force. But as this is utterly at variance with the need and intention of the King, who it cannot be supposed will choose to delay until then, nor remain at the mercy of the English and their divisions (such procrastination concerning him too deeply), he would therefore wish to secure himself immediately and proclaim the heir. Nor is it probable that he would continue paying such heavy pensions for any other purpose than to effect the succession according to his own views, through the favour of the chief personages of the realm (*col favor delli grandi*); for to say the truth the interest he has in the matter is too essential, not so much with regard to establishing himself or any of those who depend on him and share his fortunes, as to avoid seeing England in the power of his enemy the King of France, for if (unfortunately for him) that kingdom belonged either to the French or to other enemies of his dependent on them, the passage from Spain to his possessions in Flanders and the Low Countries would be closed, and he would have to make a very long circuit by way of Italy and Germany† at great cost and with great loss of time, so that those provinces would not only be in danger but would soon be irrecoverably lost through the necessity of the Low Countries for traffic and commerce with England, most especially as the King would no longer have such authority in Germany, nor such respect as was had for the Emperor his father, when he needed succour thence.

* On the 18th September 1556. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 256.)

† Girando tutta l'Italia (*sic*) [Irlanda ?] e per la via d'Italia e di Germania, &c.

1557.

Suggestions
for marriages
between the
relatives of the
King and
Queen.

Elizabeth and
Don Carlos.

Archdukes
Ferdinand and
Charles.

As it therefore matters so much to the King to make sure of England, there is scarcely any doubt of his bringing the Queen over to his opinion in this matter, both from the affection she demonstrates towards him and her wish to do him service, as also to disserve the French. The Queen being thus disposed, it would now remain to be seen what would be the safest way and the most satisfactory to her and to her husband, and at the same time to their subjects, for whom no slight regard must be had (*alli quali si conviene havere non piccolo rispetto*). As these ways may be many, it will therefore suffice for me merely to mention some of the principal, leaving the rest to the most sage judgment of the Senate. One way, therefore, and perhaps the principal and safest one, if the age of the King's son, Don Carlos, allowed of it, would be to marry him to my Lady Elizabeth by sending her to Spain, or making him come to England; but owing to the disparity of their ages, the Prince not having entered his 12th year and my Lady being nearly 24, it seems scarcely credible, though some persons are of opinion that the King is certainly of this mind; and even if from the disparity of age, or owing to her hatred of Elizabeth, or from other cause, the Queen should be averse to this, she might at least incline towards one of the sisters of Lady Jane Grey, they being her second cousins (*nepoti*), and true and legitimate heirs of her own blood, and quite suitable in age, giving Elizabeth with a good dower to some one else abroad, or letting her go on thus without a husband, as she says she means to do (*si come ella dice di voler fare*.) Another way would be to give the said "Miladi" Elizabeth, or one of Queen Mary's second cousins (*nepoti*), to one of the King's cousins (*cugini*), the sons of the King of the Romans, either to the Archduke Ferdinand* or to Prince Charles,† to either of whom the English and the Queen would incline; but against these Archdukes there is King Philip's jealousy about the States of Flanders, lest in the course of time, by reason of their claims upon those Provinces, they occupy them either for themselves or for the sons of their brother the King of Bohemia; so apparently this cannot be thought of, as he is aware of their pride and haughtiness, as also of their party and adherents in Germany, and how they envy his greatness, and how soon they would forget the advantage and benefit, although received from him and through his medium and favour. There remains also for consideration the understanding they and their brother have with the King of France. But on the other hand King Philip might perhaps obtain the cession of the Empire, the King of Bohemia getting in exchange his brother's inheritance, a mutual agreement being made by means of leagues, understandings, and certain compensations; so that, although difficult, the arrangement does not seem impossible.

* See also in this vol., p. 532, but the Archduke Ferdinand had already in the year 1550 made a left-handed marriage with Filippina Welser, of Augsburg. (See Chiusole's Genealogies, p. 234.)

† In October 1559 the Emperor Ferdinand had an agent in England, named Preiner, to negotiate the marriage of Archduke Charles to Queen Elizabeth, and Preiner was succeeded by Count Helfenstein. In a letter from Toledo, dated 30th January 1560, it is stated that the Queen had already placed the portrait of Archduke Charles at the head of her bed, "*al capo del suo letto*,"

1557.

The Duke of
Savoy.

One other course (which is, perhaps, the most probable), remains, viz., by a similar marriage, to place in England the Duke of Savoy, who is King Philip's kinsman,* and supposed to be very true to him (*e tenuto confidentissimo*), he having been despoiled of his territory [by the French] on account of the Emperor; compensation being made to him in this form, not only for what he has lost, but for what little remains to him, which he would have to cede to the King; and although the Duke is also nearly related to France,† he, nevertheless, besides having been maltreated by the French, and lest he remain their prey (*preda*), must of necessity take his chance with King Philip. This would please both the English and the Queen, as also all the others (*come a ciascuno delli altri*). Her Majesty would approve of it, because the Duke having the reputation of being Catholic, which is everything (*che importa il tutto*), she would hope not only to preserve the religion in its present state but day by day increase it, disposing also his wife towards it, and keeping her well edified, in case she be the Lady Elizabeth; nor could the Queen secure herself better through any other person than the Duke against the aforesaid suspicion and jealousy, lest her successor, in order to reign the sooner, seek her death. With him she would likewise avoid all competition, because being Governor of Flanders the Duke after the marriage might return thither with his wife, and remain there until the death of the Queen, or until she sent for him; and in the meanwhile should he have children, the firstborn would be sent to England to be acknowledged and have allegiance sworn to him as Prince and heir by the people and by the kingdom, the Queen having him educated in her own fashion. The people of England likewise, being as it were of necessity compelled to have foreign kings, would like the Duke, not only because they would have no cause to fear lest by his power and forces he subdue or tyrannize over them, which is their dread with regard to King Philip and the Archdukes, through the support and adherence they would have in Germany and elsewhere, but also because by Savoy, on the contrary, they would be sure to be favoured, respected, and acknowledged as his benefactors, and be confirmed in those emoluments and honours which are habitually conferred on them by their native kings. On this account, therefore, and also because they consider him of noble descent, the Duke on the mother's side being of blood royal (*di sangue reale*), which they estimate highly, his family, moreover, being of Saxon origin, like the English themselves, and, what is of no less importance, they consider him a man of valour (*per virtuoso*), and his mental abilities being no less eminent than his physical prowess, for he speaks four or five languages, in which, as he renders himself intelligible to many persons, he therefore would easily learn English, so as to be understood universally; in addition to which he is of pleasing presence, and was educated in conformity with Italian manners and customs, which the English value and imitate more

* Emanuel Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, was born of Beatrice of Portugal, sister of Isabella the mother of Philip II.

† His aunt, Louise of Savoy, was the grandmother of Henry II.

1557.

than those of other nations ; *—for all these reasons, the Duke of Savoy would be extremely popular with the English, and they would bear him great good will.†

Necessity for a speedy decision as to the succession.

On this topic it merely remains for me to add that in like manner as the danger about the succession would be very great by reason of the disturbances and riots which might take place both at home and abroad were it delayed until the Queen's death, or if the decision were protracted ; so on the contrary, by announcing it speedily, with the consent of the people, that is to say by an Act of Parliament, the country would be safe from any sedition, because, with the authority of the Queen in person, the successor might make himself known, and by many ways obtain the love and respect of the kingdom, so that on the Queen's death neither the English themselves would dare to stir, nor would foreigners think of doing so on seeing the country so united.

Such are the general and particular facts concerning England and her Sovereigns which have seemed to me worthy of your Serenity's notice.

Michiel's proceedings while in England.

Besides the obligation of making the present Report, my embassy imposed two others on me, the first and principal one being to maintain between the Crown of England and this most excellent Republic that very sincere friendship which for so long a while has never been interrupted. The Senate can judge how far I have succeeded in this respect by the demonstrations and favours conferred on me during the whole of that period, not indeed from any merit of mine, but on account of your Serenity, and owing to the graciousness of King Philip and Queen Mary, who always received such offices as were performed by me in the Signory's name with the utmost gratitude and good will, they and their Ministers (commencing with Cardinal Pole and ending with the lowest of his countrymen, as also Don Ruy Gomez down to the meanest Spaniard) never omitting whether in public or private whatever could give me repute and dignity. I, on my part, so far as my slender means permitted, afforded not only verbal proof of reciprocity on the part of your Serenity to persons of every class, but by keeping open house for them for 34 months when the Court was most crowded and whilst Parliament was sitting, for which thanks were given me, most especially by the English, and even by the Queen herself, who considered the compliment a personal one. I venture to say that never did your Serenity stand higher in England than when I de-

* This remark was indirectly confirmed in the year 1593, by Shakespear, who amongst the other failings attributed to Richard II. by the Duke of York, makes the King's uncle reproach him with listening to,—

“ Report of fashions in proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after, in base imitation.”

(Richard II., Act 2, Scene 1.)

The words of the Venetian ambassador are, “ *È nutrito con costumi e maniere Italiane, stimato, et imitato da loro più che quelle di altre nationi.* ”

† When this report was made the Duke of Savoy had nearly completed his 29th year, the Archduke Ferdinand was 28, and the Archduke Charles entered his 18th year on the 3rd of June 1557. (See Chiusole's Genealogies.) As already stated by Michiel, the Princess Elizabeth was in her 24th year.

1557.

Favour shown
him by King
Philip ;

parted thence, and if ever the Signory's ambassadors had free access to her Sovereigns, I doubt whether any of them were ever treated so familiarly as I was. From first to last, when I accompanied the King to chapel, or to any other public ceremony, his Majesty's familiarity with me astonished not only the English, who were unaccustomed to see ambassadors of any grade, however exalted, so treated by their Kings in public, but also foreigners, who therefore envied me, for however long the way was and the time it took (which was considerable), his Majesty never ceased conversing with me on a variety of topics as confidentially as if I had been one of his most intimate attendants. With regard to this matter I may mention a very remarkable thing done by him on my account to the Bishop of Winchester [Stephen Gardiner], then Lord Chancellor, and a person in great repute ; for in the act of coming forth from the King the Bishop made an unusual demonstration (which I can only attribute to his great regard for me), placing me on his right hand, we two being the last of the royal Council, and preceding his Majesty ; whereupon the King, considering that place, although most honourable (and never conceded previously in England to an ambassador), unbecoming the dignity of public personages such as ambassadors, he, in the presence of the Chancellor, pulling me by my gown, desired me almost angrily to remain with him, keeping me on a line with him, as that was your Serenity's place, and that I was to let the Chancellor (who never again ventured to approach me) go on ; and in that place I remained during the King's stay in England.

by Queen Mary ; The Queen in like manner, besides endless other acts of courtesy, deigned to confer on your Serenity the following signal one, which the English cried up as a singular thing, rarely or never done previously with regard to any foreign ambassador in England. When I was accompanying her Majesty, on a certain festival,* to vespers at an abbacy of monks, to which we went by water, not only did she choose me to go in her own barge both on the way thither and returning, sending her Lord Chamberlain to me with an entreaty (*con instantia*) to that effect, but she also insisted on my sitting by her side (*a lato a lei*), which from modesty, however, I would by no means consent to do, retiring to the other part, where Cardinal Pole was, he and certain ladies being alone with her in the barge, and no one else, neither prince nor peer, of the many who were in attendance (*nè principe nè Sr. del Regno di tanti che vi si trovavano*).

and by the
Council.

Whenever I had occasion to transact business with the royal Council, either about matters relating to Venetian subjects or anything else, when the councillors did not give me an answer immediately, it was their custom (an unusual demonstration of extraordinary respect for your Serenity) to send it to me a day or two afterwards, not through a secretary, but for the most part by one of the chiefest of themselves, who would come to my house in person. What the Queen said to me a few days before I took leave of her I

* The festival here alluded to was St. Thomas' eve, when the Benedictine monks were re-established in their ancient abbacy of Westminster. (See in this volume Michiel's despatch, dated London, 21st December 1556, p. 879, Vol. 6, Part 2.)

1557.

His successor,
Michiel Surian.

dare not utter, though her words were repeated by Cardinal Pole, who is truth itself (*ch' è l'istessa verità*); and this I mention, not from personal ostentation, but to the Republic's glory, and for the comfort of your Serenity and of these most excellent lords. Thus did I endeavour to satisfy this obligation, in which, if I succeeded so fortunately, yet better service will the State receive from my successor, Michiel Surian, of whose worth and abilities I had proof during the few days of my intercourse with him at Brussels.

The Secretary,
Antonio Mazza.

Another of the duties imposed on me was to give daily account of events in England, and in that matter it seems to me I have deserved reproof for too much inquisitiveness (*curiosità*) and assiduity (if it is possible for a public servant to be too assiduous) rather than for neglect; but if I erred in judgment, there was at least no imperfection or defect in my goodwill. Before saying more about myself I must pay a debt which I consider due to the State, by bearing conscientious witness to the merits of my secretary, Antonio Mazza, who remained in Flanders ill of quartan ague, from which he has been suffering for the last six months. I think I may say that he is on a par with the most able secretaries in Venice and abroad (from my knowledge of men of his class), both for judgment and comprehension of State affairs, as also for experience of courts, and principally for what appertains to his office, in writing and understanding a variety of languages (for, besides Latin, he speaks French and comprehends Spanish); and moreover (which is of no less importance), for the goodness of his life. Both the courts, English and Spanish, esteemed him according to his station, and he had their favour and good opinion; nor can I pay him a higher compliment than to say it was confirmed by Cardinal Pole and his familiars. He is therefore worthy of your Serenity's protection, and of preferment.

Presents by
the Queen to
Michiel on his
departure.

I now return to myself, merely to mention what is necessary, as follows; that when the most serene Queen sent me the passport by Secretary Hopton, he, on presenting it to me, said the following precise words in Italian, which he spoke most perfectly:—"My lord Ambassador, my mistress the Queen sends your lordship your passport, in which (for a good reason) she chose some additional horses to be noted, besides those in your secretary's memorandum; and with her own lips she also ordered the insertion of a special clause, so that the searchers, on your going out of the kingdom, might have greater respect for you and your effects, and not even approach them. She moreover sends you, together with this letter, which is addressed to your Prince, 1,000 gold crowns of the sun, to demonstrate to you by some token, on this your departure, her mental gratitude, which she knows is your due, for the good offices you have performed with her as the Signory's ambassador, and because her Majesty is personally much obliged to you for sundry presents and acts of courtesy received from you, and for those you conferred on her Mistress of the Robes (*cameriera principale*), Mistress Clarence* (*Miseressa Clarentia*). She also gave me this cup, taken from her own cabinet

* Katharine Pole, Countess of Huntingdon, great grand-daughter, by the mother's side, of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence. Her father, Henry Pole, Baron Montagu, who was beheaded 9th January 1539, left but two daughters, of whom she being the eldest was

1557.

(*gabinetto*), for me to present it to you, not as to an ambassador, but as to Messer Giovanni Michiel, together with 200 crowns (which it ought to contain), praying you to receive this also, in testimony of her goodwill." He then continued, "Having come by night with a single servant, I thought I should bring them safer by leaving them with the 1,000 (*gli 200 scudi, continuando, disse lui, venendo io di notte, con un servitor solo, ho giudicato portargli più sicuri lasciandoli con li 1,000*). Your lordship will use them (*li goderà*) for her sake, and I wish you a good journey." What I answered him was, that the favours conferred on me by her Majesty had been so many and so constant that they deprived me of any sort of words whereby to return her thanks, it being my opinion that were I presented with all the treasures of England, nothing could be presented to me so precious as what I knew I was conveying to your Serenity, namely, vivid testimony of her Majesty's will and affection towards this Republic; and although neither in my public nor private capacity could I accept so generous and effectual a demonstration from her Majesty, I nevertheless received both gifts to present them to your Serenity, making no distinction between their having been given in one way or the other; and then, after using towards him such courtesy as I thought he deserved, I dismissed him. I have presented the crowns in the identical bag which I sealed on receiving it from Hopton, as also the cup in its original case, and although both the cup and the 200 crowns were as compensation for a number of things of no little value presented by me at several times, not from personal vanity (*non per ambitione mia*), but because they were all asked of me for her Majesty's need and service by the said Mistress of the Robes (*cameriera*), besides a coach and horses and all their furniture presented in like manner from necessity, owing to the wish for it of the said Mistress of the Robes (*cameriera*), to whom the Queen subsequently gave it. I had this coach sent to me from Italy for my convenience, and used it all that summer, nor will I from modesty tell what it cost me, as it may suffice your lordships to know that it was such as not to disgrace the ambassadorial grade. Although I say that this recompense ought at once by right to be mine, yet nevertheless (were the amount four times greater than it is), should it be granted me, it would gratify me to acknowledge it from the benignity of your Serenity and of these most excellent lords. As to the 1,000 crowns from the Queen, they were given to me, as usual, in return for those you gave here to her ambassador. Neither about these do I venture to say that I have a fair claim to them as partial relief for the expenses incurred by me for your service; nor will I specify of what sort those expenses were on the occasion of the Queen's marriage, which caused me to incur the cost of liveries (*entrar in livree*), and to be followed by various Venetian noblemen from many quarters,

Presents by
Michiel to the
Queen at
various times.

Michiel's
expenses on
the Queen's
marriage.

therefore called *by courtesy*, "*Clarence*," and "*Mistress*," as Mistress of the Robes. She was Cardinal Pole's niece, and died 23rd September 1576. Froude, vol. 6, p. 118, and p. 358, calls her "*Lady Clarence*!" but does not quote the Peerage in which this title is to be found.

Francis de Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, married Katharine Pole, but the *date* of the marriage is not given by Collins, in the pedigree of Lord Hastings and Rawdon (vol. 6, p. 652).

1557.

Great scarcity
in England for
three years.

who, without that opportunity, would perhaps not have undertaken so long a journey; besides such a great concourse of ambassadors, and lords and princes, who constantly arrived there, as well known to my household, and yet better to my table, though of this I will not speak, as I know that there are in Venice, and perhaps in this Senate, if not eye-witnesses, at least persons who from report could testify to the manner in which I endeavoured to dishonour my grade as little as possible. Those persons might indeed bear witness to that fact, but not to the great scarcity which has prevailed in England during the last three years, and which was extraordinarily increased both by the rabid hatred of the English for the Spaniards, and (as a natural consequence) for all other foreigners, and also by the bad regulations and carelessness of the government. Nor will I omit to mention that I have served, not only without ever receiving donations or additional salary, like my colleagues, but there was also withheld from me (doubtless too harshly) the last augmentation conceded to ambassadors for 18 consecutive months, which, together with the extra sum given them on their departure, amounted to upwards of 800 gold crowns. It is quite true that the augmentation was declared necessary before my departure and despatch (*espeditione*), and although my election shortly preceded the decree, yet it was neither just nor fair that I, who proved and exemplified the necessity for it, should be thus recompensed both for the past and future, I being the only one amongst all the ambassadors in this singular position. I, however, do not consider either these nor many other inconveniences and losses incurred by me and my kinsfolk, because, whatever I have done, or ever could do, besides its proceeding from my own choice, is done by the obligation due to your Serenity's service. For the dignity of this most excellent Republic, I promise, not only my own life, but (what matters more) that of my four brothers, we being all your most humble and devoted servants; so that if for your service we were even reduced to poverty, we should never consider it such so long as there remain to us entire the protection and favour of your Serenity and of this Dominion. And as for the Queen's present, even should your Serenity think fit to recompense any toil and cost incurred by me in such form as so many other ambassadors have been remunerated (and although their merits, abilities, and riches exceeded mine, yet was I their equal in ardour and goodwill), I shall have and hold the demonstration much more precious than the fact, as although this last might relieve, it would not entirely disburden me, whereas the demonstration would assure me that my service had not been unpleasing (*ingrato*) to you, which above all others is the grace I prayed His Divine Majesty to grant me.

[*Italian.*]

May 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

885. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The assistance given to the King continues, for the soldiers who are going to serve his Majesty increase in number daily, and great part of the nobility of the kingdom are preparing, some from a longing

1557.

for novelty, which is peculiar to this nation, some from rivalry and desire of glory, some to obtain grace and favour with his Majesty and the Queen; and the general opinion is that upwards of 10,000 troops will pass into Flanders, although the number fixed was only 5,000. Thus excuse can be made to the French by saying there was no breach of the treaty. In addition, there will be a considerable force on board the fleet, and in Calais, and on those frontiers, so that some 20,000 men will go out of England, who are to be ready in the course of this month, when the fleet likewise is to be in order, though it is not known on what day they will cross the Channel, it having perhaps not yet been fixed, and possibly it will not take place so soon, from the want of victuals, which is so great as to be almost incredible.

The departure from England of so many troops has induced two considerations; the one, that some stir might be made by Scotland; the other, that some sedition and tumult might arise at home, owing to the natural custom of Englishmen, who are sated with any government;* so it has been determined to send thither Lord Percy, lately made Earl of Northumberland,† and some others for the custody of those borders, and to issue a proclamation throughout the realm forbidding any assembly of men either in churches or hostels or in public or private places, under very heavy penalties, to be enforced by some of the chief personages of the provinces, who are all devoted to the most serene Queen. *By these means the kingdom will be rendered so quiet and obedient that, with time and opportunity, there will be carried into effect whatever is desired by the King and Queen, who evidently neither wishes for anything, nor has any thought but that of pleasing her consort.*

Were all the provisions designed by the King for this war to succeed like these, which have been more prompt than was expected, his Majesty would have a very powerful army, *and might not only acquire reputation, but greatly increase what he already possesses*; though from Spain no advice has yet been received, either about what Don Ruy Gomez is negotiating nor yet of Don Alonzo (sic)‡ Caravajal's ships, which had set sail so long ago, and therefore some persons fear misfortune, though others hope that they may have been detained in Spain to bring soldiers and more money, *as the sum announced is very insufficient (chi spera che siano intertenute in Spagna per condur soldati et maggior numero di danari [perchè quelli che hanno sono pur troppo pochi])*; nor is it credible that ere now Don Ruy Gomez should have failed to find means for increasing it greatly. *In the meanwhile not a day passes without bad news from Milan, and worse is expected unless speedy succour be received. The Lord of Piombino§ arrived at this Court a few days ago, and although, having been sent for by his Majesty, he should have waited*

* "Per il natural costume di questa nazione, che di ogni stato si sacia."

† On the 30th April 1557 Queen Mary, by her letters patent, "advanced Thomas Percy to the degree of a baron (he having retaken Scarborough and seized Thomas Stafford) and on the day following she promoted him to the dignity of Earl of Northumberland." (See Collins' Peerage, vol. 2, p. 315.)

‡ Query Luis? See Foreign Calendar, Mary (Index).

§ Giacomo Appiano, Prince of Piombino. See Foreign Calendar, Mary (Index).

1557.

for the King to propose the compensation and declare his will, he nevertheless was the first to offer himself and all he possessed (*et le cose sue*) to his Majesty, saying particularly that he renounces to him freely all the rights of his state, leaving it to the King to make compensation, but with this condition, that Piombino do not remain in the hands of the Duke of Florence, but that it be the King's own. His Majesty had this resolution of Appiano put into writing and accepted it, thanking him, and writing to the Duke of Florence, with whom he will treat about the mode of realising this affair, nor does he choose the Lord of Piombino to depart until he receive the Duke's reply. This will be the way to gain Florence completely or to lose him entirely.

This Lord of Piombino is a stupid young man of little ability, but has with him his father's natural brother, who rules him; and this person told a friend of mine that he had counselled the matter differently, but his nephew's ignorance spoiled the whole thing, and that yet greater detriment will ensue to him hence, as he heretofore gave another similar writing to the Duke of Florence consenting to his possession of Piombino, provided the Emperor made suitable compensation to him, Appiano.

London, 13th May 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

886. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have now ascertained the reason why the most Christian King had some idea of sending the Ferrarese ambassador to Ferrara. His Duke left your Serenity owing to reports of an invasion of his territory, which timidity he announced to the King in abject and undignified terms (*con parole così basse che parvero con poca dignità sua*). After the affair of Correggio, when his Excellency heard of the words uttered against him by the ministers of the King of England, and that troops were being mustered on his frontiers, he again earnestly demanded assistance, and especially a deposit of 300,000 crowns for the defence of his state, and also that the King should pay the cost of the troops maintained by him on the passage of M. de Guise. After much-discussion between the Constable and the Ferrarese ambassador, the King has arranged to make the promise of the 300,000 crowns to his Excellency, with orders for them to be placed in his hands according to circumstances, and the need of raising troops for his defence. His Majesty also consented to reimburse the Duke of Ferrara for all the expense incurred by him owing to the passage of the Duke de Guise, and to give him one quarter's salary,* and also to send the aforesaid ambassador to ease him of so great a panic by so representing the victories of M. de Brissac as to convince him that the King of England will have other things to attend to than the invasion of the Ferrarese territory. The ambassador will also complain adroitly

* As Captain-General of the League.

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to his Excellency that, although the King of France does not fail and never has failed doing what he ought for him, his Excellency made a bad return by not giving such assistance and accommodation to the Duke de Guise as the King might have expected from a general of his so potent as the Duke of Ferrara, who, moreover, in this affair of Correggio, after the entry of the Spanish guard, ought to have raised from five to six thousand infantry, and attempted its recovery, —as his Majesty would never have failed to repay him the cost,—instead of sending to France, and thus losing so much time that the recovery has become much more difficult, but little to the dignity of the King, and still less to the security of his Excellency's state. In conclusion, the ambassador will exhort him to be more prompt and better disposed towards his Majesty's service than he has shown himself hitherto; and most especially should the occasion arise for some pecuniary assistance, owing to his Majesty's great need in Italy, the Duke is not to hesitate if the assignments (assegnamenti) are less ready than requisite, as the King promised to repay any advances made by him to his ministers, and as the King does not break faith to merchants or others, still less would he do so to his Excellency, for whom, on many accounts, he has great respect.

La Ferté Milon, 13th May 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 14.
Deliberazioni
Senato
Register).

887. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Doge, the Councillors, Chiefs of the XL, Sages of the Council, Sages for the Mainland, and Sages for the Orders, authorising Giovanni Michiel, late ambassador in England, to retain the presents made to him by Queen Mary.

Our beloved noble Giovanni Michiel having returned from England, where for 38 months he served with much assiduity and ability, and also to the dilapidation of his private fortune:

Put to the ballot, that the present made to him by the Queen of England, amounting to 1,200 crowns, and the cup, be given him by authority of this Council.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 11. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

May 14.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

888. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although much has hitherto been concealed from the Pope, a high authority has lately made him understand (fatta capace sua Santità) that the difficulties in the Neapolitan and other undertakings, from the small amount of troops with M. de Guise, the want of money and of all other necessary supplies, the dispute which has arisen between the members of this league, and which will increase daily, and the faint hope of taking Civitella; whilst, on the other hand, the Duke of Alva is in greater force than the French, and is expecting reinforcements by the fleet from Spain, which arrived at Genoa on the 28th ultimo, and the musters which are being made at Sienna by Don Alvaro de Sande. There is also the impossi-

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bility of placing trust in the Duke of Florence, lest on an opportune moment he attack the league to rid himself of the French, and above all a fear, not without foundation, that the King of France is endeavouring to make terms with King Philip, for which purpose he recalled the Baron de la Garde* with the fleet, and gave orders to the Duke de Guise to retreat; in which case it would be requisite to receive the law from the Spaniards (da loro). The Pope evinced resentment at not having heard these things before, adding that God had inspired him to delay the mission of his nephew the Marquis [Montebello] to France, and not to dismiss the Spanish cardinals, nor to publish the "deprivation" of King Philip, as there might yet be time to provide for his affairs (di proveder alle cose sue).

The Pope having consented to listen to the objections against depriving King Philip without citing him, as what he had done was notorious, for which same reason his Holiness would not retake Anagni, nor the other towns of the Church now occupied by the Duke of Alva, he was told that these reasons were insufficient, because supposing the criminal (il reo) to have an excuse for the fact, or even a shadow of excuse, it was necessary to summon and hear him; for although here the Pope was believed when he said that King Philip had injured him in various ways, causing plots to be laid against his own life and that of his kinsfolk, waging war against him without any cause, occupying part of the Papal States, and that he was heretical and schismatic, a contrary belief, nevertheless, prevailed elsewhere, because King Philip and those who belonged to him (et li soi) heard mass, confessed, and communicated, saying that they have not attempted anything against his Holiness, though they took certain towns of the Church, not to retain them, but to prevent King Philip's enemies from attacking him, as his Holiness, when the Imperialists were at war with the King of France, made a league against them through the Cardinal of Lorraine, which is now renewed. In order to break that league King Philip, very much to his disadvantage, was compelled to make the truce, which having displeased the Pope, his Holiness sent Cardinal Caraffa to France under pretence of endeavouring to make peace, but in reality to try and bring about a fresh war, to which effect the French King announced his intention to them, and of this they say they can give proof (et tentar nuova guerra et ne hebbe intention dal Re Christianissimo, il che dicono poter provare), for as the Pope had processes drawn up here, so did they act in like manner over there (de li). They moreover assert that Cardinal Caraffa's negotiation was such as stated by them, according to many sure signs, viz., the mission by the King of France of the first Gascons, and then that of the second, who came with Cardinal Caraffa, and so many military commanders, the Marshal Strozzi and others, the reinforcement of the troops here, the words frequently uttered by his Holiness, and other things; so that it was necessary for the King, instead of waiting for war in his own territory, to anticipate and carry it into that of others. That an agreement having been talked of, he gave a commission for it to be made as his Holiness chose, and in the form

* Antoine Escalin. See Foreign Calendar, Mary (Index).

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as concluded on the island between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva, but that Don Francisco Pacheco, who bore the order, as also other envoys from the Duke of Alva, did not obtain audience of the Pope. God and his Holiness knew whether these things were true, in which case King Philip deserved to be reconciled (*abbracciato*), because the Church non claudit gremium redeuntibus; and should the defence be false, it would then be requisite to cite King Philip. Coming more to the point, the personage in question said, "Holy Father, supposing King Philip to have done all that he is accused of, that he is a villain (*sia tristo*), a heretic, and even something worse, the four Doctors of the Church, together with the whole school of theologians (their opinion being yet more strenuously maintained by the canonists), assert that neither by deprivations (*privationi*), nor excommunications (*escomuniche*), ought any potentate (*alcun potente*), (nor any great multitude that may have sinned) to be irritated, because those who provoke them will have to give account of the souls thus doomed to perdition through schism; and that in similar cases '*Pont. max. et bonis omnibus lugendum est*,' and that they should pray God of His infinite wisdom to find a remedy. Neither can it be said that King Philip is not powerful, and indeed most powerful, nor that in a '*conciliabolo*' the majority of Christendom would not be brought over by him to his opinion, owing to the things aforesaid, and (which must in truth be admitted) to the present bad repute of the priesthood (*et con il mal predicamento bisogna pur dirlo nel qual hoggi si trovano i preti*);" coming to the conclusion that the Pope could not proceed to the deprivation without a summons, and that were it served and the King convicted, the Pope would do wrong, by depriving him of his realms, to give him cause for doing greater evil, such as the schism would be. At the close of this discourse the personage who made it named to the Pope all the Doctors of the Church who had spoken on this subject, quoting both books and pages.* The Pope promised to delay the publication, and said he would carefully peruse the works of the doctors relating to this matter; and now that he has heard in what state things were, and that he knows the difficulties, which are increasing daily, he commends those persons who spoke to him about them freely, and is glad that the execution of his projects has been protracted.

Rome, 14th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 15.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

889. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 11th the Duke of Paliano departed for Civitella, accompanied by Marshal Strozzi, who is to return to give the Pope an account of the place and of the French forces, and of those of the

* In date 8th May 1557 it has been seen that Cardinal Puteo had been studying the validity of the Pope's right to dethrone King Philip; and as Navagero now writes that the anonymous personage who ventured to speak so plainly to Paul IV. gave him both chapter and verse, thus implying that he was the canonist alluded to in the former letter, the personage who spoke so freely to the Pope was probably Puteo and not Gianagelo, de Medici.

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enemy, and of what may be hoped or feared, as his Holiness places full trust in him, and will act according to his report. The Duke of Paliano had no great supply of money with him, nor any troops; he desired his household to follow him, but subsequently revoked the order.

The Gascons who were on board the French fleet have come hither, in number 600, and are going to the camp. The Baron de la Garde, who went from Civitavecchia to Tuscany with five galleys, to confer with M. de Montluc, says the Imperialists are in the field with 24 companies (*bandiere*) and 400 horse, and that the garrison of Montalcino is not strong enough to give them battle in the open country; and they complain of the Duke of Florence because, after a promise of neutrality, he gave money to the Spanish and Italian troops of Don Alvaro de Sande. De la Garde says that on his way back to Civitavecchia he was chased for many miles by the Spanish fleet, which went to Naples, and was ordered to leave 200,000 crowns at Genoa for the affairs of Milan, and 100,000 in Tuscany for Sienna. Through the arrival of this fleet the Duke of Alva will be reinforced by at least 2,000 Spaniards, and as the galleys are upwards of 60 they will also be masters of the sea.

The nonpayment of certain captains who applied for money causes a belief in this Court that the Pope will not be quite averse to an agreement, as on the day of the Duke of Paliano's departure Cardinal Pacheco discoursed with the Pope about peace for nearly four hours, demonstrating to him the inconveniences of the war, the difficulties of finding money, and the provision made by King Philip. The Cardinal was listened to in such a way as to make him think he comprehended a good disposition on the part of the Pope, and of such a sort that, had he not on other occasions received good words, which were, however, belied by subsequent deeds, he might have hoped for some good result; and in this he was yet more confirmed by seeing that Cardinal Caraffa, who was present at this colloquy, showed himself very much inclined towards peace. Moreover Cardinal Pacheco despatched a courier with the utmost secrecy to King Philip to give him account of his conversation with the Pope, and to persuade him to send an envoy of authority to negotiate with his Holiness. Pacheco, however, is not without hope that now, even through the Duke of Alva, an arrangement might be made. I am also assured that the Queen of France wrote to Marshal Strozzi to try and adjust his affairs, because it is the intention of the King her husband to put an end to the war, and this letter the Marshal showed to the Duke of Paliano.

The English ambassador [Sir Edward Carne] in a long discourse held by him the other day (uno di questi giorni) with the Pope, demonstrated to his Holiness the disturbances which will arise in England on its being heard there that Cardinal Pole has been recalled from the legateship. The Pope replied that he knew not how in honour he could remedy this, as the revocation had been made publicly; but nevertheless on Thursday, in the congregation of the Inquisition, Cardinal Medici, who, in the absence of Cardinal Puteo, transcribes the decrees of the consistory, having asked his Holiness how he was to write the decree revoking the legation, the Pope replied

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that he was to write it in general terms, which was done, with the following declaration, that there was not to be included in it "the native legateship" (la legatione naturale) held by the Cardinal of England in right of his archbishopric, which [native legateship] the Pope intends him to retain (la qual legatione naturale intendi che li sia reservata). Besides this, although in consistory the Pope had styled Philip "olim Rex," he chose mention to be made of his Majesty with all his titles. These things are kept very secret, and are known solely to two Cardinals and to the person who communicated them to me.

A plot has been discovered in Paliano, thus: some soldiers in garrison at Anagni under a captain of Pistoia, pretending to desert on account of not receiving their pay, presented themselves (two or three at a time) some 40 in number at Paliano, offering to serve as soldiers, and after being accepted, wrote to Marc' Antonio Colonna appointing the time for him and the forces in Anagni and his other retainers to present themselves under Paliano, when they would give him one of the gates. The peasant who took the letters put Colonna's reply in an appointed place, whither the accomplices in Paliano were to go and take it, and a woman (*una donna*) having seen him do so, informed the governor, who through the letter discovered this plot, and arrested the greater part of the conspirators. When this was heard here they despatched Giulio Orsini for the greater security of Paliano.*

Cardinal Caraffa's secretary Martio, who, owing to Aldobrandino, was disgraced by the Pope, has at length been imprisoned with two of his coadjutors. The reason assigned is that he took money for patents which the Cardinal desired him to deliver gratis; but the real cause of his arrest is supposed to be more important, as the day before it took place Cardinal Caraffa said that he himself had been accused of many things, and amongst the rest of willing to be Pope before his Holiness' demise, and immediately on Martio's imprisonment he went in person into his rooms to take away all his letters.†

The last advices from Civitella say that the site of the battery has been changed, and that greater difficulties are discovered daily, so but little profit is anticipated here; and at the Vatican (*al Palazzo*) when asked about Civitella they reply by merely shrugging up their shoulders and saying that the French consider the undertaking very difficult, and also that the Duke de Guise has been pushed on (*spinto*) to the Neapolitan expedition with one fifth part of the army required for it, being told to proceed joyfully, as he would only have the trouble of accepting the keys which would be brought to him.

Rome, 15th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 15.
(Second letter.)
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

890. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the Pope heard the English ambassador concerning the Apostolic Legation of Cardinal Pole, Sir Edward Carne petitioning

* See also Foreign Calendar (Mary), p. 308.

† This circumstance is not mentioned in the extracts from Sir Edward Carne's despatch date May 15, Foreign Calendar, Mary, pp. 306-308.

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for it to be restored. His Holiness said he did not see how he could do so, as he had made the revocation publicly in consistory, and that *semel commissum valeat irrevocabile verbum*, and that his Holiness has such business on hand that he hoped when it was communicated to his Lordship he would approve his counsel (*probaturum consilium suum*). Carne then limited himself to a request that his Holiness would suspend the execution of it awhile (*per qualche tempo*), and the Pope desired Marchi, and De Monte Serchio, the lieutenant of his guard, to tell the Datario and Berengo not to make any intimation of the revocation of the legateship until they heard farther. When Sir Edward Carne departed the Pope called me, and with his usual eloquence preached a semi-sermon (*fece una meza predichetta*), and then said that he should have wished to satisfy your Serenity about the peace, but that he did not perceive any indication of goodwill on the part of King Philip, and that to me, as your Serenity's ambassador and his beloved son, he willed to communicate whatever came to his notice; adding, "You must have seen the letter written to us by Cardinal Pole?"* On my replying that I had not, he said, "We will have it given you;" and then calling his chaplain Alessandro, the one who sleeps in his chamber, he ordered him to tell Cardinal Caraffa to have a copy of it delivered to me, saying, "You will see it; besides this letter, King Philip wrote to a great personage here, that he desires, and always has desired, to be reconciled to us, to serve us, and to give us every satisfaction; but that we misunderstand him and will not accept him, so that he knows not what more to do than he has done; alluding thus to the mission of Don Francisco Pacheco, about which we will give you account, that you may write it to the Signory, so that should they be told about these things they may not believe that we are averse to peace, as they would believe a falsehood, for in truth we desire nothing more earnestly than a good peace; but the Imperialists (*loro*) tell lies (*dicono delle bugie*) to justify themselves before the world, and what they said about Don Francisco is one, for they proclaimed that he had brought us *carta bianca*, and that we would not give him audience, which is false, for he came hither when the Duke of Alva, after the taking of Hostia, had returned to Naples, Cardinal Caraffa being still at Venice; and Don Francisco told many persons, including Cardinal Pacheco, (who has confessed it) that he had no letter for us, nor anything to tell us but that he was carrying a despatch to the Duke of Alva; we do not remember whether he said he had to speak with our nephew the Cardinal, nor would we tell a falsehood. Understanding that he had nothing to tell us we did not care to see him, as it would have been to discuss a mere nothing (*saria stato un trattare da un niente*), and he was glad to go away, in order to be able to say (as they did subsequently) that they were willing to give us entire satisfaction and that we did not choose to hear him; and there are persons in their pay who proclaim this throughout Germany and elsewhere, the one outcry in those parts being "The Pope makes war, and will not grant peace to those who ask it of

* This letter has been registered in the present volume, p. 994 to 999, date March 1557.

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him ;” and whole provinces alienate themselves from the faith (*e si vanno alienando dalla fede le provincie intiere*), which grieves us to the heart, and concerns us more than the troubles of the war, or its costs, although they even draw the blood from all our veins (*che n’ asciucano tutti le vene*). But this their excuse about our refusing to hear them is not credited by reasonable and judicious persons, as they know that in this matter we are *nimii*, and give audience to everybody, and so many that it is not on record that any Pope ever gave so many ; and we have even instituted public audience in order that no one however lowly (*abietto*) may be prevented from entering our presence ; so that they must devise some other apology, as this one does not profit them, and is utterly false. We have willed to give you account of this, that you may let the Signory know that should they ever be told that we are the cause of the peace not being made, they must not believe it, as we are quite ready (*paratissimi*), and this we have said to those who spoke to us on the subject, telling them that King Philip deceives or allows himself to be deceived into the belief that no satisfaction of any sort was offered him, and that we refused to give audience ; for although his errors have been grievous and enormous (*gravi et enormi*), yet nevertheless should he do his duty, by making reparation (*in sodisfare*) to God’s honour and ours, we would pardon him, because ‘*Ecclesia non claudet gremium redeuntibus*,’ and we are commanded, ‘*Orate pro persequentibus vos*.’ It is true that we will a good peace, not a treacherous one (*non insidiosa*), like that of Cambrai,* which almost ruined you. On seeing any hope of this, we shall pray the Signory, first of all the powers, to send fresh ambassadors to one and the other (*a questo e quello*), to effect it, for we would not make it in spite of the King of France (*in barba del Re di Francia*), as it would not be fair to repay the obedience and reverence evinced by him towards us with a brick-bat (*darli un cantone in pagamento*), as proceedings of this sort seem to us rascally (*ne paiono da marioli*) ; and to make the peace in accordance with him is more beneficial for Christendom. This is the way to make a general peace, so as subsequently to turn their arms against the Turk, and if they are ambitious of territory let them go against him, as he has plenty of it ; but we should not wish them to do as they did at Prevesa and Castelnovo,† but that according to the conquests made, so should they be transferred to those who held the places heretofore ; Lepanto, Coron, Negroponte, Napoli di Romania, Malvasia, and others, when taken, to be given to the Signory to be ruled by them, because they were formerly theirs ; and the other places to their past possessors ; and whilst you would be intent on recovering, we here would hold a Council, and restore the most holy rites of our forefathers. This would be all we have to wish, and to entreat of the Lord God ; in short we shall always be ready to make peace, whenever we can have it with dignity to ourselves, and on any hope of this being shown to us, we will always let the Signory know, and ask their opinion, and not only that of the Republic but of every other Italian

* “*Paix des Dames*” concluded at Cambrai in August 1529.

† See note to a despatch from Navagero, date Rome, 11th September 1556.

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potentate, the Dukes of Ferrara and Florence, and even the Roman barons."

Rome, 15th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

891. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Government are diligently intent on raising money, and besides a subsidy in course of payment, the Queen is having so much Crown property (*tante possession della corona*) sold, as will yield 10,000*l.* sterling annual rental. The competition of buyers is great, and they are bound to disburse the money fourteen days after the purchase; nor is it necessary to inspect or measure the sites (*li luoghi*) as they are sold according to the entry made of them in the public registers, where the quality of the estates (*del luogo*) and the revenue derived from them by the Crown are described, which is a great advantage for the purchasers; so this entire fund, amounting to not less than 800,000 crowns, will shortly be in her Majesty's hands. *The whole of this entire sum, with other additional ones (con delli altri appresso), will all pass to the King, as the Queen thinks solely of giving his Majesty every possible assistance, nor does she attend to anything else.*

The fleet is fitting out, and the Admiral [Lord William Howard] will depart in two days to assemble it, to which effect orders were sent to stop all the foreign vessels in these harbours, so that the ship "Contarina and Moceniga" was detained, and its master Manola da Paris wished me to petition the King for its release; but having been informed that any demand would prove vain, and that in case of war it is customary always to make use of all foreign vessels, I did not venture to attempt a thing the grant of which I was certain not to obtain, as it would merely be a loss of repute, which is not mine, but your Serenity's, and I know of what consequence it is ever to preserve it, especially in these times, and I therefore use every effort and turn all my thoughts to this end, and hope hitherto not to have laboured in vain. The ship will be paid, and well paid, so without suffering any harm it will derive profit from this employment.

Part of this fleet will remain for the present in these seas, and another part will go to convoy the fleet expected from Spain, of which no news had been heard for more than a month; but yesterday Don Pedro de Guevara arrived, who sailed from Coruña on the 26th ultimo, and does not bring any letters as he expected to accompany the fleet, which he says put to sea three times, and was thrice driven back by contrary winds. Concerning the supplies from Spain, he asserts publicly that they are very great, *but does not enter into any particulars, thus causing no slight suspicion that the hopes from that quarter will not be verified; though on the arrival of the fleet the truth will be ascertained, as it will then be impossible to conceal it.*

As yet no provision of troops has been made in Flanders, beyond those in ordinary on the frontiers, and they have merely made a muster of some 700 light cavalry; more would be done were it not

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for lack of money and victuals, which increases daily, without hope of remedy until harvest time, unless in the meanwhile some assistance arrive from the Hanse Towns (dalle terre marittime), as expected since so many months, though nothing is seen hitherto.

I have given orders for tents, baggage waggons (*carri*), and other necessities to follow the King to the war, although on this occasion my expenses are so increased that I know not how I shall be able to bear them, most especially as the past thus far has been very onerous, not only exceeding all my means but consuming them. I do not say this by way of complaint, as being on this service I shall perform it willingly so long as intellect (*spirito*) and life remain to me, being bound to this debt by nature and my own free will.

London, 17th May 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives
(Second letter).

892. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 13th I wrote what I had then heard about the affair of Piombino, since when I have ascertained that the lord of the island merely ceded the fortresses to King Philip, reserving for himself both the state and its revenues, which arrangement is more advantageous for his Majesty, who is thus dispensed from making him any compensation; and as yet Appiano has had no other promise than that of being made a Knight of the Fleece, his Majesty consenting to reward him with this vain-glory (con questo fumo). The matter is still a secret, and will remain so until the resolution of the Duke of Florence be heard, and lest his Excellency complain of having to cede that state, it has been provided to pay him what he claims for it, and the expenses incurred in the war of Sienna, a total of 800,000 crowns, one half of which to be assigned him in the kingdom of Naples and the other half in Spain; and the Duke's brother-in-law, Don Luis de Toledo, who is here for this affair of Piombino and of Sienna, being cajoled with fair words, the ambassador from Florence, perhaps on this account, when talking with me a few days ago, accused the Royal Council of neglect and want of judgment, telling me that he finds more decision (più risolutione) in the King than in any of the others, but that his Majesty dares not do anything without the Council. Speaking of his Duke he said that he had always run the same chance as the Emperor and King Philip, but that they did not know him, and that he was suspected without reason; and I can assure your Serenity that the Duke of Florence is suspected, and they fear that even were his Majesty to grant him all he desires, yet would he not go to war for King Philip, although everything possible will be done to restrain him, and not render him utterly hostile.

The Duchess of Parma has departed for Italy, and from one of her household I heard that she made two demands; one that the state of the Duke her husband should be restored to him entirely, nothing more being said about compensations, and that the fortresses be given back to him; the other that her son, who had been appointed to reside in Spain with Don Carlos, may remain with the King, it

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seeming to her that in Spain he would be ruined by idleness, whereas here, where there is business and war, he would have experience of many things. *With regard to her son the King consented, and placed the Duchess at liberty to take him with her to Italy, but she has not chosen to do so. Respecting the affairs of Piacenza and of the Duke, the King gave her good promise and intention, but in word and course of time, and with this her Excellency departed very well satisfied. I could learn nothing more, the affairs between the King and the Duchess having been treated face to face, which disables me from asserting anything positively, nor do I believe that anybody but themselves can know what they negotiated.*

By advices from Italy it is heard that the galleys from Spain arrived at Genoa with 2,500 Spaniards and 300,000 crowns, so although the money is not much it is nevertheless hoped that it may somewhat stem the strong tide of good fortune now enjoyed by the French in that quarter, which is supposed to be in greater peril than any of King Philip's other possessions in Italy; and yesterday a person of consequence told me as a great secret that his Majesty would easily consent to place a Duke in Milan if he thought your Serenity would renew the treaty made heretofore with Duke Francesco, and that I should perhaps be spoken to on this subject.

London, 17th May 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 19.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

893. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, in the presence of his Holiness, a congregation of all the Cardinals was held. The cause of the congregation was to impose a tax of one per cent. on the value of all real property (*tutti li stabili*) in Rome and in the Papal States; and as it was rightly conjectured that many Cardinals would not approve, Cardinal Vitelli was sent to those who were suspected to demonstrate to them the Pope's need of money and his will concerning this tax, persuading them not to oppose his Holiness. This preparation having been made, the Pope, on entering congregation yesterday, explained the necessity of the present war, narrated the injuries and damages done him by King Philip and his ministers, styling them impious, heretical, schismatic, accursed, and the like, as on former occasions; he confuted the slanderous charges brought against him purporting that his Holiness desired the war, and rejected the terms of peace proposed to him by the Imperialists, coming to the conclusion that, being engaged in so important a war, and having great need of money, after much consideration on his own part and that of his ministers, they at length determined on this imposition of one per cent. as fairer and more supportable than any other, being payable solely by those who have means, the poor being exempt from it, whereas in the other imposts, such as the grinding tax (*masena*),* and the like,

* Now called "*macinato*," a tax lately revived in Italy, where it is considered a very great grievance.

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the poor pay more than the rich, as they eat more bread and labour more, nor have they wherewithal to accompany it.* This tax would also yield more, and precisely such an amount as required for maintaining the army and defraying the necessary expenses. Having finished his speech, the Pope caused the bull, which was already transcribed, to be read, the document setting forth that it was "*de consilio fratrum S. Beati et Cardinalium*."

The tax exacts one per cent. on real property exceeding 500 crowns, half per cent. on what is rated at from 500 to 100 crowns, immoveables valued at from 100 crowns to 20 being exempted; concerning which the Pope exhorted the Cardinals to give their opinion freely; so the "Decano" [Bellai], after deploring the calamities of the present times, commended what his Holiness had said, and approved the bull. Cardinal Carpi [Ridolfo Pio], who was the second, thanked his Holiness for having granted freedom of speech, wherefore as a good servant of the See Apostolic and of the Pope he would say what he thought, and first of all that with regard to his Holiness being calumniated, the Pope had cause to lament his ill fortune, as it was in fact true that he had been subjected to these calumnies, which Carpi hoped would be remedied by a good peace, the gift of God, and which had been sought by the Pope's extreme prudence and goodness. Then respecting the impost, he was of opinion that the Pope might avail himself of his subjects, and ought to do so, most especially in such great need, but that he indeed could not approve of so new and heavy a tax, by so much the more as he knew that several subjects had come hither to complain of the extraordinary imposts paid by them, demanding their exemption, so that Carpi feared lest this fresh burden might alienate them entirely, from the necessity to levy it arbitrarily, causing universal discontent, as there would not be time to make the necessary estimates.

At this point the Pope, in a rage, cut short (*tagliò*) the Cardinal's discourse, saying he had evidently a foul stomach (*lo stomaco guasto*), and that he spoke with passion, from partiality. The Cardinal replied that he was as spotless (*netto*) and sincere as anyone else (*quanto altri*), and that for conscience sake he said what he thought, and would die with this opinion. The Pope rejoined, "We are well known, and we remember that in consistory, in the time of Paul III.,* you chose to contradict him, saying that "*timebatis*," and he answered you, "*quid timetis?*" but with us these bugbears (*questi spaventati*) are unnecessary, as we are neither timid nor pusillanimous. Cardinal Carpi, although the "Decano" pulled him by the cape to make him sit down, and not to exasperate the Pope farther, did not cease replying that his Holiness said most truly that they were known, as he Pio believed himself to be known for an honest man (*per huomo da bene*), and as such he could not approve of this tax; whereupon he sat down in his place, and was seconded by the Cardinal S. Giacomo,† who commended his Holiness for availing himself of his

* "*Non havendo con che compagnarlo*." These words of Paul IV. give the etymology of the Venetian term "*companadego*," which signifies "whatever is eaten with bread."

† Ridolfo Pio had been made Cardinal by Paul III. on the 22nd December 1536, at the same time as Reginald Pole and Gianpietro Caraffa. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 173.)

‡ Juan Alvarez de Toledo, transferred from Burgos to St. Iago of Compostella by Pope Julius III. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 201.)

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subjects, though he should like (*a lui piacere*) the amount of the tax to be limited to about 500,000 crowns or more, as he disliked an indefinite impost. The Pope—his whole frame quivering with passion (*tutto già tremando da sdegno*)—said, “Monsignore, we shall find persons who will speak without malignity.”

The other Cardinals, terrified by the example of these two, comported themselves reservedly, and those who would not approve of the tax passed it over in general terms without censure. The majority confirmed it; and amongst the rest, Cardinal Fano [a Dominican friar by name Pietro Bertano] demonstrated that the tax might be imposed, and was a fair one, alleging the authority of many doctors of the Church; Cardinal Mignanelli adding that it was so fair and tolerable as to admit of being repeated three or four times; and the Cardinal of Imola [Gieronimo Dandino, a native of Cesena] said that, having come lately from Romagna, where the project for imposing this tax was already known, the people there were content with it, and awaited the exaction cheerfully. The bull was passed accordingly, and was sent to-day to the Cardinals for signature. Cardinal Carpi would not put his hand to it, and in the presence of my secretary (*whom I sent to him for authentic news of this event*) he dismissed Fior di Bello, who took it to him, telling him to apologize to his Holiness for not choosing to approve of this bull, for the reasons given by him in consistory, and on the preceding day to Cardinal Vitelli; and that with regard to himself individually, the Pope might take all that he possessed, which he would give as willingly as his blood, if needed, everybody knowing how much he loves the See Apostolic, and how much he reveres his Holiness. The tax is laid, its exaction is deemed difficult, and the money either tardy, or so contrary to the wish of the people, that it must be levied arbitrarily, and from a people who as notorious have suffered so much in Romagna and in the March of Ancona, and yet more in the Campagna and in this city, where experienced statisticians say that, being exacted from persons of every description, it will amount (if paid in full) to two millions of gold.

Rome, 19th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 21.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

894. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning, having risen from his bed, Cardinal Caraffa addressed me thus, “Before the Duke de Guise entered Italy, it was reported that the French would ask the Pope for certain fortresses of the Church, nor is it any wonder that such news should have come hither, because the King consults with the Constable, who communicates with the secretaries for transmission abroad, and then his Majesty announces them to the Queen and to Madame de Valentinois; so affairs, after having been kept secret for seven or eight days, are then divulged. This demand was in fact made, for when the Duke de Guise was here he told me what he had not said previously when we met at Reggio, his words being as follows: “So you wish me to invade the kingdom of Naples; were the enemy to attack us with an overwhelming force, what will become of my

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army? Whither can it retreat in safety?" I answered him that as he was coming for the defence of the See Apostolic, the Papal States would defend him; and as he rejoined that the Pope was old and might die, in which case the army would be in danger, and that it therefore would be well to give him (the Duke de Guise) some of the fortresses in the Roman States, I answered that what he said was true, as were our fortresses in the hands of the enemy, he would have reason to fear, but being held by his Holiness' ministers there was not the slightest cause for apprehension, and that as to the Pope's possible demise, the College of Cardinals contained many of his Holiness' creatures (*creature*); that Popes were not made in a fortnight, time being allowed for the arrival of the absent Cardinals, the election being made methodically, so that it might be hoped that the future Pontiff would desire the welfare of this Holy See, and that they, having come for its defence, would not abandon him. By these arguments I quieted him, but yet more by adroitly admitting him into the fortresses (*con destrezza ammettendolo nelle fortezze*), but not so as to give him the power of forcing them, and thus did he consent to move forward. And as he told me besides that he demanded the fortresses because I had made him a promise to that effect, I sent immediately for the writing, as, besides being very reserved with regard to promising, by reason of the power I have, I keep a copy of whatever I negotiate or say or write, so I have chests-full of registers, month for month, and labelled one for Spain, another for Venice, and for the other Powers, so as more easily to ascertain facts; and I showed him a letter written by me to the French ambassador, M. d'Avanzo (sic), immediately after his departure, he having made the same request to me about the fortresses, telling him in general terms at the commencement of the letter, that as the Duke de Guise came for the defence of the Papal States, it was indeed fair for the said States to render his army secure (*che l'istesso stato fusse a securtà del suo essercito*), but that with regard to particular fortresses, we chose to hold them for ourselves, and thus did I exclude that matter. Then after the Duke de Guise had departed with the army (very well satisfied) to the kingdom of Naples, he did not keep his promise, for we agreed here that his Excellency should have the charge of paying the Duke of Ferrara his due according to the articles of the league, and of satisfying the entire army that entered the kingdom of Naples, both his own troops and those heretofore under the command of the Marquis [Montebello], my brother, as also the forces which were to go with the Duke of Paliano, we here having to pay the garrisons of the fortresses (*delle piazze*) held by the most Christian King in Tuscany, the troops here in Rome, and those in Romagna; and according to the accounts made out for what has been expended hitherto, we remained debtors for one article (*una partita*) to the amount of 15,000 crowns, and for another of 18,000, out of which, as the Duke de Guise did not pay the troops of the Marquis Montebello, I sent him 15,000 crowns for two whole rates of pay for the foot, as also for the horse, and as some of the horse were creditors for another rate of pay, I sent 3,000 crowns, so that there remained 15,000 crowns, for which I wrote that provision should be made,

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and I sent to Tuscany the rates of pay due for the whole of April. M. de Guise, on the other hand, has never given money to my brother's troops, and has allowed many wrongs to be done him, which the said Marquis tolerated (*andava tolerando*), perhaps contrary to his nature; but when the quartermaster, M. de Tavannes, was saucy, having been rendered insolent by the courtesy my brother showed him, he could no longer put up with it, and told him that he would not obey him, neither did he choose his troops to obey him, as they were in that army to obey solely M. de Guise, to whom having said the like, they becoming rather angry, my brother asked him who he was, and on his answering that he was Lieutenant-General of the League, the Marquis rejoined, "And am I to have no charge whatever?" and being told in reply that he was not (*et hauto in risposto* (sic) *che no*'), he said, "Then I shall go away," and so he departed, and withdrew to Ascoli, where he received a letter from the Duke of Somma, who had also done him other evil offices, saying that M. de Guise was coming to Rome to accuse him to the Pope, so that he would be both blamed and ruined; thereupon the Marquis mounted post-wise and came to justify himself; so we determined to send the Duke my brother to the camp and to keep the Marquis here to employ him as most advantageous, either in Romagna or elsewhere. The Pope, seeing the insolence of these folks (*di costoro*), who all together are barbarians, both one side and the other, and seek to glut themselves with our blood and our goods (*beni*), and would to God that all the ultramontanes (*tutti gli oltramontani*) were out of Italy, and that we could enjoy what belongs to us, for which cause we demanded aid of the Signory, in order not to be compelled to call these others (*questri altri*) in such great number as to enable them to command us; but as there is nothing else to be done our Lord intends to proceed in such a way that neither these nor those (*nè questi nè quelli*) may return, as should either of them commit the slightest error, the other would be rendered so insolent by victory as to give law to us. The Pope has determined to raise 4,000 Switzers, having already sent the order, and to-morrow I shall write to Cardinal Triulzi to ask passage of the Signory, with the certainty of its grant, most especially as his Serenity gave it to the enemies of this See, so it may be believed that they will give it to those who will come for its defence."

He then said that after victualling Paliano all the forces will move in that direction, and that M. de Guise, on being reinforced, would not shun battle; adding, "I know not what the Duke of Alva will do, though I know that, were he to give battle and conquer, and that I were King Philip, I would have him beheaded instantly, as a prudent commander should never risk a whole kingdom by fighting a pitched battle on his own territory." In conclusion, he told me they had advices from England purporting that Philip would not obtain the assistance hoped for by him, though he might get some money; still less will he be able to make England wage war on the King of France. He also said that he had performed good offices with the Pope to prevent him from carrying into effect the revocation of Cardinal Pole's legatine authority (*legatione*), demonstrating by arguments that Queen Mary deserved to be favoured

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because she had never done anything against his Holiness, and, on the contrary, recovered England for the See Apostolic, so that she might be said to have fought for the faith. He said that the Pope blessed him (*che'l Papa lo benedisse*), and determined to suspend (as he did) the execution of that resolve in accordance with what was written by me heretofore.

Rome, 21st May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 21.
(Second Letter.)

895. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At audience of the Pope to-day, he said that peace must be from God, as his Holiness is unable to make it, his will not being shared by the other side, which evinces no sign by facts, but solely in words; so to make a good peace it would be necessary to wage a brisk war, as unless stout resistance were offered, and the enemy convinced of the impossibility of attaining their object, they would never do what they ought; and he continued, "They are reinforcing themselves with foreign troops; we also are doing the like, though, with tears in our eyes, we see Italy swarming with barbarians, than which nothing can be worse, but being unable to do otherwise, we have determined to raise a levy of 4,000 Switzers, and pray the Signory to grant us passage for them, and victuals, on receiving payment, as was granted to others, as these present troops are coming for our defence, which implies that of the Republic, for should we be overpowered and the enemy satisfied in their wishes (*e che costoro fuissent voti compotis*) you would be compelled to place your neck under a yoke the most unbearable that can be imagined; you would be unable single-handed to resist one who has so many kingdoms and so many States in Italy; the kingdom of Naples, of Sicily, Tuscany, Genoa, the Milanese, and the Papal States. What else could you do but pass under the same yoke in spite of yourselves? We now choose to raise this band of foreign mercenaries, because at any moment we can get Italian troops, and the best in Italy, for the natives of the Papal States are born soldiers." I made him the same answer as given by me in the morning to Cardinal Caraffa, and the Pope then commenced deploring the miseries of Italy, and narrated from the beginning how King Charles [VIII.] was called into Italy by Ludovic the Moor, [Sforza, 1494, September], and the history of Alfonso of Arragon, with the particulars of the relationship between these two,* the cause of their enmity,† the passage of King Charles to Rome, the

* In the year 1455, Alfonso II., being then Duke of Calabria, married Ippolita, the daughter of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, the father of Ludovic the Moor, who was thus King Alfonso's brother-in-law. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, pp. 838, 905. Ed. Paris, 1770.)

† The cause of this enmity was, that the daughter of Alfonso II. being the wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, the King of Naples resented the way in which his son-in-law was treated by Ludovic the Moor, whose wife was the daughter of Hercules of Este, Duke of Ferrara. Ludovic Sforza being supported by the Duke of Ferrara, whose wife was the aunt of King Alfonso, the latter (or his father Ferdinand I.), to debilitate Ludovic Sforza, prevailed upon her to poison her husband Duke Hercules, who having discovered this plot of Eleanor of Naples, gave poison to his consort instead of receiving it at her hands. (See Malipiero, "*Annali Veneti-Archivio Storico Italiano*," vol. 7, parte prima, p. 319. Ed. Firenze, 1843.)

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fear of Pope Alexander lest he should be deposed, as publicly reported by the Cardinals who accompanied the King, amongst whom was S. Pietro in Vincula, afterwards Pope Julius II.; that the articles of deprivation were drawn up by a certain Vicentine (*d'un Vicentino*) Bishop of Cesena,* who was then "Auditor della Camera;" that the King lodged in the Palace of St. Mark, and the Pope withdrew into the Castle, having sent for Cardinal Uliverio Caraffa to reside in the Palace of St. Peter [the Vatican?]; that contemporaneously a turret of the Castle fell to the ground; so the Pope was compelled to make terms with the King, who being of a very good nature, went to kiss the Pope's foot, and held his stirrup when he rode forth; that the King traversed (*corse*) the whole of the kingdom of Naples without any obstacle except from a small castle called S. Giovanni in the Caraffa territory, and Gaeta, both of which were sacked and burned. He then narrated the league formed against the French to expel them from Italy; the appointment made by your Serenity of the Marquis of Mantua to reinstate King Ferandino,† Alfonso's son, who, when on the point of entering Naples in triumph, died at Sarno, a short distance thence; so that there ensued the miserable interregnum, rather than the reign of King Frederick. Having given me these details, his Holiness continued, "*Hinc omnis mali labes*, for those individuals (*costoro*) opened this evil gate (*questa mala porta*) for barbarians, which we would wish to close and are not listened to, by reason, we believe, of our sins, but never shall we repent of having done what we could, and perhaps more than we could. For future centuries we shall leave the confusion to the others who will not have helped us, and who will allow it to be said, 'Formerly there was a decrepid octogenarian, who, when it was supposed that he would keep in a corner bemoaning his infirmities, showed himself valorous, and desirous of the freedom of Italy, but was abandoned by those whom it least behoved to do so;' and thus, the penance will fall on my Venetian Lords (*miei Signori Venetiani*) and the others who do not choose to acknowledge the opportunity for ridding themselves of this plague which commenced under that King, who by reason of his virtues was tolerable (*sotto quel Re, che per le virtù sue fu tollerabile*);‡ but there then succeeded this mixed race of Flemings and Spaniards, in whom *nihil Regium nihil Cristianum*, and they take root like weeds where they attach themselves. They do not resemble the French, who fly off *nullo negotio*, and who would not remain were they tied and bound. We have seen them masters of the kingdom of Naples and of the Milanese; and they went away on the sudden; they cannot stay there; *loco nesciunt*.

* Pietro Menzio of Vicenza, Bishop of Cesena from 1486 to 1504. (See Bibliothèque Sacrée, vol. 6, p. 344.)

† Ferandino, *alias* King Ferdinand II., who died in September or October 1496, and was succeeded by his uncle, King Frederick III., whose territories were divided and appropriated to themselves in 1501, by Ferdinand the Catholic and Louis XII.

‡ Throughout this correspondence the Pope always speaks respectfully of Ferdinand the Catholic, at whose court in Spain, he is said by Cardella (vol. 4, p. 164) to have resided; but of this I can find no documentary evidence, and my belief is, that Gian Pietro Caraffa's personal intercourse with Ferdinand the Catholic was limited to the period when he was accredited to him by Pope Julius II., as Nuncio at Naples, in the years 1506-1507; viz. from the 13th October 1506 till the 4th of June 1507. (See Giannone, vol. 3, pp. 413, 414.)

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To you we speak confidentially as if we were talking with the Doge and the Councillors and the Chiefs of the Ten, because we know that our thoughts will not be divulged. In short, we shall never regret having toiled during this brief space of life, for the honour of God, and for the benefit of this poor Italy, for to tell you the truth we have preferred a life of labour, and never rest; nor do we delight in comedies, musical performances, and field sports (*caccie*), like certain other Popes, for had these things pleased us, we must have neglected our duty, and remained with a worm always corroding our conscience. We have no other contentment than that of stealing a few moments to say our "office," which we will never omit to do, both for example's sake, that we may not fail to do ourselves what we preach to others; as also because we have recited it for 66 years; then for the rest of our time, we choose *exhibere nos omnibus*, and our preference for this toilsome life profits us, for "*leve sit quod bene fertur onus*;" as with regard to our own sensuality (*sensualità*), were it the pleasure of His Majesty we should wish to depart hence, relying on the infinite benignity and mercy of our Lord, who would not deny me paradise, as without this hope I should fear death, and be in suspense about hell afterwards." I said that God would long preserve him for the welfare of Christendom, and give him the means to comfort the world by a peace. He replied, "We have said, and now repeat to you, that we on our part will never fail, and although the troubles increase daily we ought not to despair of quiet, as God gives it when least expected; and we tell you in conclusion that in this result of peace, *non sit abbreviata manus Domini*."

I then had read to him the last news-letters from Adrianople, sent to me by your Serenity. He said he thought that the 50 [Turkish] galleys would not come into these waters, and that it was well they should not come, as they never do anything but mischief, nor had the most Christian King ever derived any advantage from this fleet, as the Turks choose to command, and to be masters of the undertaking, but that the King was compelled to avail himself of them, being inferior to the enemy at sea, which matters much; that he will now make use of the Algiers fleet, which will serve the same purpose, and he will be its commander, and that when joined with the King's 40 galleys, his Holiness' four, and some others, he will be master of the sea; whereupon I took leave.

Rome, 21st May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

896. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I told the Cardinal of Lorraine about the dispute for precedence at Venice between the French ambassador the Bishop of Lodève and the Spanish ambassador Vargas. The Cardinal took me to the King, and his Majesty said that he knew your Serenity could not do otherwise than you had done, the judicature in fact not appertaining to him, but that he thought the controversy very clear, because your Serenity having made the ambassador Vargas a present, as princes are accustomed to do to all ambassadors, it was

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a sign of his being dismissed entirely; and he returned as a new ambassador, and consequently of the King of Spain and not of the Emperor, who no longer chose to do any business; so being the ambassador of the King of Spain, he (the King of France) did not believe he would compete for precedence with his, it being a thing too manifest to the world who ought to precede, and his Majesty was certain your Serenity would not allow him to be wronged. I made a becoming rejoinder, and the King then told me that the Duchess of Parma and her son had crossed the Channel, the Duchess of Lorraine having also done the like subsequently, not having been able to persuade the Lady Elizabeth to consent to marry; his Majesty adding, that neither would the Council of England have so readily consented to her going beyond sea. (*Entrò a dirmi che Madama di Parma insieme con suo figliolo era passata il mare et dopo anche la Duchessa di Lorena, non havendo possuto persuader Milladi Elisabeth à consentir di maritarsi, soggiungendo S. Mtà. che nè anche il Cons^o d'Inghilterra haveria così leggermente contentato che la fusse passata il mar.*)* I asked his Majesty what was being done in England about the troops promised to the King of Spain, and how the Queen contrived to have ample pecuniary supply (*et come la Ser^{ma} Regina si trovava haver larga comodità de denari*). His Majesty replied, "The determination to send the troops has been made, as I told you, and although I believe it will be carried into effect, my ambassador nevertheless writes that no great noise was heard; and with regard to money, I believe that at this commencement the Queen will have it, and she is diligently seeking supply through every channel, though I do not know whether she will be able to continue the expenditure for long" (*se la potrà continuar molto in la spesa*). I asked if the King of Spain was on the eve of departure from England; his Majesty said, "It seems to me that matters are being protracted, and I infer that they are waiting for Don Ruy Gomez to bring money, he having yet to cross, nor do I even know whether he has got to the Spanish coast; and I believe he will encounter many difficulties, for there is no money in Spain, and as you must have heard the fleet crossed to Italy with 3,000 infantry, and the vast sum of money announced proved to be 300,000 crowns, of which 150,000 remained in Genoa as part payment of interest due to private individuals, and with the surplus they talk of raising troops. I asked what was heard about the mustering of forces in Flanders. He said, "As I have told you several times, the words are many and the moneys few. They have many German captains in their pay, but have only raised a small number of foot soldiers, who disbanded from lack of money." I continued, "Will your Majesty form an army?" He answered, "I have given orders to raise 8,000 Germans, who if not already on the march, it will not long be delayed, and I shall in like manner add a good number of Frenchmen, so I

* In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 314, date Ghent, 8th June 1557, there is a letter from the Duchess of Lorraine to the Queen in favour of "the late Granado concerning whom she had spoken to her Majesty *when recently in London*," although her presence there at that time is not generally known.

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hope that they will not frighten me ;” and he added several times, “ On these confines both sides are fighting, and lately at Thionville near Metz a very strange case occurred, much to my regret, for in a skirmish my camp-marshal (*maestro di campo*) was killed, the like befalling the enemy’s captain, nor was anyone else either killed or wounded, rank or file ; and I greatly lament the loss of that man, for he was a very brave one.”

I then asked what news the King had of M. de Guise, and he said, “ Upwards of 30 days have elapsed since my last advice,” which purported that he was besieging Civitella.” In reply to my inquiry whether the King was reinforcing his army in those parts, he said, “ Yes, I have sent to raise 6,000 more Germans, who will come straight, besides 1,500 Frenchmen who were landed by the Baron de la Garde, and I shall send as many more.” About advices from Rome he said all he knew was that the Nuncio had just told him that the Duke of Paliano will go to the Duke de Guise, and that the Pope was preparing to make the “ privation ” of the kingdom of Naples ; his Majesty adding, “ But if this is true, it surprises me that I also should not have had news of it ; you will also have heard that Fantuccio has arrived in Paris.” I said, “ Yes, sire, I have heard it ;” and with evident satisfaction the King continued, “ The Pope has recalled him, and he is going back to Rome postwise, but he did not indeed (*altramente*) present himself at Court.* I have not had advices from Marshal de Brissac for 33 days, the most recent telling of the capture of Chiraseo (sic), but from another quarter I indeed know that he was under Cuni (sic),† and hoped to take it ; and that the Spanish galleys landed 200 infantry, who were to cross the mountains and enter the place, but they were unable to do so ; and if the Marshal takes it, Fossano also falls of necessity ; so I may say that the whole of Piedmont will be in my hands, and by removing the garrisons from several places where they will no longer be needed, the Marshal will have from 33 to 34 thousand foot soldiers in the field.”

His Majesty then said, “ An express has arrived from Ferrara with news that the Cardinal of Trent [Christoforo Madruccio] had projected a fine plot to kill the Duke of Ferrara and the whole House of Este ; and those 6,000 Germans who were to go to Milan were made to turn towards Casal Maggiore, with the intention of sending them on in due time towards Ferrara, but the thing was discovered and the accomplices captured, so the Duke is in a great fright.” I evinced regret for so strange a case, and inquired whether his Excellency had taken any steps to recover Correggio. The King replied, “ None hitherto ;” adding, “ You must have heard what that fool (*quel sciocco*) Thomas Stafford has done in England ; before his departure he came to me in this very chamber where we now are, and I leaning at that balcony (*et essendo io appoggiato a quella*

* By a letter from Michiel Surian, date London, 26th April 1557, it seems that the Papal agent Fantuccio was expelled Brussels by the Count de Feria, instead of being recalled by Pope Paul IV.

† Cunico, *alias* Cuneo. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, June 10, 1557, p. 315.)

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finestra)*, he narrated to me these projects of his, praying and exhorting me to give him aid and counsel (*pregandomi et essortandomi a dargli aiuto et consiglio*), but I told him freely that from me, for that purpose, he was to expect neither one nor the other, as I very well know the nature and the mode of proceeding of the English; so I bid him beware, as I already saw him beheaded if he persisted in these opinions of his, but he showed himself quite bent on carrying them into effect, telling me that he had a great claim to that Crown, and that he should find many followers in England; and after he left me the first news I had of him was that he had been captured and taken to London." When I was in the act of taking leave, the King said to me about the Duke of Ferrara, "This kinsman of mine is greatly terrified; I should wish to see him rather more resolute, and acting like a soldier, and with less love for his money." Nor will I omit to tell your Serenity that Fiaschino, who arrived from Ferrara two days ago, came solely on account of money due to the Duke; so the Ferrarese ambassador has not yet departed, nor is it known whether he or the said Fiaschino will execute the commission originally destined for the former.

On the 6th instant I wrote what I had heard on good authority about the Pope's negotiation with the King of England, as subsequently confirmed to me through another channel, with this in addition, that the Pope and his whole family were in fact determined on having Sienna, which it is believed they would have at length accepted, perhaps on the terms desired by the King of England; but when his Majesty saw that he had created distrust between the Pope and France, he no longer continued making his first large offers, but keeps his Holiness in suspense, giving him at one time ample words, and at another limiting them; so, according to their tenor, the Pope in like manner changes his mind, insisting first on war, and then speaking more submissively (*et ora parla più rimesso*). A great personage, conversing with the Cardinal of Lorraine, to elicit something from him on this subject, said, "Monseigneur, humour this Pope; give him the fortresses in the Siennese, and the King of England will give him Sienna." The Cardinal replied with an angry countenance (*rispose il Cardinale con volto pieno*), "Yes, the most Christian King will assuredly give the Pope those fortresses, because his nephews' proceedings certainly gain them for him;" so I in like manner, when talking with the said Cardinal, a good opportunity having presented itself in the course of our conversation, said, "Will your most illustrious Lordship do me the favour to acquaint me with the Pope's mind, that is to say, whether he wishes for war, for peace, or for truce?" and again in an angry tone (*similmente accesa nel ragionar*) he said, "Shall I tell you? The Pope is very firm in maintaining what he has promised, but of his nephews, the one pulls and the other gives way (*l'uno tira et l'altro lassa*), and I know not what to say. I then added, "It is anticipated by speculators (*dalli speculativi*) that the end of the Pope's

* In the 16th century the word "*finestra*" signified any aperture in a building, and not merely a window, so I infer that the balcony was over a garden, towards which the King's back was turned, Stafford standing before him within the chamber.

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wish and of his nephews is to have Sienna. I know not what he will do." The Cardinal replied, "Such is the general opinion, but we are still there, we with our fortresses, which form the greater portion" (che sono per la maggior parte); to which I replied, "Monseigneur! I believe that the Pope would wish for Sienna and these fortresses, but with the satisfaction of his most Christian Majesty." The Cardinal smiled, and taking my hand, said, "The private affections of the priests ruin the world; I also am a priest, but the truth must be told." (Li affetti particolari delli preti guastano il mondo; sono prete anchor Io, pur bisogna dir il vero.) This recall of Fantuccio* has given no less satisfaction here than the regret felt by them at seeing him remain there in Flanders; so it is rather supposed that the Pope's negotiation with the King of England is perhaps quite at an end, although as it is not certain that the Duke of Paliano is going to the army, and the "deprivation" of the kingdom of Naples, so often promised to the King by the Pope, continues being delayed, his Majesty remains in constant suspicion. I am told by a trustworthy person who heard it from the King's own lips, that if Marshal de Brissac takes Cuni (sic) and Fossano, he, with all his forces, will enter the Milanese, where the King said there is so much confusion and such a want of money that he hoped in a few days to make great progress.

La Ferté Milon, 21st May 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

May 22.

Deliberazioni
Senato
(Register).

897. MOTION made in the SENATE.

That the ambassador of King Philip be sent for into the College to-morrow morning, and that the Doge do address him thus:—

"We deem it unnecessary to declare how desirous we have been for peace, as the many offices performed by us bear ample testimony, besides our ancient system, proved by the long experience which you and others have of our proceedings. The causes which have confirmed us in this desire are so self-evident that any comment would seem superfluous, and especially if addressed to your Lordship, who is prudent and well versed in the affairs of the world. We are certain that you will perfectly well consider the present moment opportune for continuing the negotiation for agreement, of which his Majesty has always shown himself desirous, by sending those ample commissions to Italy, as told us by your Lordship, [and] by Don Juan Davila (*d'Aiata*) several times, and as written by our ambassadors. We will hope that the Pope, as universal Father and anxious for quiet, will give ear to it, accepting such form of agreement as becoming, and that he will also be glad of opportunities (*esser grato d'haver occasioni*) for reconciling himself to his

* The first mention of the mission to King Philip of the Auditor di Rota, Fantuccio, is mentioned by Navagero, date 1st December 1556; Fantuccio left Rome 11th December (see Navagero, 12th December), and arrived at Brussels in January 1557, as appears by a despatch from Federigo Badoer, date 17th January in that year. These dates are important for the comprehension of Paul IV.'s policy with regard to the Kings of England and France.

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Majesty, receiving him into his bosom, and showing himself a loving parent towards him. To this end as we have not failed striving hitherto, so we shall persevere in such offices as the need requires for the introduction of this peace, as mightily desired for the quiet of Christendom and Italy, on whose repose our eye is always fixed, especially at present, besides the aforesaid reasons, on account of rumours of war which are approaching the confines of our State. Knowing your Lordship to be desirous of the common weal, it seemed fit to us to send for you to let you know what we, with the Senate, have said to you, praying you earnestly to perform for us with his Majesty such office as becomes the present need, and we likewise will have it done by our ambassador resident with his Majesty.

A copy of this writing to be sent to our ambassador accredited to King Philip, desiring him to perform an office, in conformity, with his Royal Majesty, and with the right reverend Legate Pole, and also to speak on the subject to such persons as are or may be empowered by the King to treat any similar negotiation, persuading them accordingly with all earnestness; and should it seem fit to him to do the like with the most serene Queen of England, let him do so, this being referred to his own judgment (*all' arbitrio suo*).

Ayes (<i>de respons.</i>)	-	-	-	-	159
Noes	-	-	-	-	2
Neutrals	-	-	-	-	4

[*Italian.*]

May 22.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

898. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After returning to the French camp, M. de Sipierre went with 700 horse to Giulia Nuova, a place upon a hill near the Adriatic, distant some 12 miles from Civitella. To this same place of Giulia Nuova the Duke of Alva was then on the march with his whole army, said to number 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse, of which the vanguard, consisting of 2,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, was already near at hand, when Sipierre heard of it; so, to avoid being shut up in the place, he at night broke through the enemy's lines with all his horse, and returned to the camp, having taken two cavalry standards. The arrival of the Duke of Alva at Giulia Nuova, it being also known that he intended skirting the Adriatic in order to occupy certain passes called "Le Grotte" [Grotte a mare?] to prevent the transmission of victuals to the French camp, and the failure of the attack on Civitella, caused the Duke de Guise to retreat towards the aforesaid grottoes, and Ascoli, making himself master of those passes which the enemy imagined they could get possession of. According to report, the retreat was made in time, owing to Marshal Strozzi, who pointed out to M. de Guise the aforesaid difficulty and danger. The French say that Guise, should he find an opportunity, will soon fight a pitched battle, although the enemy outnumber him both in horse and foot. This news arrived here this morning, but the particulars of the retreat are unknown, because the Roman Government (*questi Signori*) will not divulge them, but through a wounded soldier who arrived here from the camp it is heard that on the 13th they sent

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off the artillery in advance, on the 15th the army commenced decamping, and in the course of the 16th it was at a distance of five miles from Civitella, where three guns remained, having been split (*spezzate*) by the garrison, of whom 300 harquebusiers did some hurt to the French rearguard on its retreat.

The Marquis of Montebello says that the Pope now knows that what he told him about the mismanagement of the French, and the necessity for them to retreat, has proved true, by so much the more as M. de Sipièrre was unable to confute one single word of those uttered by him about his departure from the camp having been caused by the wrongs received at their hands. In addition to this he told my secretary that, although his brothers did not wish him to tell the Pope clearly about the neglect of rule (*i disordini*) on the part of the French, their weakness, the impossibility of their achieving any expedition, either great or small, the necessity for their retreat, the wrongs they did him (which turn to the Pope's dishonour) their misbehaviour (*i mali portamenti loro*) throughout the Papal States, and their natural insolence, worse than that of the Spaniards (*e la natural sua insolenza peggior della Spagnuola*), he nevertheless the other evening, when he was a long while with the Pope, told him the whole, and his Holiness embraced and thanked him, complaining of not having been told these things before. Montebello also told my secretary that his brother the Cardinal [Carlo Caraffa] has always said to him that he can do nothing but execute the will of his Holiness, and that means must be found through some other channel than their own to let him know how matters stand (*di farli conoscer le cose come stanno*); so they suggested the mission to the camp of Marshal Strozzi that he might make his report to the Pope, who believes greatly in his veracity, and might be thus induced to make the agreement. Marshal Strozzi was also the cause of the retreat of the Duke de Guise, whereby he at one and the same time served the French by preventing the loss of their army, and his Holiness, by letting him know that the undertaking cannot succeed; so his return hither is very anxiously expected.

Cardinal Caraffa has sent me the copy of Cardinal Pole's letter, which at my last audience the Pope (as written by me) said I should receive from him, and I now enclose it.*

The ambassador from Florence, who on Friday last had audience of the Pope, urged him, by commission from his Duke, to make peace. He says that, although his Holiness blustered a little (*e che se bene trovò il Pontefice al quanto su 'l bravo*), saying he purposed having a levy of Switzers, and had asked your Serenity to grant them passage through the Venetian territory, he (the ambassador) nevertheless did not despair of something favourable coming to pass, because this morning the Cardinal of Pisa [Scipione Rebiba], who is privy to the Pope's will (*qual è conscio della volontà del Papa*), told him as of himself that his Holiness' honour must be satisfied, and that King Philip ought to say that his ministers did wrong, and give him back what he holds belonging to the Church, allowing his Holiness to

* Not found, but it was probably the one printed in this volume with the date, Canterbury, March 1557, pp. 994-999.

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inflict such punishment as he pleases on King Philip's soldiers. The ambassador wrote this to the Duke of Alva for transmission to his Majesty, and that he may exhort him, if he really desires peace, to concede the Pope this fume (*questo fumo*).

To-day at 5 p.m. (*a xxi. ore*) the maggiordomo of Cardinal Morone in his own presence was arrested and taken to the prisons of the Inquisition.* The sheriff (*il Bargello*) told the Cardinal that he made the arrest by order of the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, and when Morone replied that he mistook him, the sheriff rejoined, "If this person is Don Domenico, your most illustrious Lordship's maggiordomo, who came hither four days ago from Modena, I make no mistake, and he is the individual whom I am ordered to arrest." This is considered an important seizure which may concern the Cardinal, who, on several accounts, is not in much favour with the Pope nor with his kinsfolk (*nè delli suoi*).

Rome, 22nd May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.

899. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., pp. 223,
224, recto et
verso, date
London,
Printed in
Vol. V., pp.
27-31.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"
dated London,
25 May 1557.

Yet greater than his acknowledgment of the divine goodness hitherto, in confirming and augmenting the mutual joy between England and the Pope owing to the many tokens of his Holiness' paternal love for this realm, and its reciprocal filial observance towards him since its return to its obedience to himself individually and to the See Apostolic, would Pole's sorrow be, were any accident through the malice of Satan to interrupt the course of this mutual gladness which until now has been so constant that Pole had received from the Pope nothing but what was replete with goodness, will, and deserving of thanks, as he graciously and readily granted him whatever in piety and justice could contribute to the quiet of the kingdom, which, by never retracting after the apostacy of so many peoples (*tot populorum defectionibus*), gave the Pope good cause to rejoice at the return of the prodigal son to his obedience, instanced by him in such a way, as daily to afford increasing proofs of reverence for so loving a Father who had thus clemently received him into the bosom of mercy. When therefore on this account, all the churches resounded incessantly with praises to God and thanksgivings, prayers being offered up, for that these joyful seeds of piety, which already promised good fruit, might from day to day increase; Pole, as his Holiness' minister and legate, inviting and exhorting all men to cultivate the field of the Lord, in which he himself laboured strenuously; there suddenly came many letters from Rome announcing that his Holiness has abrogated the entire authority of legate "*de latere*" exercised for this kingdom, and also the privileges of "*Legate born*" (*Legati nati*), conceded by former Pontiffs to the church of Canterbury, for the convenience of the realm,

* Cardinal Morone, as seen throughout this correspondence, was the confidential friend of Cardinal Pole, who had appointed him vice-protector of England at the Court of Rome during his absence, and this is one of the first overt acts of persecution to which the vice-protector was subjected by Paul IV.

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leaving no one to regulate religion (*ad constituendam religionem*) except the ordinary episcopal power.

The grief of the most serene Queen, who heard this intelligence before it was known to Pole, may be more easily estimated by the Pope, he having had experience of her extreme piety in bringing back this kingdom to its obedience to the Church, than he, Pole, can write it. The Lords Privy Councillors now in London, both temporal and spiritual, came to Pole's residence immediately on hearing this, and plainly showed him how much this report troubled them, by saying they therefore came in order that after expressing their sorrow, and the very deep wound apparently inflicted on this kingdom, unless a remedy were applied, he might give them comfort, and they first inquired whether he himself knew anything certain about this business. Pole replied, that his information was derived solely from private letters; whereupon the most temperate of his interlocutors expressed their sorrow, by saying it might easily be credited that had the Pope clearly comprehended the state of religion in England a few years ago, and what it now is, he never would have so hastily annulled that authority, through which England was recalled from heresy and schism, to the truth of Catholic doctrine, and to her obedience to the Pope and the See Apostolic, and thus daily confirmed in it. They said that legantine authority was not the ordinary episcopal power; most especially as that authority, in like manner as at the commencement, is now very greatly needed to direct and assist in reforming innumerable abuses which were introduced during the late schism, and for the correction of which the power of the bishops does not suffice. If the authority of a legate was necessary to bring back the kingdom to the purity of Christian doctrine, and obedience to the See Apostolic, in which it had now well nigh commenced to germinate and flourish; yet is the legantine authority no less required for their nurture and establishment there, that the fruit may ripen. Thus spoke the spiritual lords (*ecclesiastici ordinis antistites*), with the assent of their colleagues. All of them lamented the suppression of the "native legantine authority" (*de nativâ vero legatione sublatâ*), it being almost a statute of the realm, acquired since so many centuries through the graciousness of former Pontiffs, or rather that they themselves individually were deprived of a right obtained long ago; saying it was the more grievous and insupportable that this should befall from the Pope, because at the very time, when in the name of the whole kingdom, obedience was tendered by the ambassadors, he confirmed all the ancient privileges, which on that return were promised and given by his legate; that were this so ancient a privilege and one so convenient for the whole kingdom, so suddenly taken away, without any fault on the part of the said realm, it is evident what serious suspicion must arise that other privileges already conceded would be less durable; than which nothing could be more odious, nor more pernicious, by diminishing their obedience in the minds of all men; that at this moment, to suppress both legations, is as it were to expose the Church in this kingdom, like a ship without a rudder to a raging sea in a gale of wind; and that were the Pope well aware of this, they could not think otherwise of his piety

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than that he would change his decision for a more benevolent one, and rather than take away the old ones grant the realm fresh ones, as required by so recent a return to the [Roman Catholic] religion (*ubi religio tam recens revocata novis potius indigerit*); and they asked Pole's counsel and assistance concerning what was to be done.

Such was the summary of their discourse, to which he replied, commending in the first place their piety for so bitterly resenting their being deprived of that authority, which a few years ago was rejected by them, this being a very strong proof that they were sincere in resuming their obedience to the Pope's authority since they so earnestly sought to retain it amongst them, and that they rightly estimated his Holiness' love for England (*et de amore erga hoc regnum*) when they persuaded themselves that never would he have taken this authority away from them, had he clearly understood how useful and necessary it was to confirm it in this kingdom for the glory of God and for religion, provided they did not require him Pole, to make the demand spontaneously on his own account. They moreover told him (nor did he think it fit to conceal this from the Pope) that, as the Almighty had made use of the most Serene Queen's medium (*opera*), to reconcile this kingdom to his Holiness and the See Apostolic, so also should Pole write to the Pope, that it would be extremely worthy of his piety now to request her Majesty to make peace between his Holiness and the King, her consort, who was her assistant in the reconciliation; and it would thus be easy by the Pope's authority to effect the peace of the whole Christian world, as King Philip would doubtless the more willingly strive with the King of France which of them should the more promptly obey (*sequeretur*) the Papal authority, in order to make peace rather than war, with so much effusion of Christian blood, especially when once the roots of dissension with the Pope are severed. Nor would there be any difficulty in this matter were his Holiness to demonstrate towards King Philip the same paternal goodness as was shown by the See Apostolic to the kingdom of England, after its abrogation of all Papal authority here, to which King Philip is so averse (as Pole himself likewise sufficiently well knew) that although now at war with the Pope, yet nevertheless a few days ago, when certain proposals were made in his presence tending apparently somewhat to infringe that authority, he so opposed the measure, that the Legate himself could not have said more in the Pope's defence, neither could he have acted more vehemently.*

Having said this much and other things to the like effect, the Privy Councillors left Pole, who was also subsequently addressed by private individuals at great length on the same subject, those who are the most anxious for the increase of piety and practical religion

* Quod autem de remedio quererent, id videri opportunum, ut ipsi curarent, hæc S^{ti} V. significanda, in quo si quid erga mea juvare posset, id me libenter quidem eorum rogatu esse facturum, quod illis non rogantibus, mei ratio ut facerem postularet.

Addebant iidem, quod etiam non prætermittendum putavi, quin ad S^{tem} V. scriberem, maxime dignum pietate illius fore in quemadmodum Deus Ser^{mæ} Reginæ opera usus est ad hoc Regnum S^{ti} V. et sedi apostolicæ cui antea maxime rebelle fuit reconciliandum, ita S^{tas} V. eandem vellet nunc intercedere ad reconciliandam pacem, inter ipsam et maritum



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(*studio religionis*) in this kingdom, expressing themselves by so much the more vehemently, and with greater grief of mind; all, however, coming to the conclusion that no more gladsome intelligence than this could be announced to the enemies of the Church; nor any more mournful news to those who are good and pious, and desirous of the obedience of England to the Pope and the See Apostolic. This fact Pole sees clearly, though he endeavours to give consolation, by saying that if this wounds their piety, it must be inferred that God has chosen thus to try them, yet more to demonstrate their faith and obedience, and to render it the more conspicuous; the Almighty being wont to act in this way with regard to those on whom He has conferred some extraordinary benefit, such as He gave by restoring this kingdom to the unity of the Church (*ad unitatem Ecclesiae*); but that should they remain firm in their faith and obedience the Pope would convert everything to their greater comfort.

It is unnecessary for Pole to write more about his opinion on this subject to the Pope, so he will merely say that he does not think it now very essential who exercises the legateship *a latere*, provided the person appointed perform that office to the honour of God and the See Apostolic and advantageously for the Church in England; so should the Pope choose to transfer this burden from Pole to some other Legate, there is no reason why he should delay the act; and although Pole has enough to do in performing his archiepiscopal duties, he will be ready—provided such be the Pope's wish—to aid any person sent by him, with all diligence, toil, and support. But with regard to depriving England of this legateship at present, Pole is of opinion (knowing for certain that were his Holiness on the spot to witness the state of the kingdom he would think so) that such a measure would not only impede the course of religion already established, but seriously prejudice the authority of the Pope and of the See Apostolic, which having been banished as it were from England for so many years, and (as some persons considered certain) much to the lucre of many, it cannot so immediately obtain its obedience in the minds of the multitude, but has need of time, so that it must be exercised in such a way that the entire kingdom may feel its advantage, which it has already commenced tasting, as nothing was reserved for private profit, everything as far as possible being kept for the public, so that even those who previously had willingly dispensed with that

suum, quem reconciliationis huius regni adiutorem habuit; quod si fieret facile totius orbis Christiani pacem consequuturam esse auctoritate Sanctitatis Vestrae; nec n (sic) se dubitare, quin hic Rex libentius cum Rege Galliarum certaturus esset uter promptius auctoritatem Sanctitatis Vestrae sequeretur, ut pax fieret ad salutem omnium, quam bellum ad tantam Christiani sanguinis effusionem, dissensionis praesertim cum ipsa Sanctitate Vestra radicibus semel praecisis, neque vero ullum fore huius rei difficultatem, si Sanctitas Vestra eam paterni animi benignitatem ostenderet erga illum, quam erga hoc regnum ostendit, quod istam Sanctam Sedem multo gravius offenderat, cum omnem eius auctoritatem hinc sustulisset, a quo ita quidem alienum esse hunc Regem (quod ipse quoque satis perspicere potuerim) ut quamvis nunc armis cum Sanctitate Vestra contendat, tamen cum superioribus diebus de auctoritate Sanctitatis Vestrae sermo coram eo haberetur, quaedam autem proposita fuissent, quae eam aliquo modo infringere viderentur, ita locutus sit, eique rei ita se opposuerit, ut Legatus ipse Sanctitatis Vestrae primo eius defensione nec plura dicere posset, nec vehementius agere. *Hæc illi, etc. (as printed in Vol. 5, p. 30.)*

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obedience, are now no less glad to retain it; but if after this first taste, this power, like delicious food, be snatched from their mouths, it is indeed to be feared that the opinion lately entertained about diminishing the obedience [to the Pope] may take more effect on account of private lucre, than the brief experience of the benefit derived by retaining it for the public.

Pole, therefore, in the name of the most merciful Saviour, beseeches the Pope (with whom by reason of his piety few prayers would be needed did he fully know the present state of England) to give some little credence to his Legate, who is in truth most attached to him, and to hold his hand until he distinctly comprehend how matters are proceeding here, lest some innovation take place; and he prays the God of peace very long to preserve the Pope in safety for His Church.*

London, [25th May 1557.]

[*Latin.*].

May 25.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 184
recto, and 185.

900. CARDINAL POLE to the same ("SIGNOR" STEFANO SAULI).†

By your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship's letter, and by the writing brought me by my messenger [Mr. Pinning]‡, and from what he told me about the discourse you were pleased to hold with him, I have more fully understood the progress of the events between our Lord and the King here, as also the testification (*testificatione*) of his Holiness' goodwill always borne by him since the commencement of his pontificate towards the common weal of Christendom and of the Church; and, although to my great regret I had heard of the many impediments which thwarted the execution of his Holiness' pious intentions, it nevertheless pleased me much (and I greatly thank your most illustrious Lordship) that you should

* De eo vero, an hoc tempore e regno ista legatio tolenda sit, ita quidem censeo (quod idem scio Sanctitatem Vestram si presens ipsa Regni statum perspicere possit iudicaturam) eam rem non modo institutum iam religionis cursum impedituram esse, sed etiam auctoritati S^{ts} V^{re} et istius Sanctæ Sedis vehementer obtuturam. Cum enim illa tot annos hinc exulaverit, idque ut aliqui persuasum habent cum multorum lucre, non potest tam cito in animis omnium integram suam obedientiam obtinere, sed tempore opus est, quo eam sic exerceri oportet, ut eius commodum universitas Regni sentiat, quod iam gustare cœpit, cum nihil ad privatam utilitatem, omnia, quantum fieri potest, ad publicam referantur; ob quam causam etiam illi, qui ea libenter antea carebant, eandem libenter nunc retinent; quod si posthunc primum gustum ab ore illorum tanquam cibus gratus hæc potestas tollatur, timendum quidem est, ne plus opinio superiorum temporum ad diminuendam obedientiam propter privatiu lucrum, quam tam brevis temporis experientia ad eam, commodi publici causa, retinendam, valere possit. Itaque per viscera misericordiæ Jesu Christi Sanctitatem Vestram obtestor (in quo scio non multis præcibus apud eius pietatem opus fore, si presentem huius Regni statum plane cognitum habeat) ut Legato suo, sibi quidem adiectissimo, tantisper credat, et manum contineat, ne hic quicquam novet, dum hæc quo modo se habeant plane intelligat. Ipsam vero Sanctitatem Vestram Deus pacis quam diutissime ecclesiæ paci ac lætitiæ servet incolumem. Londino.

† In the former letter to Stefano Sauli, Cardinal Pole addressed him "*Molto mago Sig^{ro} come fratello*"; the title given him on the present occasion is "*Signoria Ill^{ma} et R^{ma}*." In the original MS. the two letters follow each other on pp. 183, 184, and the "heading" of the second letter is written very legibly "*al medesimo*," though it may be doubted whether they were both destined for the same person. It is possible that Cardinal Pole's correspondent was Archbishop Sauli, concerning whom there are notices in the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, pp. 270, 271, 322.

‡ Pinnyng, *alias* Penning. See letter dated Rome, 2nd May 1557, to King Philip and Queen Mary from Sir Edward Carne. (Foreign Calendar, p. 301.)

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have chosen to give me this full information, and I am greatly comforted to hear that you still offer to do what you can to heal this rupture and deep wound in the body of the Christian community.

I have not failed on this occasion to perform such office as seemed opportune and fitting to me with his Majesty, who shows, in short, that, although matters have proceeded so far, he always has wished and wishes to be in harmony and unity (*concorde et unità*) with his Holiness, nor does he refuse to give him all suitable satisfaction and testimony of his good will and filial observance, both towards the Pope himself and the See Apostolic. With regard to this, when I exhorted him to send some personage yet more to testify this his good will, he replied that he would not fail doing so, were he sure that his Holiness would receive his ministers willingly. When I still insisted on this, he said that had the Pope been pleased to give audience to Don Francisco Pacheco* he might have had certain evidence of it, not merely verbal, but effectual; and as I did not fail to make a rejoinder to this likewise, he at length determined that for the present he would consent to give orders for the performance of an office on this subject with his Holiness. Should the Almighty grant your most illustrious Lordship the grace to be the means whereby to effect some good adjustment, and put an end to this most pernicious discord, it would be the most glorious and profitable work for the Church and all Christendom that at the present moment could be desired, conferring also great honour and eminence on your most illustrious family.

I also communicated to the most serene Queen what your most illustrious Lordship writes me about the continuance of the Pope's paternal affection for her Majesty, who in truth, besides her great merits with the Church and the See Apostolic, is very worthy of it by reason of her great reverence and observance for his Holiness, she having been very much distressed to see these disagreements proceed and continue advancing to such extremities, so greatly to the detriment and peril of all Christendom and of the religion. I have always been of opinion that her Majesty might be an excellent instrument and mediatrix for appeasing them, by reconciling her consort to his Father the Vicar of Christ, from whom he had of yore the great grace to reconcile this kingdom to the honour and service of His Divine Majesty, so much to the consolation of the whole Church; wherefore through the authority of his Holiness, it might be hoped more easily to effect a true and lasting peace between all the Christian Powers; which grace may God of His infinite goodness deign to grant to Christendom, now so sorely afflicted.

Before the arrival of my messenger I had already written to the Pope's Holiness about the great displeasure (*dispiacer*) caused to the most serene Queen and these Lords of the Council by the first news of the repeal of the two legations centred in my person,† owing

* On the 15th May 1555 Sir Edward Carne wrote to King Philip and Queen Mary from Rome that "the Pope denied having refused to hear Francisco Pacheco or others from his Majesty." Francisco Pacheco was secretary to the Duke of Alva. See *Foreign Calendar*, 1553-1558, p. 307 and Index.

† Cardinal Pole was "Legate de latere" by Papal appointment, and "*Legatus natus*" as Primate of England, Archbishop of Canterbury.

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to the great detriment which might thence ensue to the affairs of the religion here, to the joy and exultation of the wicked (*dei tristi*) and to the great sorrow of all good men. They could not believe that his Holiness, being fully acquainted with the state of the religion here, would take away the Legatine authority "*de latere*," and still less that of "nativity" (*quella della natività*); and immediately on my messenger's arrival, on hearing that through him I had received no mandate to that effect, nor any commission from our Lord, they were greatly comforted and confirmed in the hope that his Holiness would not make any further innovation, and therefore they have determined to write again, beseeching him to that effect. I, in truth, when considering the many inconveniences and great scandal which might easily ensue by removing from hence at such a time the two legations, thought I perceived that the goodness of God had guided (*governato*) his Holiness not to send me the brief nor charge me to do anything in this matter, as, had he acted otherwise, I should have obeyed immediately, as it is my duty to do. I know that your most illustrious Lordship will not think that I am moved to make this demand (*instantia*) by any private advantage of my own, this Legation yielding me nothing but constant toil, and moreover expense; nor verily am I prompted by anything but the zeal which I am bound to have for the religion, and for the authority of his Holiness and of that Holy See, for which, if necessary, I should be ready to hazard even my life (*a metter anche la propria vita*).

I pray our Lord God to deign of His goodness to grant your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship the grace to be a good and efficacious means for relieving Christendom from the causes of so many and such great disturbances; and, thanking you much for your courteous offers, I humbly kiss your hand.

London, 25th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 185
recto, 186 verso.

901. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF SIGUENZA.*

My messenger has delivered to me your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship's letter, and it pleased me to hear you were well, though not free from such sorrow as becomes your piety and grade on account of these great public disturbances, for the remedy of which in like manner as I am certain that your most illustrious Lordship has hitherto exerted yourself with the utmost piety and Christian affection, so do I doubt not but that you will always do on every occasion; and in truth it is much to be lamented that the malice of the enemy of all good should have had power to sow and multiply such pernicious discord between such a father and such a son.

May the Divine goodness vouchsafe soon to open some good way to allay it, for the benefit and consolation of the Church.

I have performed the office enjoined me by your most illustrious Lordship with the most serene Queen, who evinced affection towards

* Don Pedro Pacheco. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 281.)

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you, as your worthy qualities deserve; and, humbly kissing the hands of your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship, I pray our Lord God to preserve and prosper you for his service.

London, 25th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 185
verso.

902. CARDINAL POLE TO CARDINAL VITELLO.*

I have received from my messenger the loving letter addressed to me by your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship concerning your promotion to the cardinalate. I desire and pray our Lord God it may daily more and more comfort all those who love you, and also give his Holiness more and more cause hourly for greater satisfaction and contentment, as may be hoped from your rare and good qualities, your most illustrious Lordship being diligently intent on proving yourself such as required by a similar grade, for the honour and service of God and the Church. This hope makes me heartily rejoice at this your dignity; and, thanking you for your loving affection towards me, I humbly kiss the hand of your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship, whom may our Lord God deign to favour and ever have in His holy keeping.

London, 25th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 185
verso.

903. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL DE' MEDICI.†

From my Henry (*da Enrico mio*) [Henry Penning] I heard with much pleasure a detailed account of your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship's state, and how in these so great troubles you comport yourself with such equanimity as becoming, availing yourself of every opportunity to perform good offices with a view to the common weal and quiet, which may our Lord God grant to Christendom now in such great affliction, and ever comfort and favour your most illustrious Lordship according to the need for his service.

(p. 186 recto.) The present of the bust of Socrates (*l'immagine di Socrate*) pleased me extremely, and much do I thank you for your affection.

My agent will give you some of the [cramp] rings lately blessed by the most serene Queen, as I am sure they will be acceptable to your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship, whose hand I humbly kiss.

London, 25th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* Vitellozzo de Vitellozzi, *alias* Vitelli. He was created Cardinal on the 15th March 1557 by Paul IV., with whom his authority became such, that thenceforth the Pope did nothing, either in public or private, without his approval, and through the prudence and address of Cardinal Vitello peace was at length made with the Duke of Alva. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 365-368.)

† Gianangelo de' Medici, a Milanese, elected cardinal by Paul III. on the 8th April 1549, and who succeeded Paul IV. with the title of Pius IV. on the 26th December 1559. One of the first acts of his reign was to put the nephews of his predecessor on their trial, and to release Cardinal Pole's friend, the Cardinal Morone, from the prisons of the Inquisition, where Paul IV. had confined him on a charge of heresy. (See Panvinio, *Lives of the Popes*.)

1557.

May 28.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 186
recto.

904. CARDINAL POLE to the ABBOT OF ST. PAUL'S at ROME.

Very Reverend in Christ as a brother.

I received from my Henry [Penning] your Reverend Paternity's letter, and thereby learnt the diligence used by you in sending to the fathers-visitors resident in Spain the license to come hither, as in truth I should have been very glad to see them for the purpose which induced me to ask for them. Your Paternity will perhaps have heard that the affairs of St. Peter's Monastery here [Westminster Abbey] go on well, and thus, by God's grace, they still continue proceeding from good to better,* and I am not indeed without hope that one of the two monasteries at my church of Canterbury may be soon restored. I am very certain that I do not, and never shall, lack the constant aid of the devout orisons of your Paternity and of the whole congregation, to whose members I greatly recommend myself, and pray our Lord God ever to assist and comfort you all in His holy service, and to free you from the troubles you of necessity endure on account of these wars, by speedily granting Christendom that peace and quiet of which there is so much need in every quarter. I salute with all affection our father Dom Sylvester.

Croydon, 28th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

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Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

905. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Marquis of Montebello is of opinion that no battle will be fought, from the weakness of the Duke de Guise. He said, "I have always disapproved of this war, and if I meddled with it I did so to obey the Pope, but it did not seem to me that, if able to obtain a peace advantageous for Christendom, for the See Apostolic, for the life of this old man, and for our family, war should be attempted, for there is no lack of good will on the part of King Philip, as notorious through several channels; he wrote about it to the Signory, he sent Don Francisco Pacheco, and Placido di Sanguine came from the Duke of Alva; Fantuccio wrote to us, and I have seen the letters, that besides the obedience and reverence which King Philip is willing to render to the Pope, he offers us nephews very honourable terms. I know not what they are about (*non so quello 'che si stia a fare*), nor why the end which is peace should be abandoned for the sake of having recourse to such means as war. It might be said, 'I will the freedom of Italy' (*voglio la libert  d'Italia*), which is fitting, and I should desire it, could we of ourselves expel all the barbarians, a feat not to be accomplished by an old man of 80 (*al che non basta l'et  d'un vecchio di 80 anni*); but to get rid of one master and take one more insolent, does not seem to me advantageous, and were not the outrages perpetrated by the French in all former times very notorious, would not (as I said to the Pope) those suffice of which they were guilty when they took Campli (*sic*)

* The day before this letter was written Machyn made the following entry in his Diary: "The XXVII day of May, the wyche was the Assensyon day, the Kynges and the Queen('s) grace rod unto Westmynster with all the lords and knyghtes and gentyllmen, and ther ther graces whent a prossessyon abowt the Clowster, and so thay hard masse."

1557.

(Campiglia)* on Holy Thursday, their impiety in slaughtering the men and violating the women; and although they told me it was the enemy's town, notwithstanding my protest against such cruelty, I will nevertheless pass to things which are unanswerable, such as the conduct of the French in Romagna and the March of Ancona, for it may be said with truth that they sacked those provinces. I now omit the wrongs they did me and my Italians. But in conclusion I am at a loss to comprehend why they do not embrace the peace, and for my own part I will do my best to that effect, and am of opinion that the Cardinal [Carlo Caraffa] likewise will act more warmly than ever, for he has letters (though they are kept very secret) from his secretary in France, informing him that the Constable [Montmorency] has evinced very great resentment for the repulse (as such it may be styled) given to M. de Montmorency about the dispensation,† and lays the blame of it on my brother the Cardinal, giving it to be understood that he shall remember the circumstance; so having lost over there it would indeed be fitting to come to an adjustment here; and I choose to hope in God that through the Signory's incessant good offices the Pope may be induced to make the agreement. Nor will I omit telling you this likewise, that when I was at Venice I only executed half my commission, which was to justify the Pope's proceedings, and to speak in general terms about the other half, which was to demand a league; but seeing how well disposed those most illustrious and most prudent Lords were, I omitted it entirely, and wrote hither that I had not alluded to this part because, from the replies given me, I inferred it was not the moment, and that it would have been refused me."

Rome, 28th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

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Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

906. The SAME to the SAME.‡

Owing to my illness the Pope received my secretary, who said, "Holy Father, the ambassador wished to execute with your Holiness a commission received by him from the Signory, but being unable to do so he has sent me to read the identical letter of his Sublimity, which is in reply to what the ambassador wrote on the 15th instant, concerning the words uttered to him by your Holiness about your inclination towards the peace." Having said this he read the letter, to which the Pope listened with a very joyful countenance, and at its close he said, "We have heard this letter much to our satisfaction, because we perceive that the Signory do not allow them-

* *Campli* is a small city in *Sicily* (see Büsching's Geography (Italian translation, vol. 25 (b), p. 121). *Campiglia* is in *Tuscany*, and on a roaring torrent near it called Cestio, there were visible in 1778 the well-preserved remains of a stupendous Roman bridge of one arch. (See Büsching, vol. 24, p. 77 (b). The sack of *Campiglia* by the French on the 15th April 1557 has been already recorded in this correspondence, in date of 8th May 1557.

† Concerning this dispensation, see Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, "*Mary*," Index; name "Montmorency, François de, eldest son to the Constable."

‡ The marriage of M. de Montmorency to the Duchess de Castres took place on Tuesday the 4th May 1557, "either not esteeming or else not considering that their *nostrodomus* in his prognostications said on this day should be made an unlucky marriage." (See Letter from Dr. Wotton, English Ambassador in France, dated La Ferté Milon, 6th May, in Foreign Calendar, "*Mary*," p. 303.)

1557.

selves to be deceived (as many others do) by a belief that we are the cause of the peace not being made; the Doge and Senate do not believe those who say one thing and do the contrary; they have peace on their lips and war in their hands, together with an infinite avidity to occupy what belongs to others. Would to God that that misguided youth (*quel giovane mal guidato*) understood the matter well, and would do as he ought, more for his own advantage than for that of others, because *dubius est eventus belli*; he has excited the great he-goats who might bite him in earnest (*ha escitato* (sic) *li cabroni* (sic) *che lo potriano mordere da dovero*). Should it please God to make him repent of his errors, and that through the medium of my Signory of Venice this peace were made, no greater consolation could be granted us, for to speak freely we cannot rely on those people (*costoro*) for the observance of their promises; but should the Signory mediate we shall believe that they will adhere to the agreement, and if they fail to do so those Lords for the glory of God and their own honour will not put up with it, which certain other Powers who offer their mediation would be unable to do as they have neither authority nor forces. The conclusion of this discourse is, that we will do nothing unworthy of this place; we indeed choose the ambassador to know and let him write it to the Signory as a fixed resolution (*per cosa resoluta*), that should God inspire those people (*costoro*) to do what they ought, so that we could have so necessary a thing as a good and lasting peace, we should prefer and desire that the praise of this peace might fall to the lot of the Signory, whom we consider our country, so that it might be written in the histories (*nell' historie*) that Venice put an end to the impending ruin and calamities of this poor Italy already laid waste; for the more we see the number of barbarians increase in this province, on one side and the other, because as the enemy reinforce themselves we also for our defence must do the like, by so much the more do we desire quiet; and as we see the flames rise to heaven so we hope in the mercy of God that He will stretch forth His arm. Thou wilt thank the ambassador for this office, performed by him with us through thee, and yet more are we obliged to the Signory for having charged him to do so, telling him besides that whatever he may write to the State about our inclination towards quiet—provided we can obtain it to the dignity of this Holy See—this much will the Republic find true in fact, nor will we ever deceive them.” With this the secretary took leave.

Rome, 28th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 29.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

907. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday the 23rd I heard that on that day there were letters from the camp from the Duke of Paliano, urging the mission of the promised horse and foot and other necessary supplies, because it was heard that the Duke of Alva intended to dislodge from Giulia Nuova, and to retreat beyond Atri, so that were the French army reinforced they might make some progress. With these same letters there were also some from Marshal Strozzi, to say that he

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was leaving Ascoli for the camp, on a summons from the Dukes de Guise and Paliano, to consult what they were to do should the Duke of Alva retreat, adding that he could not believe this to be true, as both in cavalry and infantry Alva was much stronger than the French; and being quartered in a strong position with a kingdom at his back to supply him with all necessary commodities, it was incredible that after relieving Civitella he should choose to retire, thus losing repute, and giving the French an opportunity to perform some important feat; that he, Strozzi, would go and see, and then let the Pope know the state of affairs. His Holiness commended these letters of the Marshal, but not those of the Duke his nephew. Then on Monday Captain Vico di Nobili, a person much in Strozzi's confidence, arrived to let his Holiness and Cardinal Caraffa know that the Marshal had discovered that the Duke de Guise was determined not only to retreat but to abandon the Pope and depart entirely (*e partirsi del tutto*), under pretext that they had failed to give any of the things promised him from Rome; that he, Strozzi, had stopped him by saying it was not for the service of the most Christian King that he should go away, as it would place the Pope under the necessity of making terms with the Imperialists, who, when relieved from this war, might attend to the fortresses held by King Philip? (*del Re*) in Tuscany and Piedmont, to the detriment of the King of France? (*del Re*).

The Captain Vico says that these reasons, having been urged almost in the form of a protest, stopped the Duke de Guise, but that it will be only for a few days; so Marshal Strozzi counselled the Pope to give ear to the agreement whilst in his power, and to act speedily, as being deserted by the Duke de Guise, as Strozzi suspected, he ran very great risk (*scorreva grandissimo pericolo*); that in the meanwhile he would fortify some of the frontiers on the Tronto, in order to be able to make some resistance to the Duke of Alva should he choose to push forward. After this the ambassador of the Republic of Montalcino, Landazzo, also arrived from the camp, who had been to the Duke de Guise to demand succour, from fear of being pillaged by the Imperialists. He reports the French army as being quartered on an eminence (*alloggiato sopra una collina*) near Carapelle,* a castle in the Abruzzo, where horse and foot were arriving constantly; that they were bold (*animosi*) and desirous of giving battle, as written in like manner by the Duke of Paliano; that the Duke of Alva, on decamping from Giulia Nuova, did not retreat towards Atri but approached the French army, being within four miles of it, having taken a very strong site called Giulia Vecchia, seizing even the brood mares (*le cavalle da razza*) to mount his harquebusiers. Between one army and the other is a small walled town (*una terrazza*) in which was Giacomo Malatesta, the son of Leonidas, who greatly harassed the enemy; so to get rid of him the Duke of Alva sent thither a good body of troops, which was repulsed, young Malatesta having thus obtained for himself the reputation of a very brave man. Then at a late hour yesterday a

* See Büsching's map, "Il Regno di Napoli."

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French gentleman arrived, who left the camp last Tuesday, and from what Marquis Montebello told my secretary, who asked him where the French army was, he replied that it had all retreated to this side of the Tronto, about which, when the Ferrarese ambassador asked Cardinal Caraffa, he said he had no advices; but the Marquis also told my secretary that there being no letters from his brother was a manifest indication of the truth of this retreat, Paliano not having chosen to give this bad news; Montebello adding, "Never was Rome in so much danger; there is great need of assistance from the Lord God; I am sorry to have been a prophet, for as known to you, I said long ago what has now taken place."

On Sunday the Pope attended chapel for the anniversary of his election, and then gave a dinner to all the cardinals and ambassadors, at which I also was present, but on Wednesday the anniversary of his coronation I was unable to go owing to my illness. On Sunday after the dinner the Pope withdrew into his chamber with all the cardinals, and when the ambassadors from France and Portugal, and the others, wished to enter they were made to remain outside, being told that his Holiness intended (*volea*) to hold congregation, in which he commenced by complaining that the ambassadors of the Emperor and King (*d'Imp^{re} e Re*) were accustomed in chapel to stand near his chair; that he chose to provide for their sitting with the others in their ancient place; and he then added that he had a mind (*c' havea animo*) to assemble consistory, principally for the purpose of reforming the affairs of the Princes who put *falcem in messem alienam*. From this discourse he proceeded to speak about his conclave, saying how on that day two years ago they were in debate about his election; that the principal Cardinals who went into chapel to make him Pope were moved by personal interests (*particolari interessi*); that the others, sage and prudent, by taking time to consider chose to make sure that the inspiration was good, and proceeded in truth from the Holy Spirit, and here his Holiness commenced exhorting their right reverend Lordships to make the Popes as inspired by the Holy Spirit, and not moved by mundane respects (*da rispetti mondani*), which he said because he knew himself to be about to depart this world, adding, "Let God make the Popes, and not the having in the bosom bonds for 100,000 and 200,000 crowns, and dispensations of benefices for 50,000 and 60,000, like that Simon the magician, as known to all your right reverend Lordships," whose stench was still in his nostrils; and that he marvelled how this individual had certain Cardinals who served him like lap-dogs, and that they ought to be ashamed of themselves, being so noble as they are. Who his Holiness meant by "Simon the magician," and whom he intended to brand as "lap-dogs," although it is very clear, yet as the Pope scrupled to name them I also must do the like. (*Ck' Iddio faccia li Pontefici, e non l' haver in seno polizze per 100^m, e 200^m scudi, e benefitij per 50^m, e 60^m da poter dispensare, come quel Simon Mago, che tutte sue Signorie conoscevano; la puzza del quale li perveniva ancora al naso, e che si meravigliava, come questo tale avesse alcuni Cardinali che lo servivano come cagnoletti; quali si doveriano vergognare, essendo così nobili, come sono. Chi intendesse Sua Santità per "Simon Mago," e chi habbi*

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voluto notare per "Cagnoletti," se bene è assai chiaro, havendo havuto rispetto Sua Santità di nominarli, debbo haverlo anco Io.)

On that same day Cardinal Caraffa invited himself to dine with Cardinal Santa Fiore [Guido Ascanio Sforza], and on the following Monday went accordingly with Cardinal Vitelli. After dinner the three Cardinals withdrew together for two hours, and by a person who can know it I have been told that Cardinal Caraffa evinced very great kindness towards the Camerlengo [Ascanio Sforza], reminding him that *in minoribus* he had done many services to the Count his brother [Carlo Sforza], he Caraffa receiving many more; that he desired the welfare of the Sforza family no less than that of his own; that if it were in the power of the Camerlengo he would oblige him (*li sarà grato*) by doing something for universal quiet, and especially for that of this See, in which Sforza has so great a share. The Camerlengo replied that it remained for Caraffa to command and that he would always obey him willingly. In conclusion Cardinal Caraffa told him he would send some particulars by Cardinal Vitelli, purporting that the Camerlengo was to negotiate the agreement as of himself, without letting it appear that he had one word about it, either from the Pope or his kinsfolk. The Camerlengo replied that being his servant he will obey Caraffa's commands; but to the person who gave me this account he said that he will put nothing whatever of his own, but insist on written instructions about all he may have to do.

It is said to-day that the Imperial fleet, with the Germans who embarked at Spezia, has sailed towards Naples, which if true is considered very important news.

I send your Serenity the printed bull about the 1 per cent.* The only signatures wanting are those of the Cardinals Carpi and Pacheco, and although Cardinal Carpi told my secretary that nothing was to be paid on property under 100 crowns, the bull nevertheless makes no mention of this, but says absolutely that real property under 100 crowns is to pay half per cent.

Yesterday, as determined by them in council, the conservators of Rome complained of this tax to the Pope, telling him that any other would be less onerous to them; and they proposed the grinding tax (*la masena*) of 2s. 6d. (*cinque giulij*) per "*rubbio*," and telling him that this money would be got more speedily. The Pope answered them quietly, and from what was said by the Pope's Maggior-domo, who is a Roman, his words were all general and inconclusive.

Rome, 29th May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

908. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In a conversation with the Cardinal de Sens [Jean Bertrand] he told me that the Constable would go to the army here in Picardy, and that his most Christian Majesty was of opinion that if the English cross the Channel they will show themselves on the confines

* Not found.

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of Boulogne and the neighbouring places ; so the King chose to be well provided and not to be taken by surprise, his determination being to have an army of 25,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, including men-at-arms and light horse. He also told me that he did not think either of their Majesties would allow a pitched battle to be fought, but that the summer would be passed in skirmishing, and that there was a great scarcity of provisions ; nor although the King was doing his utmost to have his army in the field by the 1st of July, he did not believe that it could be in a state to give battle until the following month, and that during this interval Christendom might hope for some relief ; saying that a general peace was needed, and evincing a very great wish, as he always does on every occasion, for it to take place. When I said that the Pope did not seem averse to it, he replied, " His Holiness has, in fact, some negotiation on foot (è in qualche maneggio), nor can he do otherwise, being unable to raise money, for to tell you the truth his most Christian Majesty is obliged to provide for everything." I continued that his Holiness would doubtless negotiate this peace, with the inclusion of the King of France, by reason of the many causes he had to be much obliged to him. The Cardinal rejoined, " Such is the duty of the universal Father, and with difficulty can the contrary be credited." This likewise I confirmed, saying that according to common report the Pope seemed greatly to wish for Sienna, but that it was not heard whether the King of Spain would choose to give it him. The Cardinal replied, " I know not what will come of this (di questo non so quel che sarà), but it seems to me that we may be certain that the King of England is in a condition to wish for peace ; and I assure you in like manner that should terms be offered to the most Christian King he will not refuse them, not indeed that he will ever request them ; so we may say that nothing is wanting but the means for knowing how to adjust the disputes and conclude some marriage, which is apparently very reasonable and easy to arrange." To this I said that his most Christian Majesty had always shown himself thus well disposed, but that concerning these matters it was heard lately at the court that a certain discourse (ragionamento) had been held with the Admiral. The Cardinal replied, " Rest assured that the only thing on which reliance can be placed is the affair which the Pope is supposed to be treating ; but his most Christian Majesty shows himself in force, and chooses to persevere in his undertakings in every direction ; nor will he fail to avail himself of the valour and good fortune of M. de Brissac, doing the like with regard to M. de Guise ; he is sending 6,000 Germans." I answered, " Monseigneur, these preparations which are great in Picardy, great in Piedmont, and great for the kingdom of Naples, are they demonstrative signs of agreement ?" to which he replied, " Who knows what will take place between this and August, should there be some good way for making the Germans perhaps turn back before they arrive in Italy." From this discourse of the Cardinal de Sens, who has a seat in the French King's most secret council, your Serenity will form such an opinion of his most Christian Majesty's mind as shall seem fitting to you.

There arrived subsequently fresh advices from Rome, and it is

1557.

heard that the Pope had given it to be understood (*si havea lassato intender*) that he would not deprive King Philip of the kingdom of Naples until after the capture of Civitella; and the same advices also announce much difficulty about that undertaking, it being also heard that the Pope would not send the Duke of Paliano to the army, nor his son to this court, there being on the contrary an "advice" that the Archbishop of Vienne, who was to bring him, has already arrived at Marseilles without him; so his most Christian Majesty has not only suspended the march to Italy of the 6,000 Germans, but it is also suspected that he will recall the Duke de Guise from the kingdom of Naples, he having in fact gone thither by no means to the satisfaction of the most Christian King, and indeed had he remained a few days longer in Rome he would have received his Majesty's despatch telling him not to go, as I wrote to your Serenity at the time.*

The Admiral entered Flanders a few days ago with 2,000 infantry, 500 men-at-arms and 500 light cavalry, and passing between Arras and Bethune went to Lens, where he cut the garrison to pieces, sacked the place, plundered to the amount of 150,000 crowns, and burnt a great part of the town, taking the booty with him, as also the Captain, a Spaniard, by name Mondragon, who was taken prisoner. The Admiral returned with three ensigns, and without any hurt (*senza patire danno alcuno*).

La Ferté Milon, 29th May 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

909. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My last was dated the 25th.† *Don Luis de Toledo and the Lord of Piombino departed subsequently one after the other for Italy, and I have heard nothing more than what I wrote in my former letters concerning the Lord of Piombino, purporting in short that his State is to be restored to him, King Philip retaining the fortresses and most especially that of Elba, which was constructed by the Duke of Florence and is very important on account of its large and secure harbour, and from its position, which may be said to command the whole of Tuscany, as also from the quality of the fortress, which has been rendered impregnable.*

With regard to *Don Luis de Toledo*, who was here for the express purpose of settling the affair of Sienna (the moment appearing, opportune to the Duke of Florence for the attainment of his wish) I understand that the decision is made thus. King Philip is content that the Duke should have Sienna, the citadel remaining in his Majesty's hands, but he chooses him to restore his State to the Lord of Piombino, with the exception of the fortresses, though I do not yet know whether they are to remain in the power of the King or of the Duke, but that the Duke should ever relinquish them is incredible. The King also chooses nothing more to be said about any

* See Soranzo's letter dated 2nd April 1557.

† This despatch does not exist in the file, and in vain have I sought for it elsewhere.

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pecuniary debt claimed by the Duke on any account, either from the Emperor or from his Majesty. That his Excellency do declare himself friend of friends and foe of foes (*amico delle amici et inimico delle nimici*), and that he keep on foot especially 10,000 paid infantry, to wage war on the Duke of Ferrara. Besides these conditions I understand that the King wished for another, viz., that the Duke should declare himself his Majesty's vassal, and acknowledge Sienna as a fief; but he was answered that the Duke chose to remain free, and that it would be better not to insist on this, because by declaring himself, his Excellency must at any rate depend on the King, most especially as the citadel of Sienna would remain in his Majesty's hands; but I do not yet know what was decided about this article.

The representation (*la espositione*) was made very secretly, as usual at this court with all matters of great importance, which are treated amongst a few individuals, and unless heard from the persons themselves who negotiate them it is difficult to ascertain the fact in any other way; so although what I write was told me by persons of some importance I do not venture to assert that there may not be something more or less than is contained in my statement.

I was informed yesterday by the ambassador from Mantua, who requested me to keep it a secret, that unless the Duke of Florence enters Sienna before the arrival at this court of Don Ferrante Gonzaga he will never do so (*non vi entrerà più*); from which I draw two conclusions, the one that Don Ferrante does not approve of strengthening the Duke of Florence; the other, that he comes with the intention of ruling everything; which reminds me of having heard that Don Ruy Gomez was the only person who seemed to wish for the coming of Don Ferrante, saying that he chose him to have supreme authority in everything, with the sole exception of dressing the King (*eccetto solamente nel vestir il Re*), in which office he, Ruy Gomez, would have neither associate nor concurrence. The favour shown by him to Don Ferrante was because, seeing himself (by reason of his extreme authority and as a Portuguese) hated by the Spaniards, he deemed it very advantageous to put forward a person who knew how to depress the Spaniards, and had the wish to do so, and who should depend upon him entirely (*et che dependesse in ogni cosa da lui*). Thus do pitiable princes (*i poveri principi*) place themselves and their affairs in the hands of those who think of nothing but their private interests, which to the praise and glory of God is not the case with your Serenity, to whose favour I respectfully recommend myself.

London, 30th May 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 31.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

910. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At a late hour yesterday there arrived here Marshal Strozzi and a chamberlain of the Duke of Paliano; and a personage of consequence sent me word that the said Marshal confirmed the information transmitted by him to the Pope, through the Captain Vico di

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Nobili, as written by me, that the Duke de Guise had not only retreated but chose to depart entirely; and that Paliano's chamberlain required means to be sent to his master for the defence of the March of Ancona, or else orders as to what he was to do.

Persons here who know the state of affairs are much and reasonably alarmed, as they see the small supply of soldiers and the very few means, and perhaps none at all, for reinforcing them; they are apprehensive lest the Germans bound for Naples (as mentioned in my last) disembark at Gaieta, and perhaps at Terracina, where the Spaniards who arrived lately from Spain are also said to be, and that these ultramontanes may join Marc' Antonio Colonna, who is in the direction of Piperno, and will always have a good number of his own subjects, they, besides their natural affection for the Colonna family, having been deprived of life and property by the Pope; and lest when the corn is ripe they ravage Paliano and the rest of this Campagna, and come with these rabid troops to the walls of Rome and possibly yet farther; there being in addition to the other perils the despair of the Roman barons and people caused by the new tax of one per cent., which the government apparently chooses to exact, having appointed commissioners for that purpose.

By letters received here, in date of London the 3rd instant, it is heard that the plot of the English outlaws (*fuorusciti*) has been discovered, the greater part of them having been already put to death, and some 10 persons of consequence (*e circa 10 che sono d'importanza*) including the Signor Tommaso [Stafford], Cardinal Pole's nephew, had been sent to London. I do not dilate on this subject knowing that the news will have reached your Serenity long ago, though I will not omit to add that his right reverend Lordship's agent here told my secretary, as a great secret, that he had letters from the Cardinal announcing his departure from Canterbury for the Court, having been called by the King and Queen under pain of their disgrace (*sotto pena della disgratia delle loro M^{ta}*), as announced by the said agent to Cardinal Morone, who, having been sent for this morning by Cardinal Caraffa, went to him, and was then sent to the Castle. A certain Messer Marc' Antonio, a Neapolitan, his private secretary, who is said to have heretofore apostatized (*quale si dice, ch' altre volte abiurò*) has also been arrested. Immediately on Morone's arrest the officials went to his house to seize and carry off to the palace all his writings. The cause assigned for this is the late arrest, as written by me, of his maggiordomo by the Inquisition, and now this present one of Messer Marc' Antonio, who has been sent to the prisons of the Inquisition at Ripetta; but there may also be some other greater cause for the arrest of so eminent a Cardinal, who heretofore was amongst the first of those nominated by the Imperialists for the Popedom, and who, so far as can be known, is dear to King Philip, but most dear to the Queen of England, and the very great friend of Cardinal Pole. This causes universal suspense, especially in these times when there is so much need to treat the agreement, on account of which Cardinal Santa Fiore went yesterday to dine with Cardinal Caraffa, when they discoursed at great length. To-day the "Camerlengo" told a

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person who imparted it to me that he begins to believe that these Lords (*questi Signori*) speak in earnest about wishing for the peace, and that possibly some good may be done, though he can give no other particular, it being requisite to see a little farther.

To enable me to write more authentically I sent my secretary to Marquis Montebello, who told him the Duke de Guise had halted at the Tronto, and consented to await advices after the arrival here of Marshal Strozzi, but that in fact he was going away, because things are proceeding sinisterly, and that the time has now come for talking of peace, and that every Christian prince, and the Italians more than the others, ought for their own interests, besides that of religion, to labour for the agreement; and that he having seen the letter, shown him by the secretary, about your Serenity's goodwill in seeking the peace, he rejoiced greatly at it.

Rome, 31st May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

May.*
MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., pp. 186
recto, and
verso.

911. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF TRENT [CRISTOFORO MADRUCCI].

From your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship's gentleman, being then at Canterbury, whither I went during Passion week on occasion of the King's coming, to visit my church, I received your letter of the 12th instant.

The great troubles in the midst of which your most illustrious Lordship finds yourself, owing to the events of these present times, will I hope give you a greater opportunity for demonstrating your ability and worth, whereon his Majesty the King with good reason relies greatly, as frequently evinced by him, and most especially of late when speaking with me about you. Being unable of myself to serve you in any other way I do not omit praying our Lord God to vouchsafe you succour, and to have you always under His protection, and speedily to bring to some good conclusion the many calamities and perils of Italy and of all Christendom; and humbly kissing your most illustrious and right reverend Lordship's hand I recommend myself to your good favour.

I have spoken with your Lordship's servant Gropello† (*col suo Gropello*) about the affair of Captain Federico Ormanetto, whom I recommended to your most illustrious Lordship heretofore, praying you to have his honour under your favour and protection, as I heard subsequently you were disposed to do; for which I thank you greatly and again repeat my request with all possible earnestness, wishing greatly to obtain satisfaction in this matter for his brother Messer Nicolò‡ the very affectionate servant of your most illustrious Lordship, whom may our Lord God have always in His keeping.

Canterbury, May 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* In the MS. the day of the month is in blank, but as Cardinal Pole was at Croydon on the 28th it was probably written in the middle of the month.

† Gropello seems to have been sent by the Cardinal of Trent to King Philip.

‡ The Veronese Nicolò Ormanetto, Datary of Cardinal Pole.

1557.
June 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

912. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Advice was received lately from Flanders that 5,000 French infantry and 600 horse had crossed King Philip's frontiers towards Artois, advancing a distance, some say of eight, others of 13 leagues, and taking and razing a walled town called Haanz (sic) (Annezin ?) where there was a garrison of Spaniards, part of whom were cut to pieces and part made prisoners; and although the enemy entered between two of King Philip's fortresses, one of which is Bethune, not more than four leagues distant from Haanz (sic) (Annezin ?), no one stirred to oppose them, the reason assigned being that the commanders on those frontiers do not receive information about the enemy's proceedings, which in warfare is one of the greatest mistakes that can possibly be made, for whilst they talk and threaten on this side, the other avails itself of every opportunity.

As already mentioned by me the French are said to have 5,000 foot and 600 horse, but the French ambassador here sent to tell me that the Admiral who formed this expedition is in the field with 500 men-at-arms, 800 light horse, and some 6,000 infantry, which if true would be half an army.

Here in the meanwhile they are expecting the succours (aiuti) from Spain, which do not yet make their appearance, and unless they be speedy and considerable they will show by experience what a gross blunder it is to circulate reports of making great preparations and not verifying them by facts, as it merely rouses the enemy, rendering them more and more ready for attack and defence.

Besides this stir in Flanders there has been another on the borders of Scotland, where some Scots made a sudden inroad into this kingdom, carrying off men and cattle, but the result was unfavourable to them, as having fallen in with the Lord of the country (Signor del paese) Lord Accher (sic) (Daères ?), he being accompanied by some Englishmen routed them, killing some, making a few prisoners, and recovering the plunder. This stir, although of no great importance, is a sure indication that the French will not remain quiet in this quarter, as had been supposed; so the Government (questi Signori) seems to rouse itself to preserve the States and repute of the most Serene King, though as yet they do not seem to have made any fresh resolve, and the scarcity of victuals which is very great increases daily.

*Concerning the Sicilian corsairs the King has given the Viceroy stringent orders immediately to investigate the grievances detailed in the "instruction" sent by your Serenity, and to do summary justice without the noise of trial (*senza strepito di giuditio*), warning him so to act in this matter and in whatever else may be requisite as fully to satisfy your Serenity, the King having firmly determined that your Serenity's affairs and those of your subjects are to be treated like his Majesty's own.*

*I was unable to obtain that summary sentence should be passed, because there was nothing positive nor certain in it, everything being doubtful; though I hope that this letter of the King will bear fruit, as it is written very efficaciously (*con molta efficacia*)*

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and contrary to the usual routine. I will transmit the letter and the copy as soon as I can get it, and perhaps by this present despatch.

With regard to the dispute for precedence between Vargas and the Bishop of Lodève, about which I wrote so fully in my former letters, I have nothing more to tell except that it is suspected here that were the Pope to excommunicate King Philip your Serenity would give it to Lodève and thus cause a double mortification (doppio dispiacer) to his Majesty, as besides loss of place it would imply that your Serenity favoured (approbasse) the Pope's cause, to the detriment of his Majesty and of the Emperor, who, according to the King's opinion, is still represented by Vargas. I have chosen to let your Serenity know all that I hear, that you may thus form your most sage opinion of the matter on the best grounds.*

Whilst writing this I hear that the Admiral of England has put to sea with his fleet in order to meet the one expected from Spain. He has a total (*un corpo*) of 23 large ships well supplied with artillery and soldiers; so the French fleet being greatly inferior in the number and quality of its vessels, and in the activity (*industria*) of its sailors and in strength, will be unable to show itself and do any damage in these seas.

London, 1st June 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

913. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I having sent to the palace this morning for audience, the Pope replied that to-day he had to hold a congregation general of all the cardinals, and that he would send for me afterwards if there was spare time. His Holiness had called the congregation to give account of the arrest of Cardinal Morone, saying that many years ago, so long back as in the time of Paul the Third, this thing has been germinating (*questa cosa pullula*), and that it is now brought to such a pass that it is impossible to do less than arrest him, though to the Pope's very great regret, as he cannot abandon the cause of God; that had it been on any other account, even for high treason (*cose di stato*), he should perhaps have dissembled it; his Holiness adding that he purposed calling all the cardinals to Rome for the despatch of important business. He also said, with regard to this matter, that as Cardinal Triulzi had to stay some months longer in Venice for the conclusion of certain things which it would not be well to have treated by others, and as it was requisite to find means for his remaining there with dignity, he had resolved to make him legate *de latere* to your Serenity, both in Venice and her dominions (*li luoghi di quell Ill^{mo} dominio*), and that together with the brief of the legation he was also sending him the hat.

It has been told me that one day lately Cardinal Morone said to Cardinal Caraffa that he understood the Pope had a bad opinion of him, which Caraffa shared; and that this was on three accounts,

* Not found.

1557.

first, because he was an Imperialist and partial to King Philip; secondly, because he is hostile to the house of Caraffa; and thirdly, because he is notorious for heresy (*perchè sia notato di heresia*); that he was sorry that the Pope and his Lordship thought thus of him, as he was not an Imperialist, neither had he reason to be such, never having received any benefit from them, but rather the reverse, narrating some particulars about byegone events; that it is true that when Don Juan Manrique was here,* he was intimate with him because he seemed to him a good and intelligent individual (*li pareva persona destra e buona*); that any words about ill will to the house of Caraffa borne by him Morone were unnecessary, the facts being so manifest, as not only did he go readily to make Paul IV. Pope, but also constrained his friends (*ma si havea anco tirato i suoi amici*), having subsequently always revered him and in like manner loved his right reverend Lordship and all his most illustrious brothers; and with regard to the third imputation about religion, that he had always lived in such a manner that similar things about him should not be credited, although like everybody else he has many enemies and slanderers. Cardinal Caraffa answered him that even were he an Imperialist he did not think it mattered much as all men were at liberty and authorised to have affection for whom they pleased; and that as for Morone's hatred of his family he never had any suspicion of it. Touching religion Caraffa said he was not skilled in it (*non se n'intendeva*), wherefore he did not nor ever would meddle with it (*e per ciò non se n'impacciava nè se n'impacciaria mai*); and with this their conversation ended.

I have also heard that the said Morone (between whom and Cardinal Fano† there was but little friendship) sent recently a person in his confidence to that right reverend Lord to say that although there had been several disputes between them, he, Morone, had nevertheless always very much loved and esteemed him, and that when necessary he would prove this his good will by deeds; and that to let him know how much he trusted in his right reverend Lordship he wished to hear from him whether a certain book entitled "*Beneficium Christi*," or a certain other book of the same sort (for the person who gave me this account did not well remember the name), contained in itself good doctrine (*conteneva in se buona dottrina*). To this Cardinal Fano replied that it was a long time since he had seen this book, that if he saw it now he would answer with more certainty (*con più fondamento*), but that so far as he could remember it seemed to him that where it spoke of "works" it was somewhat suspicious. The person sent by Cardinal Morone also asked him whether he knew of certain Modenese, sent hither and arrested by the Inquisition, and whether they had mentioned him on any account (*in alcun conto*), to which he replied that he

* Don Juan Manrique left Rome on the 9th July 1555, "for the Emperor and their Majesties," and Sir Edward Carne requested the latter to thank him for his civilities to the English ambassadors at the Papal Court. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 179.)

† The Bishop of Fano, from the year 1537 until his death in March 1558, was a native of Modena, a Dominican friar, by name Pietro Bertano. He was elected Cardinal by Pope Julius III. on the 20th December 1551. (See Cardella, IV. 319.)

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did not. The persons who know of this office performed with Caraffa and Fano (they, however, being few in number) do not deem it opportune, as an excuse made out of time and not demanded is always suspected. The arrest of this Cardinal was treated in congregation held by the Pope with the Cardinals Pisa, Reumano, Alessandrino, and Caraffa, nor was it discovered because they did not assemble until after the arrest; and in the general congregation the Pope said that to these cardinals others would be added, so that this case (*causa*) may be more maturely investigated.

Rome, 1st June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

914. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Cardinals who told me what I write in the public letters about the arrest of the Cardinal Morone, are the right reverend Pisani and Cornaro, who came to visit me immediately after Congregation. They also told me as a very great secret that the Pope hinted that the right reverend Cardinal of England is likewise involved (intrigato), his Holiness having said, "See what peril was incurred at the last conclaves."

Rome, 1st June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

915. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to the Pope to-day at 5 p.m. and found him giving audience to the Cardinal "Decano" [Bellai], Cardinal Pacheco waiting aside. After despatching these cardinals his Holiness came to that part of the chamber where I was, and leaning at a window, after asking me how I did, he said, "The most illustrious Signory's letter, which you sent that it might be read to us by the secretary, was a very great comfort to us, though it is no novelty, as we know how many offices the Signory has had performed in favour of the peace, both by your Magnificence with us as also by the secretary Capella, both with us and the Duke of Alva, he going backwards and forwards as often as necessary according to the tenour of his letters, and through the medium of the ambassador with King Philip and of the Duke of Alva's agents who were with his Sublimity, and with the Spanish ambassador resident at Venice, operations truly worthy of a most Christian republic desirous of the common weal, and of this wretched Italy in particular, she for so many years having alas been but too much ravaged and desolated. The exasperation increases daily, not only in these parts but also beyond the Alps, and we suspect that unless a speedy remedy be applied, what is now difficult will with time become impossible. The innovation in Italy has not become so great as to render adjustment impossible; we can always *referre pedem*; we are and always shall be of this mind, viz., to prefer a humane peace to any victory attainable by us through war; we shall never have regard for any personal advantage

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of our own ; what we have done hitherto has been for defence, nor for this do we think ourselves worthy of reproof, as had not provision been made you may imagine in what state we should now be, for we have to do with people of little faith (*con gente c' ha poca fede*) ; they are in fact all barbarians, without any exception (*in effetto sono tutti barbari non ne cavando alcuno*) ; *omnes uno ordine habendo* (sic) ; for to tell you everything this Duke de Guise likewise has sent us word that as the Imperialists are reinforcing themselves in Lombardy he purposes joining Brissac's army, but without ceasing to defend us. This makes us suspicious and we are afraid of his attacking some place unknown to us, which would be an additional injury, nor can we learn more than they choose to tell us. The Duke of Florence has made provision, because in similar times all men attend to their own interests ; we will do everything to render him favourable to us, but the fact is that we wish to do all honour to the Signory, and to use their medium to open the road for us to resume with dignity the negotiation for agreement ; and although we shall let others who offer themselves do what they can, we should nevertheless wish the whole praise of having been the cause of the quiet of Italy, and perhaps in the course of time of all Christendom, to be given to the Republic, for were we to make terms with the Spaniards (*con questi*) without renouncing the friendship of the French (*di quell' altri*), as we would never act so ungratefully as to go against them, we might have it in our power to exercise the authority of the Vicar of Christ with one side and the other to induce them to make peace, and being the friend of all the parties we should be a good medium, as he who wishes to mediate must participate with both adversaries ; and the Signory's good offices being added to ours we might hope as aforesaid for universal quiet. Already since a long while you know of our will and inclination towards peace, and we affirm to you that we were of that mind and are so now ; we hope in God thus to remain always. We believe it to be fitting for the Signory, through the means they hope to use, to discover the mind of these others and what they choose to do ; because, should they propose fair terms, such as to justify themselves before the world they went publishing when Don Francisco Pacheco returned from King Philip, and when Placido di Sanguini came hither (details which it is unnecessary to repeat, having notified them to you a few days ago), we will let the world know by facts what we have uttered by word of mouth about our wish for quiet.

"We hope the Signory will not fail performing every good office, both on account of His Divine Majesty, of religion, of the common weal, of the preservation of this Holy See, and for their own interest by reason of the State held by them in Italy, as also for our sake ; as considering the love we bear those most excellent Lords, and our desire for their honour and aggrandizement, and to do them some signal service, we believe that they of their grace deign to reciprocate our benevolence. One of the things we have to tell you is that it would very greatly please us (*che ne sard gratissimo*) were his Sublimity to break this ice, and by doing so place us on

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the road to an adjustment, for time presses, and we are brought to such a pass that the slightest delay brings with it very great danger; were it possible to fly the speed would not be too great. Should the Signory think fit they might also, amongst other offices, have King Philip spoken to by their ambassador at his court, and also say a few words on the subject to the Spanish ambassador resident with them, who, we understand, shows himself desirous of this agreement, so that he also might aid this holy work. The other thing which we will communicate to you, it being our duty to tell it, and the Signory's to listen to it, is that we recommend to them the cause of Jesus Christ, of His Vicar, of all Christendom, of wretched Italy, and of the Signory individually; and that should those people (*costoro*) not choose to make peace, his Sublimity will not allow us to perish, but do what his predecessors did heretofore for the benefit of this Holy See, thus obtaining for themselves the glorious title of Protector of the Religion and of the liberty of Italy. We implore the Republic's assistance in procuring the peace, and defence from the State, should those people (*costoro*) persist in obstinately oppressing us."

I returned thanks for this confidential communication, saying that what your Serenity had done hitherto to effect the peace, rendered it credible that you would not omit the performance of such other similar offices as seemed fit to you, and I commended his Holiness' goodwill in this matter.

The Pope then continued, "We will now give you account of the arrest of Cardinal Morone, because many persons will perhaps have supposed it to have been made for an affair of state,* which is not the fact, as had it been for such a cause it ought to have taken place much sooner. The truth is that we have had him arrested by the Inquisition; we held our congregations, the processes were read, many accomplices being in our hands, so that it was impossible to do less, although very much to our sorrow to have it known that in the College of Cardinals, which is the supreme magistracy in the religion of Christ (*nella religione di Cristo*), there are certain persons tainted with heresy; but as the thing is generally known we thought fit, the evil being notorious, to proclaim the remedy likewise; and to tell you the truth, we, who in past conclaves saw that some danger was incurred, choose in our lifetime to provide lest one day or other the devil have in this See one of these children of his (*un di questi suoi*), which would induce every one to lead their sorry life (*a seguire la loro trista vita*). A heretic cannot be Pope, because he who is not a member cannot be head; in the next place it is possible that we may one day hold a council, for which reason likewise we desire universal peace, that the council may be holy and good for the total reform of the Church, nor would we that in the Council reproach be cast on us thus, 'Thou who now preachest, and wilt to reform others, hadst thou not with thee in the College of Cardinals persons who believed as we do (*c'hanno sentito comè noi*)? Why didst thou not provide against them?' Magnifico Ambassador,

* *Per cosa di stato*, i.e., for treason.

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we will not await these reproofs. The Bishop della Cava has also been arrested, and we choose to proceed with all maturity; to-morrow in the congregation of the Inquisition we shall appoint a committee of cardinals, through whose hands the affairs of this Cardinal will pass. We should wish you to give account of this likewise to the most serene Signory." I told him that I would write this night by an express what he had said to me, and he continued, "We pray you to do so because the calamities are in fact near at hand, and they may be said to resemble the lightning, which immediately follows the limbo;" and with this I took leave.

Rome, 2nd June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

916. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I having gone to the King yesterday, as by the accompanying letter, his Majesty said to me, "A gentleman has just arrived from M. de Guise, from whom I have heard that a skirmish took place between the troops of the King of Spain and mine, which last made 32 prisoners of some quality and killed a few (*alquanti*) of the enemy, including a brother-in-law (*cognato*) of the Duke of Alva, only two of my men being killed, and two others were captured. M. de Guise also informs me, that the Duke of Alva having pushed his army far forward, he intended to give him battle on the morrow, and as there is neither a river nor any other impediment between the two armies, and as he had already sent M. de Sipierre in advance with a certain number of troops to reconnoitre the country, I think it may take place." I said to his Majesty that I could scarcely believe the Duke of Alva would fight a pitched battle, because unless he won, the kingdom of Naples might be considered lost. His Majesty said, "Your remark is in truth a good one, and I also thought in like manner, but this is his affair; unless he retreats M. de Guise assures me that he will give him battle." His Majesty added, "The Duke of Paliano and Marshal Strozzi have joined the army, and the Marquis of Montebello has written me the most submissive letter in the world, begging my pardon for what he did."* I then asked the King if it was heard that the Duke of Paliano's son was also coming hither, and he said, "They assure me of it positively." I inquired whether his Holiness would proceed to the "privation" of the kingdom of Naples, and he replied, "The Pope continues in this opinion of depriving King Philip, and the privation is already drawn up (*e già la privatione è messa in forma*), but his Holiness continues temporizing thus (*va così scorrendo*) for some reason of his own." I asked what forces M. de Guise had, and he said, "He has those that crossed into Italy with him and some 6,000 Papal soldiers, and the Duke of Alva has 3,000 Spaniards and 4,000 Germans, the rest both horse and foot being forced troops (*gente comandata*)." I then inquired what news he had of the Marshal de Brissac, and he said, "Since the coming hither a week ago of Damville, the Constable's son, I have no other advices,

* For what Montebello did, see Navagero's despatch, 8th May 1557.

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but the Marshal wrote to me that he had found Cuni (*sic*) ; (Cunio or Cuneo) stronger than he expected, but that by fortresses raised by him round it and by mines he had fair hopes of getting it, at least by capitulation." I asked his Majesty if he intended to go to the war in person, or whether he would send the Constable, and he replied, "Concerning this matter I really have not formed any resolve, because first of all I choose to see what King Philip will do, and should I see the undertaking to be a royal one (*che la impresa sia reale*) I have a mind to go thither in person, but if things proceed moderately (*mediocrement*) I shall decide according to circumstances;" and he added, "The King stays in England waiting for Ruy Gomez, the time of whose return is not yet known; I hear that he held the Cortes in Spain, but was very far from obtaining what he expected, either in troops or money."

His Majesty then continuing the conversation said, "That Stafford who was captured in England, said at his first examinations that I had sent him for that end which he wished to accomplish, and that the Constable had given him money; but subsequently on seeing that this did not save his life he retracted, and said that neither I nor the Constable had assisted him in that matter; for if you remember I told you that he had proposed it to me, and I answered him that he was mad, and that I thought I saw him with his head severed from his shoulders." I then took leave of the King, as preparation was being made to attire him in his hunting gear.

When the news arrived here that the Marquis of Montebello had left the army, it was greatly suspected that he had been recalled by the Pope, and that his Holiness had already made terms with the King of England, or was at least near an adjustment, and hence arose that dissatisfaction to which I alluded in my letter of the 29th ulto. An express was sent immediately to M. de Guise to tell him that if the Pope's marks of distrust warranted the supposition of his tending towards the agreement with the King of England, and if he therefore thought fit to retreat from the kingdom of Naples for the avoidance of such dangers as the said adjustment might cause, he was to do so without any scruple. Even without this fresh order his Excellency has free commission to proceed in all things as he may think most fitting, without awaiting any fresh instructions hence. From what has been hinted to me his most Christian Majesty's intention is that in case of a retreat the Duke de Guise is to go into the territory of Ferrara, so as from that quarter likewise to make a fresh stir in the Milanese. Although his Majesty was glad that the Duke of Paliano had joined the army, I nevertheless do not understand that this removed much of the King's distrust, and I have been told freely that the most Christian King must see greater signs if he is to make sure of the Pope's mind, and yet more of that of his nephews, and that therefore although the order has been renewed for the 6,000 Germans to go to M. de Guise, they will not go so speedily as was at first intended, but that should his Holiness show himself ready in fact (*in effetto*) to benefit the

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undertaking, they will not only send him the said 6,000 Germans but will also make a fresh levy of Switzers.

Fismes, 2nd June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 4.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Register).

917. MOTION made in the SENATE for a letter to MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

It pleased us to learn by your letter of the 12th April that you would not fail to assist our subjects about the traffic of which the Londoners (*quei di Londra*) are endeavouring to deprive the foreign merchants; but as we greatly desire that there be observed towards our merchants what has been the custom continually, and that at the suit of others, most especially by means of an obsolete statute (*con un statuto senza osservantia*), an innovation very detrimental to them be not made, we with the Senate charge you to make all suit both to the King and Queen and others, where you know it to be necessary, so that in this matter no innovation be made. However slight it might be it would prove very prejudicial to our entire nation, which at all times has been well looked on by the former Kings of England, in accordance with the ancient friendship between our Signory and that Crown, whence arose several reciprocal demonstrations, as we choose to promise ourselves will in like manner be made at present, the same friendship on our part continuing with their Majesties, who we shall always believe will amplify rather than diminish the privileges conceded to our nation, and allow of (*permetter*) the ancient customs, rather than not, as we have always done and shall do by that nation. As we know that being aware of the importance of this matter you will not fail to do all you can, we therefore, without saying anything else to you on the subject, shall refer ourselves to your diligence and ability.

Ayes, 176. No, 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Register).

918. MOTION made in the SENATE for a Letter to MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Thinking it fit to communicate to you what Don Ferrante (*Ferrando*) Gonzaga confided a few days ago to our late most beloved noble the Procurator Stephano Tiepolo* about his (Don Ferrante's) opinions with regard to Ferrara, we send you a copy of the letter written by said Ser Stephano to the Chiefs of our Council of Ten, and of our reply, together with what was done in this matter by our secretary Phebo Capella, and what King Philip's ambassador said on the subject in the College, so that the whole may be known to you, to enable you to reply in conformity if spoken to about it, and not otherwise; and thus do we, with the Senate, charge you to do,

* Steffano Tiepolo had been elected Procurator on the 6th June 1553, and his successor was appointed on the 1st of May 1557 (see MS. List of Procurators *penes me*); so he probably died at the end of April 1557.

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keeping it secret in your own breast unless the circumstance be mentioned to you as aforesaid.*

Ayes, 179. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

919. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Caraffa said to me, "The disagreements are increasing daily between the Pope and the French, who have made a demand for Ancona and Civitavecchia to be placed in their hands or they would depart, supposing that we should consent from fear of being abandoned by them; but I have counselled the Pope to sacrifice himself (*si dia in preda*) to the Imperialists rather than do this, as the French do not demand these fortresses from necessity nor for any good end, as they are in our hands and we are allied with the King of France. For what purpose do they insist on having Ancona? to draw thither at some future time the Turkish fleet and embarrass the Signory (*a quelli miei Ill^{mi} Signori e padri*); but France must not imagine that this will ever be done. God has willed that Ancona should belong to the Church for the service of Italy, and of the Signory in particular, and I dropped a hint about these things to Cardinal Triulzi, whom, as he will remain at Venice during these summer months, we chose to make Legate, for the greater repute of the Signory, and to show the world that no opportunity for doing them honour is neglected; but I did not write to the Cardinal so clearly as I have spoken to you, and as the fact is. I well knew previously the insolence of those people (*di costoro*), but could not do less than call them, and therefore endeavoured to obtain greater assistance from the Italians to deprive the French of the opportunity for affronting us (*di poterne fare un affronto*). The Pope is very well inclined towards peace, but as yet the Imperialists have not come to any details, to which they must condescend if they wish for any agreement. Had they explained themselves I should have hoped for some good result, as the Pope begins to believe me a little more than he did at first, he himself now seeing how matters are proceeding. I always anticipated some affront from these Frenchmen, and therefore kept a door open for peace, by not allowing the "deprivation" of King Philip to be pronounced. I alone persuaded the Pope to temporize (*a scorrere*), and was obliged to use great artifice, for his Holiness wished at any rate to issue the decree, and I told him that if he did he would render King Philip desperate and the French more insolent and contemptuous towards his Holiness; and these arguments not sufficing, I demonstrated to him that the process was ill drawn up and not definitive (*nè finito*), and that the conclusions were not real (*che li finimenti non erano reali*), because the notorious fact was sufficient of Philip having waged war on the Church and occupied places in the Papal territory; to which

* As yet I have been unable to find in the Venetian Archives the documents alluded to in this letter, which I nevertheless print because it is referred to by Surian in date of London, 27th June 1557.

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I replied that he on the other hand would say that he acted in self defence and wished to make terms, for which purpose he sent articles, nor until they are proved to have been unfair could any good be done ; so I proposed that they should be examined by the Cardinals of the Congregation appointed at that time for the peace, that they might prove the unfairness of the terms required, and that the war was waged to give law to the Pope and not in self defence ; by which means I gained so much time that we have got thus far, without driving King Philip to extremities (*e non s'ha disperato il Re Filippo*). I have given you this account that you may see that I shall always do the best I can for the service of God and of Italy, as a Christian and as a good Italian." In reply to what I said in commendation of these sentiments he continued, "Write also confidentially to his Sublimity that the Pope will let himself be cut to pieces rather than do anything unworthy of his office, and will always have before his eyes the honour of God and the common weal of Italy, so that the French must think of anything rather than of Ancona and Civitavecchia ; and I let their ambassador know that these are not the means to be employed with this good and magnanimous old man, and that to give them the port of Ancona would with reason cause great suspicion to the Republic of Venice."

Rome, 4th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

920. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

After I had requested prorogation of the term assigned for the Bishop of Bergamo to present himself at Rome,* his Holiness said much about the affairs of the religion, demonstrating of what great importance they were ; that to be a heretic was alone sufficient cause for the deposition of Popes (*Pontefici*). He gave me account, as written by me in the public letters, of all it had behoved him to do, to his very great pain, against Cardinal Morone. I rejoined that your Serenity demanded nothing more than a sufficient period (*habilità di termine*) for a prelate, one of your noblemen, who was infirm, and of a feeble constitution. The Pope said, "May God cause the recovery both of his body and soul. For the most illustrious Signory we will do all we can, with honour to ourselves."

Rome, 4th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

921. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marc' Antonio Colonna having appeared under Vicovaro with 2,000 horse the garrison refused to surrender as he had no artillery, so he then retired. It is reported that should the agreement not be made he will lay waste the Campagna and cause a scarcity in

* Vettor Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, had been summoned to Rome on a charge of heresy; the Pope deprived him of the See and conferred it on Alvise Lippomano, 20th July 1558. (See Bibliothèque Sacrée, vol. 4, p. 342.)

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this city, which is not victualled for many days; so it is feared that the Duke of Alva will give fair words about peace, but add that he must await fresh orders from King Philip, and in the meanwhile advance and tie Rome as it were in a sack (*e lighi Roma come in un sacco*), and perhaps do worse.

According to the last advices the French camp was at Porto d'Ascoli, distant one harquebuse shot from the Tronto. The Imperialists had not left Civitella, though it was heard that they would advance and ascend the hill above the Tronto, where the French army encamped after its retreat from Civitella.

At the last congregation of the Inquisition the Pope added the Cardinal of Spoleto [Virgilio Rosario] to the three first Cardinals, Pisa, Reumano, and Alessandrino [Michiel Gislerio of Alessandria], for the investigation of the charges against Cardinal Morone.

The ambassador from Florence told my secretary that he has had audience of the Pope, who evinced a great wish for peace and also dissatisfaction with the French; so he sent an express to his Duke exhorting him to urge King Philip and the Duke of Alva to adjust matters with his Holiness at any rate by giving him some apparent satisfaction before the world, this old man (*questo vecchio*) desiring nothing else, as they may then rest assured that he will be a greater enemy to the French than he ever has been to the Imperialists, wherefore this opportunity ought not to be lost.

The Prince of Salerno has arrived at Civitavecchia with all the galleys, and as this news might change the Pope's wish and that of his nephews for peace, I sent my secretary this afternoon to Marquis Montebello, who said to him that he never had so much hope of the agreement as at present, because he sees that the Pope, and the Cardinal his brother, are of one and the same mind, both being very dissatisfied with the French, and that they have determined to send him into Romagna to make provision lest the army on its passage through that province seize any of the cities there. He quoted the Cardinal's precise words, thus, "Brother, you were the first cause of our ascertaining the treachery of those people (*di costoro*), who, after we had abandoned ourselves to them and led them through our heart (*per mezo il cuor nostro*) into the kingdom of Naples, tolerating so much insolence from them in the Papal States, have thought fit to betray and leave us in the hands of our enemies; we must help ourselves, and resent this when the opportunity presents itself. I should not wish them when traversing Romagna to thrust themselves into some city there; so you will go thither and make them depart quietly, and should they be insolent, do not put up with it.' I therefore was to kiss the Pope's hand to-day, but his Holiness intends going into chapel; the Cardinal is within. I know not whether I shall be able to depart to-day, for I have been somewhat afraid lest the coming of the Prince of Salerno* cause some alteration, so I asked the Cardinal what it denoted; he replied nothing, as he is here alone, and even had he been accompanied by considerable forces the negotiation of the peace would not be aban-

* Sanseverino (Fernando); for his arrival at Civitavecchia, see also Foreign Calendar, "Mary," 5th June 1557, pp. 313, 314.

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doned, should King Philip have that good will which he has always professed (*se il Re Filippo haverà quel buon animo c' ha sempre detto*); the Marquis adding, that Cardinal Pacheco told him that the Pope had said to him clearly, that if King Philip and his ministers shall will to carry into effect what they have said verbally, his Holiness will make peace (*che se il Re Filippo e li suoi ministri vorranno mettere in effetto quello c'hanno detto in parole, Sua Santità farà la pace*). Montebello then continued, "If I go into Romagna, and the French proceed with the utmost discretion (*con ogni modestia*), I shall be glad of it, lest we have cause to give them a lesson (*di dargliene una mano*), for they will come without artillery, and were they to bring any they have no ammunition; the army is weakened, and the nature of the French is such that in retreat they lose all heart, whilst I on the contrary shall be provided with good troops, and in a province grievously outraged by them, so that unless they are sage I shall make them take their bread at the pike's point (*li farò pigliare il pane per le picche*)."

Rome, 5th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Register).

922. MOTION made in the SENATE for a communication to be made by the Doge to King Philip's Ambassador in Venice.

We spoke to your Lordship lately about the peace, telling you of our wish for it, requesting you also to perform an office for us with his Majesty, who we hope will now show himself such as he has constantly had us told he is. We persevering in the same desire, and having heard by letters from our ambassador at Rome concerning the offices which he had performed by our order, that he had found the Pope of a mind and well disposed to give ear (*d'attendere*) to the agreement, as always said by him, it has seemed fit to us again to send for your Lordship to request you to repeat the office which you have already performed with his Majesty, and pray him to be pleased to renew the negotiation for agreement with his Holiness, so that the world may know that his wish tends towards peace and quiet, as we hope that the Pope will listen to such fair terms as shall be proposed, and as he may expect from so Catholic and Christian a King as his Majesty, and that he will not depart from what duty shall require and will be fitting, so that we might hope subsequently to witness a universal peace, to the satisfaction of Christendom and to his Majesty's immortal glory. We think it would be very seasonable for your Lordship to write about it in like manner to the Duke of Alva, from whom we believe we can promise ourselves that, by reason of his goodness and religion, he having always shown himself inclined towards the agreement, he will endeavour on every occasion to do all that shall be expedient for the universal welfare and for the quiet of Italy, in conformity with his Majesty's good intention and with what we earnestly desire, so as to see Christendom in peace, and owing to the especial care we have for the repose of this province. Therefore your Lordship may be certain that we shall not cease doing what seems to us opportune in aid of this business, and this much have we, with the

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Senate, chosen to let your Lordship know, praying you to write it to his Majesty.

Put to the ballot, to write accordingly to our ambassador with the Catholic King.*

Ayes, 165. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

923. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to his Majesty yesterday, and although the present state of Christendom, and the events that have already taken place, as also what occurs daily, including the determination made by this kingdom to wage war on France, laid many difficulties before me, I nevertheless, having first had a mass of the Holy Spirit celebrated, and after a careful examination of your Serenity's letters, expatiated to the King on two points, the one your Serenity's constant wish for universal quiet, most especially that of Italy; the other, the safest and most advantageous way to attain it, viz., by an agreement. *I said nothing about your having written to Rome, as it was unnecessary.*

The King replied in a long discourse, which I will give at full length, although I must be rather prolix.

His Majesty said, in the first place, that he had always been extremely inclined towards the peace, and on this he laid great stress, alluding especially to his having so long feigned ignorance of the injuries done him by the Pope, and so long delayed recourse to arms, to which a sinister interpretation had been given disparaging his Majesty's dignity; and as the dignity and repute of princes is of no less importance to them than their states, he for his honour had been compelled to make war. He then said that he had always been inclined to revere the Holy Church, and would never have taken up arms against the Pope could he by other means have secured his kingdom of Naples, of which the Pope purposed depriving him. That if the affairs of that kingdom had been in such a state as to render its defence possible without invading others, his Majesty would never have attacked the Papal States, not having ever intended to go to war from an ambitious wish for additional territory, nor to seize what belonged to others, but solely to preserve what had been left him by his father. That it would have been too dangerous had he allowed a hostile army to approach the frontiers of his kingdom, and that he was therefore compelled to carry the war into the enemy's country rather than wait for it in his own.

He then added that, owing to his constant wish for the quiet of Italy, he had referred everything to your Serenity, and would do whatever you told him.

He had desired to humble himself to the Pope, and wrote him very friendly letters (*lettere humanissime*), but his Holiness did not

* This announcement made by Doge Lorenzo Priuli to Don Francisco de Vargas, was transcribed on the 8th June and sent to London to Michiel Surian, who acknowledged its receipt in a letter dated 27th June 1557.

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choose to read them. The King sent his agents to Rome, some of whom were seized, some maltreated, and to the others the Pope would not give audience. Twice the King wrote to Cardinal Caraffa, and negotiated even with Fantuzzi, who, however, seemed to have gone to gain time rather than to make peace; nor has his Majesty failed to attempt a pacification in every way, but all in vain, through the Pope's obstinacy and harshness.

At present, however, his Holiness, seeing that his designs on the kingdom of Naples do not take effect, that the persons chosen by him for his allies (*compagni*) render themselves masters, that he is unable to sustain the cost and toil of war, and cannot occupy what belongs to others according to his wish, evinces a desire for peace; and whereas it seemed that he would not listen to a word about it, he has now spoken on the subject with the cardinals in the King's confidence, and who had heretofore received orders from him to treat of peace with his Holiness.

In conclusion, the King said that he has been compelled to incur great expense, to his own inconvenience and that of his subjects, for the preparations required for this war; that he would listen to peace if he believed it to be a true one, and without deceit, and if he could be sure of what belongs to him; but being unable to rely on this, he will not neglect such means as expedient for the defence and safety of his affairs.

Perceiving that nothing certain could be elicited from the King's discourse, and it seeming to me from his words that the peace with the Pope had been treated at Rome, I thought it advisable to make some rejoinder, both to see whether his Majesty would enter into detail, and also *lest it should appear that the office performed by me in your Serenity's name was vain, and made solely for appearance's sake*. I said that all his Majesty's actions in this matter had been most prudent, nor could any person of judgment interpret in a sinister sense his Majesty's delay in having recourse to arms, as sage and experienced statesmen (whose opinion is to be held in account) always consider it a very virtuous and prudent quality (*gran virtù et prudentia*) to reserve war for the last of all remedies, and when compelled to have recourse to it, to do so at the very last moment, and with a mind turned towards peace whenever it can be reasonably hoped for; so the more the King shows that he is of this mind, the more is he praised and commended, nor could he form any resolve more advantageous, more safe, or more honourable than that of following up this his mind and disposition, and rendering himself the cause and author of the peace and quiet of Italy, of which that province and Christendom have such great need. I added that what his Majesty had said about the Pope's evincing a wish for peace was an opportunity afforded to his Majesty by the Almighty for reconciling himself to his Holiness, so that it was not to be despised nor allowed to escape, and that there was no doubt of the peace and friendship with the Pope being true, durable, and secure, his Holiness himself having been moved to ask it spontaneously.

The King replied that the Pope was moved not by any wish he had for peace, but from necessity, and because he was dissatisfied with the French.

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I continued, that whatever the cause may be, it is a sign that the Pope places trust in his Majesty, nor is it natural to injure those on whom we rely, most especially if they show us kindness.

The King, apparently admitting what I said, answered very graciously that his will would always be in conformity with your Serenity's, and uttered many honourable words about the prudence, gravity, and authority of the most excellent Republic; adding that although he had received many injuries and suffered serious losses, incurring very heavy expenditure, he nevertheless would not mind that (*tuttavia non miraria a quello*), and were his kingdom of Naples secured to him by the Pope he would embrace his Holiness as a friend. *Such were the precise words of his Majesty, nor did he say what sort of security he desired, speaking thus in general terms.* He then continued that he could not think of peace with the King of France, being unable to trust him, as he sought to embroil everything contrary to his word (*la fede sua*) and to all reason. My belief is that his Majesty said this because, I having spoken always in general terms, he wished to let me understand that, although ready to make peace with the Pope, he did not intend to be so compliant with the most Christian King, *and perhaps his Majesty said so for greater repute.* But I, without swerving from my first topic, answered him with many thanks for his affection towards your Serenity, and greatly commended the peace and his inclination towards it. I said that so great a result as this would be must always be accompanied by difficulties, but that I hoped to see them all overcome by his Majesty's prudence and goodness, and that by embracing such opportunities as from time to time present themselves, and not allowing them to escape, he will easily bring about a good peace, which will greatly benefit the Italian states and all Christendom.

This is the summary of my discourse with the King, and as your Serenity's "office" concerning the peace was apparently not disagreeable to his Majesty, and may be of advantage to Christendom and Italy, and increase your Serenity's renown, I will not lose any opportunity for renewing it, and not merely with the King, but also expertly (*destramente*) with his counsellors, *always limiting myself to peace in general, without entering into any detail until I receive fresh orders from your Serenity.*

London, 7th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 7.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

924. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After I had finished my discourse with the King, his Majesty said that having spoken about peace he would also speak of war. He then communicated to me the resolve (*deliberazione*) formed by this kingdom to make war on the most Christian King, narrating distinctly the causes, as your Serenity will perceive by the accompanying document translated from the English, and which was proclaimed to-day in this city.* The herald has also been sent to France

* See also Machyn, date 7th June 1557 (p. 138).



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to declare war to the King there, according to the magnanimous custom of this realm, never to go to war without first giving notice.

When announcing this event to me the King said I was to write it to your Serenity, as he chose to impart all his affairs to you as to a prince united to him beyond all others, and very much his friend. Although, as the news was already current at the Court, it was no great matter for his Majesty to communicate it to me, I nevertheless remarked the affectionate manner in which he spoke of your Serenity; and certainly of late I perceive that he shows himself more and more gracious and respectful towards you, *I say verbally, for of his mind I am unable to form an opinion.* In the course of my remarks about peace, when I said that your Serenity from long experience knew it to be the best and only way to preserve the quiet of Italy, whilst war on the contrary was the road to its ruin, and that for his Majesty's own interest I frequently urged him in favour of peace, he being a prince in like manner concerned, as both by authority and territory he was one of the greatest, or rather the greatest; the King interrupting me said, "I am not greater than the others, nor will I be so, but choose to acknowledge all the Italian potentates as friends, and the Signory above all, as first of all in prudence and authority, and who to all can give sage and good counsel." *His Majesty evinced a great wish to form a closer union with your Serenity for the benefit of the common States, and of Italy, and of all Christendom, and although the Spanish nation is used to be very ceremonious (molto officiosa), yet these are not words such as princes ordinarily address to everybody.*

But to return to this kingdom's declaration, those who ponder the causes adduced for making this war, *which are in part stale and in part very slight, consider the said causes a proof that it is not waged for the interest of the kingdom, but for the particular benefit of the King.* The right reverend Legate likewise seems to have given his authority to this resolution, as he was recalled from one of his villas (*una sua villa*), whither he retires occasionally, and remained here some days, departing immediately after it was made. I am told that his Majesty thinks of deriving *hence the entire foundation of the war with France* (*et mi vien detto che Sua Maestà pensa di cavar di qua tutto il fondamento della guerra con Franza*), as the hopes he had from Spain *are not realised*, whilst Flanders is *overcharged extraordinarily* at most times; but the King will not leave England until after the arrival of this blessed fleet (*questa beata flotta*), which has been so long expected, *in order not so greatly to discontent the English as to make it appear that they are waging so great a war for others.*

London, 7th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

925. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The fleet bound from Spain with Don Luis de Caravaial, and which had been so long expected, after performing half the voyage, fell in with a great number of French ships, for the most part fishing vessels,

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conveyed by some men of war; so there was a fight, the Spaniards being victorious and capturing six ships; but in the meanwhile the wind having changed, they were compelled to put back to Spain, much to the regret of the King and of the whole Court, as his Majesty's return to Flanders, and the waging of war on France, depend greatly on this fleet, to which further time must be given for its voyage.

The person who gave advice of this event reports this fleet to have on board 800,000 crowns, and some chief personages who come willingly to serve the King during the war; *that Don Ruy Gomez found Spain in a very exhausted state, and that having made the last attempt (la ultima esperientia), he was unable to provide more than 2,000,000 of gold (though if that sum be obtained 't is no small one).* These 800,000 crowns form part of that supply, which is derived partly from the moneys of the Indies, part from taxes imposed (though that is very little), part from the sale of crown lands, and part from a subsidy offered spontaneously by the clergy, amounting to 600,000 ducats.

The charge of soliciting these supplies and of forwarding them is said to have been given to Don Diego de Mendoza, heretofore ambassador to your Serenity. They will not be ready before St. James's day at the end of next month, though it is said that the King will not wait here for the money, but that as soon as this first fleet arrives he will cross the Channel. Should he intend to take the field this year he cannot long delay doing so, as time is required to make the necessary preparations for the war, and we are already at midsummer, the departure hence being however impossible until July.

The resolve made by this kingdom to make war on the French does not greatly please these people, as besides the suppression of their trade, on which the kingdom may be said to subsist, they will have to pay constant subsidies for the maintenance of the war; and what weighs more with them than anything else, is to see that all this is being done for the benefit of aliens whom they detest, and most especially Spaniards. They also perceive that these last are thus given an opportunity for making themselves absolute masters of the kingdom, as they seem to be doing, for the Queen is bent on nothing else; by reason of the great love she bears her husband, (perchè la Regina attende con ogni suo studio a questo, per il grande amor che la porta al marito), and all the chief personages are already bound (obbligati) to the King, and his Majesty can dispose of them at his pleasure.

Notwithstanding all this, many troops are being mustered for passage to Flanders, whither the principal commanders and those of the greatest importance will go; there will also be much soldiery on board the fleet and on the borders of Scotland, and in due time I will give more authentic account of their number. It is also reported that the English troops in Flanders will receive all their ammunition and victuals from hence, which will be a great alleviation for that province, where as yet it is not known that much preparation has been made, either for troops, victuals, or money.

The ambassador from Mantua told me yesterday as a great secret

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that Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] has written hither to his son to let the King know that if the French are at all judicious; he gives the Milanese up for lost; and that although he has pondered the matter, he nevertheless can suggest but one remedy, which he himself will communicate to the King on his arrival, though he doubts whether even that can be of much assistance. I have been unable to ascertain what remedy this can be, as the ambassador assured me it was unknown to him. For many days a gentleman from the Cardinal of Trent has been here for money and other supplies, and although he solicits his despatch daily, he does not expect to depart before the arrival of Don Ferrante, to whose opinion many matters are now referred, though but little to the satisfaction of these Spanish ministers.

Two days hence the King will go to Hampton Court, and remain there four or six days for his amusement.

London, 8th June 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

926. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King left Fere for a seat of the Cardinal of Lorraine called Marchié (*sic*), but it was heard that at Avenay, a frontier town of King Philip, 16 leagues from Marchié, a muster of the enemy's troops was being made, in number 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse, so to avoid danger the King came to this city. It was heard subsequently that the Duke of Savoy being informed of his Majesty's approach towards this frontier, and thinking he might make some fresh invasion, these troops were mustered, being for the most part Walloons, who are held in very little account; but as the Court has retired they remain there; so the King has sent for 600 men-at-arms. According to report, his most Christian Majesty by the 1st of next month will have in these parts an army of 25,000 infantry, 1,200 men-at-arms, 2,500 light horse, and 200 blacksmiths (*feraroli*).

The "abate" Buchiero has arrived, to give the King account of the affairs of Rome, and was accompanied by a courier from M. de Guise with news of the retreat of the Duke of Alva; and Buchiero says the Pope will send 10,000 infantry to M. de Guise, 6,000 of whom will be Italians, and 4,000 Switzers. I have also been told on good authority, that the said Buchiero announces a very close negotiation for peace between the Pope and Cardinal Pacheco; so his Holiness will no longer raise the aforesaid troops, neither is the King expected to send to M. de Guise the 6,000 Germans and 3,000 Switzers already engaged by his Majesty. The distrust increases more than ever, his Holiness not having communicated anything about this to his most Christian Majesty.

The day before yesterday the English ambassador [Dr. Wotton] said to the most Christian King that his Queen wrote to him, that as he had been a long while here, and is now an old man, she was content that after taking leave of his most Christian Majesty he might return home and that he was also to tell his Majesty that the

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chief cause of the Queen's having kept him here until now was her hope of peace being effected between the King her husband and his Majesty ; to which end she had not failed performing every sort of office ; but that as matters were brought to such a pass that her Majesty no longer saw how she could hope for it, she deemed it superfluous to continue keeping an ambassador at this Court, and therefore the said ambassador prayed his most Christian Majesty to give him full permission (*bona licentia*). The King replied, that he gave it him readily (*prontamente*), remaining well satisfied with his proceedings, but that he well knew the direction of the Queen's thoughts, concerning which there was no occasion to say anything farther ; and when the ambassador asked for a safeconduct to depart, his Majesty told him that not only would he give him a passport, but a gentleman to accompany him along all these frontiers. After he had taken leave of the King, and of all the chief personages of the Court, his Majesty sent him a present of 1,200 crowns, and shortly afterwards a herald sent by the Queen waited on the Constable and inquired if he could speak to the most Christian King, showing him his letters patent, on the perusal of which the Constable told him he was welcome, but as the King had already gone out hunting and would not return until the morrow, he must await his Majesty's return, but that in the meanwhile he would be well received and honoured (*ben veduto et onorato*), the Constable embracing him and telling him moreover to perform his office without scruple. *This event, which has taken place so suddenly, causes no slight anxiety, as, although the Queen's determination was known, it was hoped that open war would not ensue ; and it is quite evident (et chiaramente si conosce) that this country holds no other war in account but that, with England, although the forces of that kingdom are not what they used to be.*

After performance by the ambassador of the aforesaid office, immediate notice was sent to the French ambassador in England, ordering him also to take leave immediately ; and mandates were despatched in every direction for the seizure of such Englishmen and their effects and ships as could be found in this realm, although they will find but few, as many days ago the ambassador urged everybody to depart. Fresh orders have also been sent both to Britany and Normandy for all the places on the coast to keep well provided and to fit out the greatest number of ships they can ; but the King having only a few of his own, it is thought that he will find it difficult to send a royal fleet (*armata reale*) to sea, and that he will only be able to give letters of marque (*licenza*) to privateers to go out robbing (*che eschino rubando*).

The ambassador from England went to visit the Nuncio here, to take leave of him, saying he performed this office as a due mark of the respect borne by his Queen towards his Holiness. He then did the like by me from respect for your Serenity, in addition to which, from the beginning, when I first went to England,*

* The letter to Edward VI. from Doge Francesco Donado, appointing Giacomo Soranzo his ambassador in England, is dated 3rd January 1551. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. 5, p. 334.)

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he has always been much my friend. *Talking about this herald, he told me that the causes which principally moved the Queen to this war, were this attempt by Stafford to create disturbance in England, he having done so by order and with the assistance of the most Christian King, he Stafford having confessed the whole in detail. The Queen moreover considered herself greatly wronged by the harbour given by the King to her rebels, to which she attributed all the commotions that chanced in England, she being very well aware of the end for which the King of France favoured them. Wotton complained of this several times, but the King always seemed to disavow it (ma sempre lei havea mostrato di non intendere). He also told me that the plunder of effects belonging to English subjects on several occasions had not a little irritated the Queen, and so much, that she at length came to this determination. When I asked him whether amongst the causes which would be adduced by the herald for this war, there was any one purporting that it was from regard for the King of Spain, he answered me that there were none (che nessuna), because the Queen chose to wage the war in particular (particolarmente), on account of the injuries which she and her kingdom had received from the King of France, and not by reason of the quarrels (querele) of others.*

Rheims, 8th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

927. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King, having returned from hunting, after holding deliberate consultation (*buona consultazione*) about the mode in which he was to give the English herald* audience, sent word to all the ambassadors, including also me, that we were to go to him to-day at noon, because as we must have heard this herald had arrived, his Majesty wished to give him audience in our presence. Those now here having gone, namely the Nuncio, the one from Portugal, from your Serenity, and from Ferrara, his Majesty said to us that this herald was come, he without demanding the ordinary safeconduct having come by way of Boulogne, reporting himself to be the servant of the English ambassador; so although according to law instead of being admitted he ought to be hanged as a spy, yet nevertheless, his Majesty not wishing to proceed with such rigour, chose to admit him, and willed to call us ambassadors as witnesses of this fact. Then the Constable, repeating the same apart, said, "In truth had the King chosen to accept my counsel he would have had him hanged, but the King is too good." His Majesty having ascended a throne under the canopy, the herald was introduced, with the tabard (*cotta*) of the emblems (*insegne*) of England over his arm (*sopra il braccio*), as usually borne on these occasions by the heralds. He wishing to commence speaking without presenting the patent (*la patente*), the King asked him who sent him, and he answering the Queen of England my mistress (*la Regina d'Inghil-*

* Norroy King-at-Arms.

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terra mia signora), the King said, "Where is the patent?" (*dove è la patente?*) and he then produced it, and being taken by a secretary it was read aloud. It was written (*scritta*) on the first of the present month, in the name of the Queen of England, without naming the King her husband, and after certain ordinary words it says she is sending the present herald to defy the most illustrious Henry, most Christian King of France, to war, as the said herald will set forth, her Majesty promising to hold as ratified and confirmed (*rato et fermo*) whatever he shall say or do. When the reading of this patent was concluded the King said that without farther words he accepted the defiance (*la diffida*), hoping that in like manner as the Majesty of God had prospered his predecessors and himself against that kingdom, so now His Divine Majesty would do the same more than ever; the which hope might increase by reason of the other victories and prosperous events it had pleased His Majesty to concede him; and that as the herald came in the name of a woman it was unnecessary for him to listen to anything farther, as he would have done had he come in the name of a man, to whom he would have replied in detail (*particolarmente*); and therefore his Majesty desired the herald to depart immediately, as he did. Then the King, turning towards us ambassadors, said, "Each of your Lordships has heard this defiance, which you will be pleased to communicate to your Princes;" and taking us into his chamber he said to us laughing, "Consider how I stand when a woman sends to defy me to war, but I doubt not that God will assist me." The Constable, being told that the herald was in very great fear of his life, gave an order to comfort him with the gift of a chain worth 300 crowns. *Your Serenity having heard by my letter of the 8th what the English ambassador told me about the herald's having to declare the causes of this defiance, you may reasonably infer that his most Christian Majesty, having perhaps heard them, would not allow the herald to speak, to avoid entering into their justification (per non intrare in queste giustificationi).*

Rheims, 9th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

928. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope persisting in his determination to call the Cardinals to Rome, Cardinal Medici (according to what he told my secretary) strongly urged his Holiness in the Congregation of the Inquisition to allow a few days to pass (*perchè scorresse qualche giorno*), telling him that if he calls them at present, before peace is made, many of them, and precisely those who are of consequence (*ch' importano*), will not come; and were the Pope to send them monitories the cursitors would be killed or imprisoned, their presentation being thus rendered impossible, nor would the Cardinals come; and should his Holiness choose to "deprive" them, they will neither obey him nor devest their habit, but on the contrary unite together and head the schism (*e faranno capo al scisma*), which may be said to be

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already formed, the Pope not having obedience at present from the realms of King Philip. His Holiness said that he did not fear the schism, as they had nothing to reproach him with; to which the Cardinal replied that if unable to allege true things against him they will bring false charges, as they will have no lack of false witnesses who will believe them, so it would be well to make peace first and then call them, in which case they would be compelled to obey him. Cardinal Medici says that he hopes the Pope will at least delay issuing such a brief (*simil breve*) (qu. monitory) during this present summer season.

In date of the 26th,* 27th, and 28th ultimo, letters have arrived from the King and Queen of England, asking the Pope as a favour to restore the legation to Cardinal Pole. There remains to be seen the resolve of his Holiness, who thus far has given fair words to Queen Mary's ambassador, to whom (as asserted by the agent of Cardinal Pole) King Philip has sent a commission to treat the agreement with his Holiness, according to an instruction sent to him, and with the counsel of Cardinal Pacheco, and the knowledge of the Duke of Alva. This is done because heretofore (as written by me) Cardinal Pacheco wrote to King Philip, as did the Duke of Florence likewise, that the Pope complained of never having had a letter from his Majesty, nor of ever having seen anyone in his name. This agent says, moreover, that should the Pope give them hope of agreeing, they would write to the Duke of Alva to suspend hostilities whilst they are negotiating, and until they have a reply from the King about the conclusion. I know not what to affirm to your Serenity respecting this commission given to the English ambassador, my utmost diligence having failed to obtain for me particulars through any other channel, though this gentleman being the agent of such a personage as he is might know the fact; but what I know for certain is that every day of late first Cardinal Pacheco and then Sir Edward Carne, and sometimes both together, have several times been for a long while with the Pope. This I know because the ambassador from Florence said so to my secretary, and also showed him the letter which his Duke is sending to the Duke of Alva about the fitness of King Philip's making peace with the Pope.

Marshal Strozzi arrived here yesterday at 9 p.m.; he had a long conference with the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, but all that has transpired hitherto is that the French army will remain for some days.

Rome, 10th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

929. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I announced to the Constable your desire for his most Christian Majesty to do what was fitting for the negotiation of peace, adding that you had performed a similar office both with the Pope and the

* See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," 26th May 1557, p. 311.

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King of Spain. His Excellency said that he should be considered a worthless minister, and opposed to every virtue, had he not always counselled his Majesty to seek the quiet of his realm and the universal repose of Christendom, provided it could be effected to his honour and dignity; and that it was evident that neither ambition to obtain the kingdom of Naples, nor anything else, had induced him to wage war with King Philip, having deferred it (*dissimulato*) as long as he could; doing the like also with the Queen of England, who had allowed such serious injury to be done to his subjects, that it far exceeded what might be anticipated from open war; but that his Majesty, from his wish for peace, had always dissembled, not from want of forces, as it was seen how his affairs were proceeding, but solely for the sake of not causing greater disturbance to Christendom; so in like manner as hitherto his Majesty had preferred peace to war, thus would he do at present, and especially through the medium of your Serenity; wherefore the offer made by you would be agreeable to the King, who for your sake would also be inclined to do much more than for any other mediator, and would to God that before my departure from this kingdom so good a result could be obtained by me.

I made a becoming reply, and when introduced to the King, after expressing myself as above, his Majesty said to me, "*I have told you my mind several times, and again confirm the like to you, that whenever fair terms shall be offered me I will not fail to accept them, although they might be somewhat to my detriment, as nothing moved me to this war but the observance of my promise. I am obliged to the Signory for showing me this goodwill, and let them know that for their sake I will do more than for any other Prince whatever (farò più che per qualsivoglia altro Principe); and I really should be very glad if you in particular had this business in hand, knowing you to be of such a sort (conoscendovi tale) as to give hope of good fruit,*" with other words on this subject, which it is unnecessary to repeat. *This part of the conversation ended by the King's repeating that he was very well disposed, and that he should be better pleased with peace to his detriment, than with war to his advantage.*

In reply to my inquiries about news from Italy, the King said that M. de Brissac had commenced another mine under Cuneo, and that unless it took speedy effect he would again batter the town, and then retreat if unsuccessful. He then said that he was sending 4,000 Switzers into Italy, and that if the Duke of Ferrara needed them they would be at his service, and if he did not they would pass to the Duke de Guise, adding, "For the Duke of Ferrara I will do this, and whatever else he may require." I asked if his Majesty was sending the 6,000 Germans as he told me heretofore; and he replied, "Not at present, as the Switzers will suffice, the Germans being too far off." In reply to my inquiry about the Marquis of Pescara's hostilities against the Duke of Ferrara, he said, "The Marquis is with troops at Guastalla, a place belonging to Don Ferrante, and threatens greatly, but will do what he can." When I asked if there were any advices from M. de Guise, his Majesty said, "Not since the retreat of the Duke of Alva, who by retreating

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did his duty, as the governor of a kingdom ought never to fight a battle;" and he added, "The Duke of Paliano is in the army and behaving very well." I asked if it was true that the Pope was raising troops. "Yes," said his Majesty, "he is raising from 5,000 to 6,000 Italians, and has sent to the Switzers to hold a diet, that he may raise 4,000 of them, but has not yet received the decision;" and I added that a report also circulated of the Pope's not being adverse to the negotiation for an agreement. His Majesty replied, "Thus does it seem to be said, but as for me I do not believe it; words of this sort have been often uttered, but never proved true."

His Majesty then said that the troops for these frontiers would soon be ready; that the 6,000 Germans were already near at hand, and would be followed by another 4,000, there being also a considerable amount of French infantry who would soon be under arms; "so" (he said) "I hope I shall defend myself against the defiance (*dalla diffida*) which as you heard yesterday, was sent me by a woman;" my answer being that his Majesty's potency, as demonstrated in every quarter, was such that no Christian Prince had greater, and I then asked him what provision the Queen of England was making for the war. He replied, "In truth nothing; she gives her husband 6,000 infantry and 500 horse, and he is to pay them, a thing which seems scarcely credible, though indeed the fleet will be paid by the Queen, who, I can tell you for certain, did what she has done against me under compulsion, her husband having given her to understand that unless she declared herself he would depart that kingdom, and never return thither to see her." I inquired whether, besides the provisions aforesaid, the Queen was making any other preparations to carry into effect the defiance she had sent him. He answered, "Assuredly nothing, so you may know that she was forced to do what she has done." His Majesty then commenced a merry conversation, telling me about the Queen's jealousy of the Duchess of Lorraine, who had therefore been compelled to depart thence, and he communicated to me many particulars about dances, &c., which it is unnecessary to write; and having been a long while with his Majesty, after returning him the usual thanks I took my leave. *I will not omit to add that in my conversations about the peace, first with the Constable and then with the King, neither one nor the other made any mention whatever of the Pope, which I think worthy of notice; as also that although according to my letter of the 8th the Nuncio was told that the 6,000 Germans would go to M. de Guise, yet nevertheless to me the King said they were no longer to be sent. The Walloons who were here at Avenay have retreated into the country, so in this neighbourhood things are again very quiet.*

Rheims, 10th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 11.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

930. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went this morning to Cardinal Caraffa and told him that immediately on receiving my letter announcing the intention of

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the Pope and of his Lordship to make peace, you wrote to your ambassador with King Philip, performing a similar office with his Majesty's minister accredited to the Signory. The Cardinal after returning thanks said, "To speak freely with you the Pope, seeing that the French were resolved to depart, and having a hostile army at his back, not knowing which way to turn, had recourse to the lesser evil—not that I call peace 'the lesser evil,' for I shall always consider it a benefit, but by reason of the affairs then current it might have been called so at that time—and his Holiness spoke to you and many others as he did. He simultaneously sent Marshal Strozzi to the camp to let the Duke de Guise know that by his departure he betrayed us (*ch' el suo partire era un tradirne*), and that his demands, most especially for the fortresses, were unjust, and a confirmation of what the Spaniards said, that they had come not to defend the Papal States but to oppress them; and as it was asserted that the fortresses had been promised him he was required to show by whom, in what place, and when, as a thing of such great importance ought to appear in writing like all the others which were accepted and concluded, nor would the Pope ever fail to observe them, whilst on the other hand he would never give any fortress, not even to save his own life and that of all his kindred; demonstrating to him that King Philip, who was the Pope's enemy, could not demand more than that of his Holiness. The answer was that the said Duke had a twofold order (*ordine duplicato*) from his King to depart, and that unless some satisfaction were given him he could not stay, but that if we would send to the King (as was promised him) the Marquis, the son of the Duke of Paliano,* assigning at the same time these reasons to his Majesty, he (Guise) would remain until the receipt of another order from the King. The Pope has therefore determined to send the Marquis as soon as possible, together with Marshal Strozzi, who is to give account to the King of everything here, and of the need of the See Apostolic, nor in the meanwhile shall we remain idle in Rome; the Switzers will arrive, the other necessary provisions being made, and there will also be time to negotiate the agreement with more dignity as the despatch of the Marquis to France will not hinder it. If the Imperialists offer fair terms the Pope will not fail to accept them, as he who occupies this See must not prefer war to peace, nor would I ever give him such advice, as he will always be able to make known to the most Christian King the necessity of this State and the impossibility of continuing a long war such as this would be; and his Majesty will be told that it is for his advantage that the Pope should make peace with King Philip, as he will then be able to treat the agreement between their Majesties. This is the decision, nor is it yet known to anyone, you being the first to hear it, of which I am glad, that you may write it to the Signory, telling them, moreover, that by sending the Marquis the agreement will

* In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," date Venice, 19th June 1557 (p. 317), there is the following paragraph, "Tuesday next, the 15th inst., Pietro Strozzi will leave for France with the Duke of Paliano's son and heir, as a hostage that the Pope will perform all his promises to the utmost." He was the Marquis of Cavi. (See Alberi, Venetian Reports, Series 2, vol. 3, p. 385.)

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not be in the least impeded, provided the Imperialists explain themselves (*si lascino intendere*) and propose fair terms; as the King of France will not keep that lad prisoner, he not having been sent as hostage nor for any other purpose (*nè per altro*), and even should they detain him, the Pope will have the means of seizing in the Papal States some personage of sufficient consequence to compensate for the Marquis. What is being done proceeds from inability to do anything else, not having anything in hand from the Imperialists but words. They must consign to writing what they mean to do, and not await the departure of the French army, so as then to give law; we cannot trust them, and King Philip's ministers when they have a finger's breadth of authority proclaim that they have the whole arm, to give themselves repute, and at this present time more than ever to increase the suspicions of the French and to make them depart entirely. I wish for peace because it profits me and my family, and I know that this desire is shared by his Holiness. Letters have come in great haste from King Philip of England, and I have got one from Cardinal Pole, who acknowledges the receipt of information which I sent him about what has passed here, to enable him to confute the charges brought against the Pope; and he adds, that having been called to the Court for other matters he spoke to King Philip about the peace and found him well inclined towards it; and when Pole urged his Majesty to send some one to negotiate with the Pope, his Majesty replied that Don Francisco Pacheco had not obtained audience, but that he would give a commission here, though he has not given it, Cardinal Pacheco nevertheless having been twice with the Pope for a long while about general matters.

Having been told what is written in the accompanying packet I said that according to report the English ambassador [Sir Edward Carne] had received the commission. Cardinal Caraffa replied that it was untrue, and that Carne's business was about the affair of Cardinal Pole's legation, concerning which the Pope would have thought, as it indeed seemed, that having lately returned from schism to her obedience to the See Apostolic, England had need of a legate, but that his Holiness would decide as seemed fit to him whether to retain Cardinal Pole in that office or to send some one else thither. Knowing that whatever has to be negotiated with the Pope must be mentioned to Cardinal Caraffa, with whom his Holiness confers and consults about everything, nothing being concluded without his favour, he moreover choosing to be acknowledged accordingly, I said to him that concerning the matter of "legation" the bestowal of that office on Cardinal Triulzi at Venice, which was new and unusual there, would cause trouble and dissatisfaction to your Serenity, telling him the reasons assigned in my commission, and he said he would speak about it to the Pope, who would not fail to favour your Sublimity's desire so far as possible. I then took leave and was followed out of the antechamber by the Marquis of Montebello, who told me he was in despair because he saw that the negotiation for the agreement was quite broken off by their sending the Marquis to France, as the Imperialists will no longer place trust in anything that is said to them, seeing that when

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they are having peace negotiated by the Signory of Venice and the Duke of Florence and others, they at one and the same time send the Marquis to France; adding, "Would that anyone could assure the Pope that when they have the lad (*il putto*) in their hands they will not find some other cause to be off, saying that the Duke of Ferrara is oppressed and that they are commissioned to assist him, thus leaving his Holiness in a worse condition than ever, as he will have lost credit with the Imperialists, and should he wish them to halt they will again make some insufferable demand. I can no longer stand it; they do not call me to these consultations nor do they unbosom themselves to me; I shall at least have the consolation of not being an accomplice." Having uttered these few words by stealth he went towards the apartments of the Prince of Salerno, saying he could no longer tolerate the inconstancy of his kinsfolk.

Rome, 11th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

931. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, at 6 p.m., the hour assigned me by the Pope, I went for audience, and found there the Cardinals Carpi, Pacheco, Santa Fiore, and the ambassadors from England and Portugal, on whose dismissal, at 8 p.m., I was introduced. His Holiness apologised for having made me wait, and when I expressed regret at adding to the fatigue caused him by so many and long audiences, he replied, "You never molest us; on the contrary we are sorry for the night-fall, as it prevents us from staying long with you." After returning thanks for his daily favours, I said that your Serenity, having received my letters about his goodwill for quiet, and his request that you would perform offices to that effect, wrote immediately to your ambassador with King Philip, urging likewise the ambassador Vargas at Venice to exhort his Majesty to make terms with his Holiness, the Signory promising not to fail doing everything that might seem fit to them hereafter, being certain that the Pope will retain the same wish for peace that he has always had, and as so often said by him to me. The Pope replied, "We thank the Signory for what they have done for us at all times, and acknowledge as from His Divine Majesty in the first place, and then from the Signory's good offices, the goodwill (*buona mente*) of King Philip, as announced to us from many quarters; and he himself wrote lately to several cardinals, who have shown us the letters, that his chief wish is to be reconciled to us, to obey us, to serve us, and to give us every satisfaction; praying them to let us know this his will, which he himself would have written to us had he thought that it would have pleased us more to hear it through his letters than by word of mouth from their right reverend Lordships; adding that he wishes to know our answer. We have not failed to reciprocate in goodwill, and to let it be understood that we will receive him as a very dear son, not remembering any past injury, provided his words are carried into effect by deeds; but as things cannot be done so secretly as not to be divulged through some channel, we think that the King of France has heard of this will, and, according to the very

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suspicious nature of the French, has taken umbrage at it; so we who wish for peace with Philip, without breaking with this other one (*senza rompere con questo altro*), have determined to retain him by every sort of good office. Should you therefore see us show all favour to his most Christian Majesty, and also, because between peace and truce every one should remain provided, should you see us arm, *ut boni consulatis obsecro*, as all will be done for a good end, in order that having made friends (*fatti amici*) with the King of England, and conserving the King of France (*et conservati il Re di Francia*), we may one day be a good medium for bringing universal peace into Christendom, as is our object, such being the duty of anyone seated on this throne, and we will hope in God that those kings, from compassion or by force, will make it. At this moment there is no part of the world that does not suffer from these wars; Spain complains of them, France laments, Germany languishes, for if the ships of those nations come with full cargoes, not ten in a thousand return into harbour; Italy is desolated, and what can the rest of Christendom desire more than quiet. If we make peace with this one (*se si pacifichiamo con questo*), and if he wish for universal peace, we shall have an ample field for bringing over the King of France by telling him that he promised it to us when we sent him our nephew Cardinal Caraffa as legate for two sole purposes (*per due effetti soli*), the one to procure this peace, the other to let him know about the Council which, for the reformation of the Church, we desire to hold, not at Trent, nor elsewhere from complacency with the parties (*a compiacenza delle parti*), but *in hac almâ urbe*; telling France, besides, that if 'the prodigal son' Philip, *qui abierat in longinquas partes*, is made whole (*è ridotto a sanità*) and wills the peace (*e vuole la pace*), by so much the more ought he to make it, who is 'the beloved son,' *qui meus semper est, et omnia mea sua sunt*; and should he continue restiff, we would then exercise our authority, as although our temporal portion is small, we nevertheless justify the side to which we give our support (*che sebbene habbiamo picciol parte temporale, pur damo la ragione a quella parte ove accostamo*), and we would make him know that we will not tolerate his omitting to do signal deeds for the welfare of Christendom. We have proceeded so far forward in our discourse with you that you may write all our thoughts to the Signory, to excite them the more to persevere in the offices commenced by them to pacify us with King Philip" (*per pacificarne co'l Re Filippo*).

After commending the Pope's pious and magnanimous designs, I told him that although your Serenity respected and revered this Holy See, and particularly his Holiness, above any Popes who have reigned for many years, and although you greatly loved Cardinal Triulci, yet nevertheless the legation lately given him, a new and unusual office in Venice, could not please you, because it became requisite to treat all affairs through the secretary or some other individual of the Cardinal's familiars, it not being decorous for him to go into the College Hall, and that this produced difficulties and delays, and somewhat endangered negotiations; besides which, it being often necessary to invite the apostolic nuncios to the proces-

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sions and ceremonies, the people would murmur to see a personage always preceding the Doge in public, on which accounts Clement VII. revoked the legation which in 1530 he had determined to give to Cardinal Egidio, as the Signory hope the Pope also will do at present, his love for the State being so much greater. The Pope replied that when he made Cardinal Triulci Legate, he had not an idea (*non hebbe capello che si pensasse*) of doing anything disagreeable to your Serenity, and that on the contrary, as he knew you liked that Cardinal, and it seeming to him that in times so important as the present ones it would be well for him to remain there during this hot weather, he had wished to give him the means to reside in a dignified manner, not a little to the honour of the Signory; and that he believed that these respects about precedence and having to negotiate through secretaries or others continued the same as before when he was Cardinal, without being at all increased by the Legateship; but that he would not dispute about this, as it sufficed him to comprehend that it was not to the satisfaction of your Serenity; adding, "I well knew that one cannot keep a cardinal in Venice for a long period, and that the Signory's regulations are strict (*limitate*), nor do those Lords like to alter them. We purposed keeping him for a few days, but as it would not be to his Sublimity's satisfaction, we will find a remedy, either by recall or in some other way, to satisfy him, for we are dragged (*tirati*) to compliance by paramount force, viz., the love we bear him; which forbids the thought of our doing anything grievous to him, *fortis est ut mors dilectio*; and do you say a word to some of the cardinals of ancient date (*a qualche cardinale de' vecchi*), so that the measure may not seem to have been a levity on our part." I told him that his Holiness alone was sufficient, being of opinion that his compelling me to speak to the cardinals was to delay, and that to bring the matter before Consistory might give cause for diversity of thoughts and opinions; so I said that with his leave I would give your Serenity the good news of its being his intention to make provision (*ch' ella fusse per provederli*). He replied, "Do so, for we will not fail." After kissing his foot, I took leave, and when I was in the act of departing his Holiness said, "Day by day you will know more and more that from us nothing can proceed but what is to the satisfaction of the Signory, and we regret having been unwary in this matter. Pray his Sublimity that in this matter of the peace *non quiescat*."

Rome, 12th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

(Second Letter.)

932. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French camp, having halted, is scattered about at several places in the territory of Ascoli and Fermo, the greater part being at Morano; nor has the Duke of Alva changed his quarters near Giulia Nuova, although the air there is bad, the Germans suffering from it, and many of the Italians having deserted. Marc' Antonio Colonna is still reinforcing himself with horse and foot in the Campagna, and has sent notice to the vassals of the abbacy of

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Subiaco to hold themselves in readiness with their arms ; his appearance under Vicovaro, to which I alluded in my last, was not so much from any design on that place, as on account of a plot formed by him at Cava, which having been discovered did not take effect.

On Thursday, in the Congregation of the Inquisition, the Pope caused to be read the letters of the King and Queen of England, whereby they pray his Holiness to restore (*ritornare*) the legation to Cardinal Pole, showing in very humble and respectful language towards his Holiness the need that kingdom has for it. No decision whatever was made, the Pope saying that he would decide in Consistory.

A few days ago the auditor of Cardinal Morone was arrested, and after taking his deposition, they released him. They are scrupulously examining some natives of Modena, amongst whom is a bookseller, about charges against his right reverend Lordship ; and to-day the Cardinals appointed for his trial (*processo*) were a long while in the Castle, where they are supposed to have confronted him (*a costituire sua S^{ria} R^{ma}*).

Cardinal Carpi [Rodolfo Pio] who is governor of Loreto, having heard that a trial (*processo*) is being drawn up against his vicar there, by name Father Gasparo, a Venetian, has made him come to Rome ; and he has told the Pope that should his vicar have erred, he shall be his bitterest enemy, though he prays his Holiness to appoint him a good and sincere judge (*che li deputi un buono, e sincero giudice*).

The Romans are doing all they can to avoid paying the tax of one per cent., and they determined lately in their Council to offer the Pope 100,000 crowns in lieu of it, the money to be raised by levying a *quattrino* per pound on meat, this tax to remain in force until it yield that sum, which, if accepted, those who eat meat will pay it. I having dropped a word about this to Cardinal Caraffa, he replied that this would be considered, because nobody would eat meat (*che se l'haveria rispetto perchè non si voleva mangiarli*). Yesterday the Conservators went to the palace to have audience of his Holiness after me concerning this matter, but from what I hear the 100,000 crowns were not accepted, although to-day Cardinal Consiglieri, who favours the Romans, said that at any rate the business will be arranged.

Yesterday, being at audience with so many cardinals and ambassadors, I had an opportunity for discoursing with almost all of them. Carpi [Pio] and the "Camerlengo" [Sforza] told me it seemed to them that the Pope was well inclined towards the peace, which is more necessary than ever, Carpi saying, "I spoke to his Holiness by order of King Philip." Santafiore [Sforza] told me that after transacting some business as "Protector" of Portugal, the Pope exhorted him to perform good offices for quiet, he being a person who has so much authority, both with the King and with the Duke of Alva, and with Marc' Antonio Colonna ; his Lordship assuring me that he desires nothing more earnestly than this, and that had it pleased God that he should have been present at the conference as arranged, the blessing of peace would

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have been already enjoyed some months ago, as written to him also by King Philip.

The ambassador from England [Sir Edward Carne] told me he was in hopes that the legation would be restored to Cardinal Pole, which if not obtained, it would cause great discontent throughout that kingdom, where he is well nigh adored (*nel quale è quasi adorato*); adding, "That excellent and most sainted Cardinal (*e santissimo Cardinale*), will remain with us, nor for any occasion will he come to Rome."

The Marquis de Montebello again said to me about the peace, that although verbally these kinsfolk of his (*questi suoi*) seemed to wish for it, saying that the mission of his nephew to France was of no importance, he nevertheless believed that this act would break it off and cool all persons from speaking on the subject (*e raffreddasse ogn'uno a parlarne*), and that he could not but reprove this mismanagement (*mal governo*); telling me, besides, many things about the insolence of the French, and that rather than ever serve them again he would fight for the Turks. With this opportunity, in accordance with your Serenity's order, I communicated to him what I had said to Cardinal Caraffa in the morning, and what I intended to tell the Pope, about your exertions in favour of peace. For this he thanked me greatly, and said, "God grant that so Christian a wish as that of the Signory may take effect, though, from seeing the course of events, I do not believe it. That blessed Republic will at least have this praise and satisfaction of having always inculcated peace. We are in a worse condition than ever, for this new tax estranges the entire population from us. From Bologna we are advised that they cannot bear it; Romagna and the March of Ancona are distressed and in despair." When I asked him whether he was going to Romagna or elsewhere, he replied that by reason of the changes mentioned in my accompanying letter he did not know, and in truth he cannot dissemble the resentment caused him by his nephew's journey, and his consequent despair of peace.

Whilst writing this I was visited by the Prince of Salerno and Marquis Montebello, and in the course of a long conversation the Prince said that the Pope could not do otherwise than send the young Marquis (*marchesino*) to France, because, were the French to retire, this state would again be at the mercy of the enemy, who give nothing but words; that the Pope had also promised (*promesso*) the "privation" (*privazione*) of King Philip, but that he nevertheless evinced a great wish for peace, and he, the Prince, would depart for the camp in two or three days, as there was no cause for much haste.

It is said that to-morrow or Monday the Duke of Paliano's son and Marshal Strozzi will depart for France.

Rome, 12th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(Third letter.)

933. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

According to report the Inquisition is making inquiry (si esami-
amina) against the Cardinal of England, whose agent told my

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secretary that he had heard that the Magnifico Messer Bartolamio Spatafora had been interrogated about his right reverend Lordship ; so the agent wrote several times to the Cardinal what is being done here against him, and his reply purported that should they choose to attend to the operations performed by him in the kingdom of England, and how he persecuted the heretics, they will be able to enlighten themselves about his being a Lutheran or not (se potranno chiarir se è Luterano ò non). I have been told that the calling the Cardinals to Rome might be for the purpose of proceeding against Cardinal Pole, it being also suspected that the examination against the vicar of the Cardinal of Carpi (l'esaminar contra il vicario del Rmo Carpi) was to see if anything could be discovered against his right reverend Lordship.

Rome, 12th June 1557.

[Italian].

June 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

934. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My last were dated the 9th,* and yesterday, by reason of the fresh order received from your Serenity, I went to the King and repeated your wish for the peace, alluding to your own interests, as the war is approaching the Venetian territory. I observed to his Majesty how honourable the peace would be to him, and how profitable to his subjects; remarking that the present opportunity should not be lost, as it may be hoped the Pope will consent to a reconciliation with his Majesty and attend to a fair agreement; adding what I thought most fit to induce his Majesty to continue the negotiation, and realise the wish always expressed by him to me for peace, and most especially for that of Italy.

The King's reply was substantially the same as the one I received from him a few days ago, to the effect that he was very much inclined towards peace with the Pope, from whom he desired nothing but to be secured against molestation in his kingdom of Naples, and that he had written accordingly to his cardinals in Rome.

Perceiving this to be nothing more than what I heard the last time, I added other reasons to induce him, if possible, to proceed farther, so that I might give your Serenity greater hope of peace; and his Majesty, perceiving how warmly I spoke, said, "Such is my esteem and love for the Signory, and so greatly do I believe they love me, that I will not conceal any of my thoughts from them, and will therefore freely confide my whole mind to you." He then made a long discourse, of which I will write such things as seem to me worthy of consideration.

He said, first of all, that the French had retired out of the kingdom of Naples without doing any damage; that he was especially glad of this, as no one could suppose that his Majesty was intent on peace either from fear or compulsion. That although with this opportunity he might propose better terms for himself, he nevertheless required nothing more than he told me lately, viz., the security

* Not found.

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of that kingdom, and that concerning this security, he referred himself entirely to your Serenity, and would be content with whatever you thought fitting. He then said that the Pope, seeing he could not obtain what he hoped for about the kingdom of Naples, and being weary and deserted, spoke with the ambassador resident at Rome for his Majesty and the Queen on behalf of England, evincing regret that he should be at war with a king whom he knows to be religious and Catholic (*che conosce religioso et cattolico*), and that he wished to receive him as a son, desiring Carne to exhort his Majesty to send one of his attendants (*un suo homo*) to humble himself before his Holiness, and apologise for that his ministers, without his order, had made war on the Church, asking pardon for this, as he would forgive him and take him into favour.* When discussing with me these demands made of him by the Pope, his Majesty remarked that by no means can he say what is untrue, it being false that his ministers acted without his order, as the Duke of Alva, on the contrary, had been more tardy in his movements than was the King's wish, and still less was it fitting that he should confess to having made war on the Church. He said, laughing, "*The Pope would wish me to do this that he might inflict penance on me for it,*" implying that with this his confession the Pope might declare that he had incurred censure, and was consequently deprived of the fief; but that the truth is that war was not waged on the Church, and that, on the contrary, the places taken by his Majesty's ministers were made to swear allegiance to the Church, to the College of Cardinals, and to the future Pope.

He then said that as to sending one of his attendants (*un homo suo*), he did not see how he could send agents (*homini*), those sent by him hitherto having been so maltreated; adding that the Duke of Alva had written to him that, the French having retreated, he should return towards Rome to see if he could renew the negotiation for peace with the Pope. When I inquired whether he was going with the army, the King replied, "He is going solely to treat peace;" and although this seems to me a weighty matter, I nevertheless did not think it fitting to say anything further. His Majesty continued, that should the Pope still wish for a minister (*un homo*) to be sent to him, he would despatch anyone his Holiness should choose, but his Majesty must be enabled to send him in safety, and that in this matter he left it to your Serenity to perform such office with the Pope as seemed fit to you, for that his Majesty would do as you told him. In conclusion, the King said I might write all this to you, to render your Serenity certain that he on his part will not fail to make peace and to show every mark of reverence and obedience towards his Holiness as head of the Church, though he indeed strongly suspected that after being a short time at peace he would begin to think of novelty, because he is of a restless mind (*ma che dubitava ben, che ella, come fusse stata un poco in pace, entreria in humor di cose nuove, perchè ha l'animo*

* In the Foreign Calendar, "Mary," there is a letter from Sir Edward Carne to King Philip and Queen Mary, dated Rome, 15th May 1557, but it does not contain the particulars mentioned above, on the King's authority.

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inquieto), and that therefore his Majesty wished to be secured; and he added that although with the Pope he would not have regard for dignity or honour, but wished to show him every mark of obedience, yet he could not act in like manner with the King of France, who had always sought to offend him, although he had never been injured by his Majesty, who could not think of peace with him, as it would not be to his honour to make it, nor would it be a true peace, as he never kept faith.

Finally he said that your Serenity had cause to love his Majesty, because the Milanese and his other States could not be in the hands of a Prince less desirous of novelty, nor more desirous of peace, nor a better neighbour to your Serenity; and this his Majesty said in many words, and with a very great show of affection. I replied that he did not in the least deceive himself in supposing that he was beloved by your Serenity, and that the Republic had his Majesty's honour and advantage at heart like their own; and that besides so many demonstrations, both old and new, as were made by your Serenity of your goodwill towards the Emperor and his Majesty, he might comprehend, through the offices performed by you in favour of the peace, that you sought the advantage of his Majesty's States as earnestly as you did your own. *I then congratulated him on the departure of the French from the kingdom of Naples*, and commended his intention of continuing the negotiation for the agreement, saying that now he might be free from any suspicion in that quarter, and that the greatest and most certain security he could desire was to reconcile himself to the Pope, as by pacifying his Holiness no one will remain either to harass the kingdom of Naples, or to wish for it. *To what his Majesty said about being content that the Republic should determine the quality of the security I made no reply, avoiding it studiously, thinking that to negotiate this matter (che di metter questa cosa in negotio) might not please your Serenity.*

With regard to his sending an agent (*un suo homo*) to Rome, I told his Majesty that of his wisdom he knew that no great difficulty should be made about it, and that this satisfaction might be given to the Pope, who, according to my belief, would not allow the person sent to him to be otherwise than well treated and secure. The King said that he would make no difficulty about this, although the Pope ought not to refuse to treat with the Duke of Alva, who is his Majesty's principal minister, and who has Milan and Naples and all his Majesty's principal affairs in his hands, nor could he send him any personage of greater authority unless he went himself.

To the King's words about being unable to think of peace with his most Christian Majesty, I replied in a few general terms, as although diffuse about the particulars relating to his Holiness, I would not let my discourse seem averse to universal peace, about which I had no express order from your Serenity.

To his Majesty's remarks about the Milanese, I answered similarly in general words, as I did not comprehend what he meant to infer; and I remarked, that although I repeated more than once that your Serenity sought the peace for your own interest particularly,

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seeing the war so near your territory, his Majesty never made any answer to this comment. He told me that immediately on the receipt from Rome of letters from his Cardinals, which he is expecting daily, should they contain anything of importance he will impart it to me. *I will omit no opportunity for drawing this negotiation as close as possible, but always having regard for your Serenity's dignity and quiet, and not depart from general offices, though I suspect that should the Duke of Alva, as reported, return to Rome, he will choose to knit it in another form.*

London, 14th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 15.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

935. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days ago advices arrived that in Flanders, where for the last month all the people have been without bread, and latterly even the chief personages could scarcely find any, some ships with grain have arrived from the Hanse Towns (*dalle terre marittime*), which has somewhat relieved that country from its very calamitous state. Then to-day it is heard by report (*per un riporto*) that the fleet so long expected from Spain has been seen near a small island (*un' isoletta*) of this kingdom at no great distance, to the well-nigh incredible satisfaction of all these Lords. These good news, in addition to those of the retreat of the French from Civitella dell' Abbruccio, and of the determination already made by England to attack the most Christian King, have made a great change in the minds of everybody; for whereas previously it was feared that King Philip's affairs were all taking a bad turn (*andassero tutte a mal camino*), so is it now hoped that they will turn the other way. *God grant that these unforeseen events may not render the negotiation of the peace more difficult, as I suspect, for the nature of the Spaniards (di questa nazione) is such that prosperity renders them insolent, and in adversity they lose courage, with the exception, however, of the King, who under every aspect of fortune (in ogni fortuna) shows himself the most prudent and moderate of any of them.*

These advices will hasten the King's departure for Flanders and for the war, whither I am preparing to follow him, although with a very troubled mind, both by reason of the inconvenience of such a life, and because such fatigue is not suited to all men, as also on account of other interests still less in accordance with my condition. During the present week the Duke of Savoy will march with two columns (*dui colonelli*) of infantry, and perhaps a thousand horse, to the frontiers, and although this is no great force it is nevertheless said that they can go securely, as the French there are not stronger. From time to time they will be reinforced by others who are to come from Germany, and subsequently there will be the English troops likewise (*et poi anco queste del Regno*), so should nothing happen (*non succedendo le cose*) there will soon be a large army in the field, *but I dare not yet assure your Serenity of this until I see something more.*

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The Lord Don Ferrante is expected soon, and was to be at Cologne on Saturday; *it is not yet settled what command he is to have in the war, though he is expected with the idea of his being everything, and he himself likewise is coming with this belief; and he is so much envied that should he choose to prevail (se vorrà superare), it will be from great ability and yet greater good fortune.*

A few days ago a gentleman arrived here from the Marquis of Pescara to know the King's will about the affairs of the Lord Hieronimo da Corregio, because that personage has written a letter to the Marquis purporting that if his Majesty will assist him with his forces he will never abandon him; but should the King not think fit to do so the Lord Hieronimo will make terms with the Duke of Ferrara, as he has not sufficient forces of his own to go to war with him; and if King Philip is content to assist him the Lord of Corregio requires such security as to make him sure of the fact. I do not hear that any resolve has been made hitherto, but the gentleman is still here.*

London, 15th June 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 12.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

936. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The 25 companies of Gascons continue marching, and all the other supplies for the army are hastened as much as possible, though from the scarcity of victuals much service cannot be hoped for until the new harvest. The King of Navarre will be here to-day, and on his arrival it is said they will determine who is to be the general of the said army in this quarter, and I understand that the King will send M. de Vassé, a knight of the Order, to Scotland with 4,000 infantry, including Germans and Frenchmen. His Majesty has also conferred his Order on Francesco Bernardino Vilmercato, giving the insignia to his own son to take to him, and simultaneously desired the son to promise his father, in the King's name, that he will give him the first vacant company of 50 men-at-arms; the which son is going back to Piedmont in three or four days with M. de Damville, the Constable's son.

Rheims, 12th June 1557.

[Italian.]

June 18.†

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

937. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Monday there was Consistory, in which, after the usual audiences, the Pope said that he had been inspired by the Holy Spirit to make Cardinal, the Confessor of the Queen of England,‡

* It is not known whether the feudal Lords of Corregio gave their name to that place or took it thence. They were originally of a great family in Parma. (See Alberti, "Descrizione de la Italia," p. 325 recto, ed. Bologna, 1550.)

† In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," from the 5th June 1557, until the 2nd July 1557, there is no letter from Sir Edward Carne at Rome, but under this last date it is seen that he wrote to the Queen on the 19th June, though the despatch no longer exists.

‡ This election took place on the 14th June. See Cardella (vol. 4, p. 369), who shows that William Peto was the last cardinal made by Pope Paul IV.

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a very old man, a barefooted friar, who had led a good life, and was well lettered (*vecchio di molti anni frate de' Zoccoli, di buona vita e di buone lettere*). This promotion made by his Holiness caused great surprise to the whole College, and Cardinal Caraffa assured many Cardinals by the most stringent oaths that until the hour when it was done he knew nothing of the Pope's will to make this friar a Cardinal; but what matters more, and is considered a thing of great moment, he was given the Legation of the kingdom of England, held hitherto by the right reverend and most illustrious Pole; and his Holiness said that he chose Cardinal Pole now to come to Rome, as it was his intention to make all the other Cardinals who are absent do the like. Cardinal Caraffa sent his congratulations on this promotion to Sir Edward Carne, who replied that there was not the slightest cause for rejoicing at this, as they had made a blockhead (*un legno*) Cardinal and Legate. I understand that the said ambassador complains of the Pope for having announced his intention to him of giving back the legation to Cardinal Pole, provided the Queen entreated him, as Carne wrote to her Majesty; and now, after the Queen's making such humble and reverent suit, the Pope has disappointed her, and that although she had not literally demanded Cardinal Pole in particular, but the legation *in genere*, because she would not let it appear that she was doing it for private interest, but for the benefit of the realm, it was, nevertheless, clear that her Majesty and the kingdom wished for the legateship in the person of that Cardinal.

At audience of the Pope on the morrow, when his Holiness told Carne that, *afflatus divino numine*, he had created Friar Piero Peto* Cardinal, and given him the Legation of England, dilating much in praise of his goodness and doctrine (*dottrina*), saying that he hoped he had done what was agreeable to her most serene Majesty, and beneficial for the whole kingdom; the ambassador replied that with regard to Friar Peter personally he was willing to believe in the Pope's opinion of his being learned (*dotto*), and a good christian, and that he ratified it (*e che l'affirmava*); so he believed that the realm would not be discontent to have one Englishman more (*un di più*), invested with this dignity; but that respecting the Legation he did not think the appointment a good one, as he was an old dotard (*perchè era vecchio rebambito*), who could not bear any fatigue, but merely remain in his cell reciting orisons; nor could he (Carne) imagine how it could please his Queen to have the Legation taken away from a person so nearly related to her, and whom she so greatly loved, and to see it conferred on a decrepit friar, who, although 'it was said that he is her Majesty's confessor, that, however, is untrue, as he confessed her once only, before she had attained her seventh

* "Fourth promotion of cardinals made at Rome by Pope Paul IV., on the 14th June 1557. William Petow, called by Francis Godwin *Peter* Petow, probably bore the two names, and was called Peter William. Father Giuseppe Maria of Ancona in his continuation of the annals of the Friars Minor (vol. 19, p. 74, n. 12), says that with some few exceptions, the acts of his life were so obscure that in some respects Petow might be compared to Melchizedek, as no one knew who his parents were, nor where he was born." ("Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali," by Lorenzo Cardella, vol. 4, p. 369, Roma, 1793.)

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year (*perchè l'ha confessata una volta sola, quando ella non era di 7 anni*); that still less did Carne see how this could benefit the kingdom, because, as known to his Holiness, who had been in England, the people there do not esteem anyone who is not of very noble lineage, or very wealthy, or powerful through armed retainers, and dependent on the Crown; so the friar having none of these prerogatives, no respect would be paid him. The Pope rejoined that he had been unable to do otherwise, as he chose to have Cardinal Pole here (*volendo il R^{mo} de qui*) to avail himself of his counsel and assistance *in rebus magnis et difficillimis*, and that together with the brief for the new Cardinal, announcing his creation and the legateship, he would tell Cardinal Pole to come to Rome. Sir Edward Carne said that the Pope was to do as he pleased, and to send these things (*queste cose*) by one of his own couriers, as he the ambassador did not dare give this news to his Sovereigns.

In this same Consistory, the Pope then added that King Philip, the prodigal son, had written hither to some of his adherents many words of good will towards the peace, and of his wish always to honour and serve his Holiness, which, if true, and if he carried it into effect, he would find excellent reciprocity on the part of his Holiness. As these words implied that the Pope had some doubt of the King's good will, Cardinal Pacheco, who is one of those to whom the King wrote (as his Majesty also did to the Cardinals Carpi and Morone), replied that it was very certain that what the King said in his letters would be fully verified by facts, nor would he ever fail in the respect due to this Holy See and to his Holiness, and that were not he (Pacheco) sure of this, he would not have uttered a word on the subject to the Pope in private, neither would he confirm it now in public, in the face, it might be said, of the whole world. The Pope replied that he on his part, whenever the King did his duty, would show by facts what he has so often said.

Cardinal Medici commended the Pope's very Christian wish for peace, showing that nothing good could be done through war, most especially with regard to the reformation (*la riforma*), which he knew the Pope had so much at heart; and that he could not speak about universal peace until he first renounced war, acting as common father. He also said that if princes made war with their own money, and not with that of their poor subjects, they would perhaps think longer before drawing the sword; and that for Popes to make war (*ch' el far guerra delli Pont.*) was fishing with a golden hook, signifying that they risk much to get back little. The Pope rejoined that he had always preferred peace to war, and would do so for the future, if he could preserve his dignity; so he exhorted their most holy Lordships to perform good offices and mediate for this peace, as should King Philip ask it in due form, giving suitable satisfaction, his Holiness would accept him as his very dear son, and make terms with him, but he chose the agreement to be to the satisfaction of his most obedient and most beloved son the King of France, "*qui tulit pondus diei et æstus*."

Then as it was late his Holiness wished to dismiss the Consistory, and the cardinals were already standing up, when Cardinal St. Angelo [Rainuccio Farnese] reminded the Pope to be pleased

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to appoint as coadjutor of Cardinal Durante in his bishopric of Brescia, his (Durante's) nephew. The Pope thanked him for the remembrance, and the appointment was made thus standing, with many praises of Cardinal Durante, and of this nephew of his; and Cardinal Pisani having sent me immediate notice of the fact, I went to him to learn farther particulars of it, which confirmed the afore-said things done in Consistory. He added, that he having chosen to maintain the validity (*diffendere*) of the "*accesso*" of Brescia conceded to the Reverend Priuli,* by saying that your Serenity had the grant of this grace in the time of Julius III. [1550, February 8, to 1555, April 30] in Consistory, with the consent of Cardinal Durante; the Pope got into a rage with him (*s'era alterata con lui*), saying that no one was to dare, either for himself, nor for others, nor for any sovereign whatever, to speak to him about "*accessi*," as he knew that in the whole course of his Pontificate he had never done anything better than to abolish this diabolical invention and operation (*questa inventione et operatione diabolica*), and that by his repealing what had been done in Consistory at the suit of the Signory of Venice, and, with the consent of the Bishop, Cardinal Pisani might assure all those who had "*accessi*" that there was no hope for them (*che 'l cardinal volea chiarir tutti c' havessero accessi di non potere sperare cosa alcuna*).

Cardinal Medici,† who in all matters evinces great affection for your Serenity, sent for my secretary on the morrow, and told him he regretted seeing the coadjutorship of Brescia conferred on the nephew of Cardinal Durante, and that that church should be taken away from the reverend Priuli, but that it was a satisfaction to him to know that neither your Serenity,‡ nor I in your name, had performed any office against the "coadjutorship" or in confirmation of the "*accesso*," as it would have been of no use, owing to the Pope's determination not to change his mind in this matter, let happen what may, whilst a protest might have compromised the Signory's dignity; whereas, they not having remonstrated as a sovereign, and still less Priuli for his personal interest, a demand may be made under another Pope, for the repeal of the coadjutorship and the confirmation of the "*accesso*," which will easily be granted; but had the demand been made at present it would assuredly neither have been admitted, nor would there have remained so wide a field for its concession by a future Pope.

Cardinal Medici also said that the coadjutorships (*coadiutorie*) and the "*accessi*," though different in word are in fact alike, as both one and the other signify to give a successor to a bishop now living, and that there have been many Popes who more willingly conceded the "*accessi*" than the "*coadiutorie*"; adding, "Your Cardinal Pisani did his duty by sustaining (*sostener*) the '*accessi*,' but was

* Monsignor Alvise Priuli, the bosom friend of Cardinal Pole, whom he accompanied to England, and was residing with him at Lambeth when Bernardo Navagero wrote this letter from Rome.

† Gian Angelo de' Medici, who, on the 25th or 26th December 1559, succeeded Paul IV., with the title of Pius IV.

‡ The reigning Doge was Lorenzo Priuli.

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not allowed to speak and had a sharp reproof from the Pope." The secretary thanked Cardinal Medici for what he had been pleased to communicate to him, and for the affection displayed by him towards your Serenity, which increases daily, and for which you would be most grateful.*

Rome, 18th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 18.
(2nd Letter.)

938. The SAME to the SAME.

To-day at audience I told the Pope that according to your promise your Serenity, besides writing to your ambassador with King Philip, had earnestly exhorted the ambassador Vargas to write not only to his Majesty but also to the Duke of Alva, he Vargas having lately come from the court, where the King assured him that he had nothing more at heart than to be reconciled to the Pope, and to serve and honour him and to give his Holiness every satisfaction, so that you hoped that this peace which you had so long solicited might take effect, being certain that from his wish for quiet and for the welfare of Italy he would through his prudence extirpate whatever might impede so holy an operation. The Pope replied, "Should the Almighty vouchsafe to have compassion on Christendom, regardless of our sins and those of the people, it seems that the road is now opening for us to confer the greatest benefit that can be desired on the Christian world; as to take this prodigal son into favour would be a trifle in comparison with our need, and he who could say that we did so at the cost of breaking with the King of France, we should consider him a devil (*lo reputaressimo un diavolo*), for we must maintain this one and endeavour to recover that other one in order to make a general peace, lest through the war between these two they play the game of Sultan Soliman (*non facciamo il giuoco de Turco*), and give him the opportunity by means of his great power (as known to your Lordship) to swallow up all of us alive. God has shown us that we must take this road, and we shall therefore caress the King of France in every possible way; we have sent him that lad of ours (*quel nostro putto*), nor will we omit any opportunity for gratifying him, to keep him to his duty (*per contenerlo in uffitio*), both to avoid appearing ungrateful for the recent benefits received, as also to be enabled to keep him my friend, and by reconciling him to that other one (*con quell' altro*) induce them to make the universal peace, which we think we might easily accomplish if one and the other of them acted towards us like obedient children, and because their states and kingdoms are so distressed and exhausted that they could not be in worse condition; so they desire rest, and were a Pope to interpose, each of them could in honour sacrifice a trifle, as they might always say they did so, to obey one to whom God has delegated the power to command them. And then should either of the two remain obstinate, and

* Cardinal Durante, Bishop of Brescia, survived until the end of December 1557, and by a missive from the Senate to the Ambassador Navagero, dated 16th October in that year, it is seen that the Pope's good opinion of the Bishop's nephew was not shared by the Republic, who thought much more highly of Cardinal Pole's friend, Alvise Priuli,

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should we turn against him the weapons which Christ has given us, and unite with the other obedient one, and call all the Christian princes against him who fails to confer so signal a benefit on Christendom, we should make him do anything; and we should then call you likewise, and if you came not we should pout upon you (*vi voltaressemo il grugno*); because Christendom being pacified the forces might be turned against the common enemy, and the undertaking made with little toil; and the cost being divided amongst so many, every one would bear it willingly, as each would disburse but a small sum, whereas at present each individual prince enervates and despoils himself to maintain armies on his own account. And in order that you may advise the Signory, Magnifico Ambassador, of the course pursued by us to arrive at this desired end of universal peace, you must know that as we choose to give every satisfaction to the King of France, so will we not fail opening the way for King Philip to enable him to give effect to what he has so often said by word of mouth, and as written by him lately to certain cardinals (as we told you the other day), about his wish to serve, honour, and satisfy us.

"It chanced (*è occorsa*) that the realm of England having resented (*resentito*) the repeal made by us of the legation held by Cardinal Pole (for the causes already mentioned), and the Queen having willed to beseech us (*volendone supplicare*) to restore the legateship in that kingdom,* and the King being then there, they wrote together; we having previously warned her ambassador [Sir Edward Carne] that so long as the Queen's cause was separated from that of Philip, she should receive all honour and favour from us, whereas to him, as a heretic, and who for his demerits is 'deprived,' though not by proclamation (*seben non 'declamato'* (sic)), of his realms and states, no grace whatever could be granted; so this ambassador before reading the letter to us made an apology, saying that as the King was in the kingdom they could not write otherwise than together, and that he prayed us not to be angry on this account (*a non n'alterar per questo*). We, to exercise our pity (*pietà*), received the letter signed by both of them, and told the ambassador that at any rate we would gratify the Queen's wish by re-establishing the legation in that kingdom; and as we have to treat great and important affairs, and being unable for the present to call a council, we purpose (*designamo*) doing a thing equivalent to it, *et habere senatum nostrum frequentem*: we have made a decree for all the Cardinals to come and reside at Rome, as they are bound to do, including amongst them Cardinal Pole.

"And it not seeming to us for our dignity to reconfirm the legation (*ritornar la legatione*) in that person whom we had so deprived of it, besides certain other respects which for the present we conceal; and as to send a legate from hence without experience of affairs there would not be to the purpose, the Majesty of God

* In date Rome, 10 June, it is seen that the letters of King Philip and Queen Mary, demanding the restitution of the legateship to Cardinal Pole, were dated 26th, 27th, and 28th May. The King arrived in England from Flanders on the 20th March. (See Machyn, p. 129.)

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reminded us (*ci ridusse a memoria un santo huomo*) of a holy man, an English Franciscan friar observant, heretofore elected Bishop of Salisbury,* who when that kingdom was schismatic, fled to this city in order not to stay amongst those impious people; and here at the time when we were head of the Inquisition, an office conferred on us by Pope Paul, who gave us the assistance of such cardinals as we asked of him, he Petow came to our house daily to give us many valuable hints (*a ricordarne molte buone cose*), and to inform against certain rouges who sinned in heresy (*et a scoprire alcuni tristi che pecavano in heresia*); so knowing him to be good and more than moderately learned, and in favour with the Queen, for at that time he often received letters from and wrote many to her, and had been her confessor, as we believe him to be even now; without saying anything about this either to the ambassador or to anyone else, we at the last Consistory proposed him for cardinal and legate in that kingdom, having first stated the reasons which moved us to this. And we declare to you, Magnifico Ambassador, that neither during the whole time of our being cardinal, nor since our having become Pope, did we ever perhaps see a thing so much to the general satisfaction as this one was, which proves to us that their minds were disposed to such ready consent by the pure will of God (*il che ne fa conoscere esser stata pura volontà di Dio che dispose le loro menti a consentire così prontamente*). We shall now despatch the brief (*hora faremo l'espeditione*), and as there were doubts whether we ought to send a reply to the letters of Philip and of the Queen, addressing it to both of them, we referred the matter to two of our cardinals that they might tell us the reasons why we should not write to King Philip; but in the midst of this debate, God inspired me to write to both of them to increase Philip's wish to be reconciled to us, if he in fact wishes to give satisfaction, as written by him, and as he has so often said, *et agere fructus dignos pœnitentiæ*.

"When this letter, which will be very important, is composed, we shall give you a copy of it for transmission to the Signory, from our wish to communicate all our affairs to them; so that from this and from the other things which we have communicated to you from day to day, they may know that we are on the road to conclude a universal peace, which grace, should it be granted us by the Almighty, *qui potens est in cœlo, in terrâ, in mari, et in omnibus abissis*, it would be the best day ever witnessed by Christendom. We are inclined towards the peace with Philip, not indeed from being blind to the fact that to leave him with so many kingdoms is very perilous for Italy, and that one day when his foot is well in the stirrup (*quando habbi fermato il piè in staffa*), and when it

* "*Frate di S. Francesco d'osservanza eletto già Episcopo Alboronense*" (sic). The Pope does not say *when* this election took place. In Latin, Salisbury is *Sarisburia* or *Serviodunum*; but in Haydn's "Book of Dignities" (p. 370, ed. 1851), where there is a list of the Bishops of Salisbury, it appears that in 1539 John Salecott, *alias* Capon, was translated from Bangor to Salisbury, and died in *October* (sic) 1557, when Peter Petow, Cardinal, was appointed to this see by the Pope; but the Queen would not allow him to enter the realm (sic); and on the 14th October 1558 Francis Mallet was nominated by the Queen, but set aside on her death, November 17th following."

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shall suit him, he will choose to give law, which also concerns your Republic. Bear in mind what we tell you; we are old and shall depart hence one of these days when it please God, but the time may come when you will know that we told you the truth, which may God grant that it do not prove to your detriment.

"Both are barbarians (*sono barbari tutti due*), and it would be well for each of them to stay at home, so that in Italy there should be no other tongue than our own (*che non fusse in Italia altra lingua che la nostra*). But as this cannot be done, the lesser evil would have been for one son of the King of France to be King of Naples, and another Duke of Milan, as it would have been so contrived as in a few years to render them Italians; this province being thus restored to its former harmony and counterpoise (*nella sua prima armonia e nel contrapor*), before the entry of that fire which is still consuming it; but this not being in our power we turn to what presents itself to us now, most especially being unable to deny peace to him who asks it of us. The conclusion is that if Philip will give us suitable satisfaction, and heal the wounds inflicted by him, we will receive him as a good son, without losing this other one, as it would subsequently prove a good measure whereby to reconcile them to each other." I said that the Pope's prudence and piety would well find a way to this glorious result of peace, &c.; and after alluding to the suppression of Cardinal Triulzi's legateship at Venice, and other local business, I took leave.

Rome, 18th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 18.

Original
Letter Book
(3rd Letter),
Venetian
Archives.

939. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Concerning the "*accesso*" of Brescia, besides what I write in the public letters, *Cardinal Pacheco* has been heard to say that the repeal of the "*accessi*" was decreed by his Holiness, more for the reverend Priuli than for others, and the Pope told certain cardinals that in the house of Cardinal Pole, where there are so many infected persons talking of heresy, no one is more so than Priuli and *the said Cardinal's agent*.

Cardinal Pacheco says that they are now drawing up the process against the reverend Priuli, and that if by bad luck it had been chosen to perform any office with the Pope for the confirmation of the "*accesso*," his Holiness, who suspects the city of Brescia, and is above all suspicious of the bishop elect, would have given vent to some of those expressions which he is wont to use without respect, and would thus have caused discontent to your Serenity and eternal infamy to the reverend Priuli, without its producing any effect whatever. For becoming considerations I did not deem it well to write these words to the public (*publico*), but on the other hand I think it my duty to notify them to your most excellent Lordships.

Rome, 18th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.
June 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

940. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The mission of 4,000 foot soldiers to Scotland is confirmed, but as M. de Vassy is to be sent with 1,000 infantry to garrison Guise, they will be under the command of M. de Sané (*sic*). *They have also sent to Scotland to persuade the nobility there (quelli signori del regno) to wage war on England, and to raise for that purpose 15,000 Scottish infantry, to be paid by his most Christian Majesty, but the money has not yet been remitted.* The Count Rhinegrave,* who is bringing the Germans, has come to the court postwise, having left them on the road, and he reports them to be 27 "ensigns" (*insegne*), each "ensign" being 300 strong, and 600 "pistolers" (*pistoletti*), and they will muster on the 22nd instant at Fò (*sic*) [Laye or Reffroy ?] near Toul in Lorraine. The French troops likewise continue marching, but as yet I do not hear of any decision about the mode of marshalling the army, whether all in one body, or part in Champagne and part in Picardy; so the commander-in-chief has not yet been appointed although it is heard for certain that it will not be the King of Navarre, his most Christian Majesty choosing him to go to his own state to guard and secure its frontiers against Spain; and I hear that no decision will be made about the said army until they see what the enemy's tactics are, whereby they will regulate their own. News has come that the English troops are already beginning to cross the Channel, and that the most serene Queen had sent for the French ambassador resident with her, and dismissed him, before he received the order from his most Christian Majesty to take leave.

In my letter of the 6th ult. I wrote to your Serenity what I had heard about the negotiation between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva when they prolonged the truce, many of which particulars have been confirmed to me from another quarter, with this in addition, that when the Siennese withdrew into Montalcino and made the donative of their liberty and dominion (il donativo della loro libertà et dominio) to the most Christian King, they did so at the persuasion of his Holiness, whose instrument for the accomplishment of this was the Archbishop of Sienna, to which effect the Pope made him governor of Rome, he being desired to exhort the said Siennese to form this resolve, and being perhaps ignorant of its tendency. In the meanwhile, according to the treaty of peace negotiated by Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Alva promised that King Philip would give (the Duke of Paliano?) Sienna, together with such part of that state as was in his Majesty's hands. So when Julio Orsini was sent hither, apparently about the affair of the peace, and to give account of what had taken place at the said conference, he was in fact charged to tell the King of France that the said Siennese of Montalcino, having given him their liberty, the Pope prayed his most Christian Majesty to confer that state on the Duke of Paliano, in like manner as the King of England was content to give him Sienna, with the rest of the territory. But the

* John Philip, Count of Salm. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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most Christian King, either because he did not think fit to take the state from the Siennese to give it to others who might be less staunch to him, or else because it in fact seemed to him an ungenerous act, after having defended this liberty of that unfortunate republic with his forces, that he should then give it himself into the hands of one who was to place it under the yoke, answered Julio Orsini that to deprive the Siennese of their liberty seemed to him unfitting, as they had not deserved it from his most Christian Majesty, but that in every other matter he would gratify the Pope and all his kinsfolk, &c.; and to deprive his Holiness entirely of all hope he had the Siennese told that he accepted the gift, but would give it them back another time (as I then wrote), that they might enjoy their liberty.

Rheims, 18th June 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 19.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

941. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday Marshal Strozzi departed for France with the Marquis, the son of the Duke of Paliano, embarking at Civitavecchia, the tears, or rather cries and howls (*anzi stridi et ululati*), of the Lady Duchess his mother [Violante Garlonia] and of the child (*del figliuolo*) being most grievous, and Cardinal Caraffa accompanied them as far as l'Isola.

The French are still quartered at San Benedetto delle Grotte, Marrano, and other places about Ascoli, the Duke of Alva remaining at Giulia Nuova.

Cardinal Morone, wishing to celebrate mass in Castle St. Angelo, was desired to abstain from doing so, being in like manner forbidden to hear it; and moreover on *Corpus Christi* day, when the procession had to pass by his house, his attendants were not permitted to furnish it with tapestry, nor to display his armorial bearings, like all the other cardinals.

The Pope having refused the 100,000 crowns offered by the Roman people in lieu of the tax of one per cent. on real property, his Holiness has now accepted from them 130,000 crowns, and it is suspected that they will not choose church property to be included in this sum, such they say being the will of Consistory. Two delegates (*ambasciatori*) have arrived from Bologna, one for the nobility, the other for the people, to complain of this insupportable tax, which they would pay had they not paid so much of late that nothing remains for them to disburse.

The ambassador from Florence tells me that he has had a reply from the Duke of Alva to his letter about the peace, but not a word does he say about the ambassador's hint that it would be well to send hither an envoy to ask it of the Pope. Alva also enclosed a letter from himself to the Duke of Florence. All this he communicated to Cardinal Caraffa, who was pleased with this demonstration on the part of the Duke of Alva, and requested the ambassador to forward the two letters to the Duke of Florence by an express. The ambassador also told me that he did not despair of the adjustment,

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though now that the young Marquis (*il marchesino*) has been sent to France, the majority have little hope; and he then continued, "I can conceal nothing from you. The other day, when talking with the Pope about this peace, it seemed to me to comprehend that everything might easily be arranged provided his Holiness could assure the Imperialists that he would not fail them, and I having told the Pope that in this would the difficulty consist, he, after walking up and down his chamber twice, said, 'Ambassador, we are 81 years old, nor have we ever broke faith towards anyone; we neither will nor can we give them any greater security than our word.'" Thereupon the ambassador wrote to the Duke of Florence that if the Pope gave the Imperialists a written assurance, undersigned, moreover, by Cardinal Caraffa, they ought to be satisfied with it, and not require anything farther, as were the Pope to choose to break his own word and that of his nephew, by so much the more would he fail to observe any other sort of promise and assurance. The ambassador then said to me, "When the Pope told me that he could not make peace without the King of France, I answered him that he must first consider what is for his own benefit, and then ponder that of others, quoting the vulgar proverb that the shirt sets closer than the doublet."

Rome, 19th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

942. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King, with the court, arrived here on the day before yesterday, and yesterday I communicated to him the summaries contained in your Serenity's letters of the 2nd and 10th ult., for which he returned the usual thanks, remarking that Sultan Soliman was now reduced to such a state by age and infirmities that he could not live long, and that on his death there would be no lack of much dissension amongst the sons.* After much conversation on this topic, his Majesty, after a short silence, said that the Duke de Guise had been slightly indisposed, but recovered by means of some aperient medicine, and returned to the army; and when I asked if he was marching, his Majesty said, "He has not marched in advance since he crossed the Tronto, and the Duke of Alva is on the other side, nor will he move from his strong position (*del suo forte*), and he does his duty." He then added, "On the day before yesterday Novaglia arrived, having been sent to me by M. de Guise to urge the levy of Switzers, but on the road he met Mendoza, who is going with the money to raise them, and they will be soon in Italy." I inquired whether the army would halt until the arrival of the said Switzers. His Majesty said, "I do not believe so" (*non credo*); and I continued, "On commencing his march what road will he take?" His Majesty said, "I do not know; M. de Guise will do what may seem to him most beneficial;" and when I said that I heard it discussed how if, owing to the need of the Duke of

* Sultan Soliman died on the 30th August 1566, after a reign of 46 years, at the age of 76. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, p. 414, ed. Paris, 1770.)

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Ferrara, or from any other cause, he removed himself to a distance from the Pope's service (*si allargasse dal servizio del Papa*), his Holiness would remain scantily provided, the King rejoined, "This will never come to pass that the Pope should remain deserted."

I inquired whether his Holiness was raising troops. "Yes" (said the King), "he has raised 4,000 Italians, who will be sent to M. de Guise, and three of the Swiss cantons have promised him 3,000 infantry, but one of them retracted, so he will only have 2,000." I asked if they were raised. His Majesty said, "Not yet;" adding, "His Holiness has imposed that tax of one per cent. on 'capital' (*sopra li capitali*), and I hear it will yield him a considerable sum of money." I said, "In truth, Sire, although the Pope is upwards of 80 years old, he shows great heart and intrepidity in all his troubles." The King replied, "That is a fact; he is a terrible old man, nor does he spare anyone, and sometimes even about me he is as abusive as he can be, but when his fit of passion is over he listens to everyone, and no longer seems the same person."

His Majesty then continued, "What think you of the arrest, of Cardinal Morone?" I said that it seemed to me a great affair so eminent a cardinal being universally esteemed. His Majesty rejoined, "According to report he is sure to be Pope, and, although an Imperialist, the truth must be spoken, so this arrest seems to me very important, but as yet I am not able to ascertain the cause of it. It is indeed said to be on account of religion, and that he did not believe in the Sacrament, and that he now offered to recant, but the Pope is not satisfied, and says that he chooses to punish him; but I do not know whether there is any other cause besides this one. It is also said that the Pope means to make a fresh promotion of cardinals;" and when I said that "I had heard so, and at the suit of your Majesty," he replied, "I do not know it; these things have been often said."

I then asked his Majesty if the reports in circulation about the offers made by King Philip's ministers to the Pope to make peace with him were true, and whether in fact an adjustment might be hoped for. The King said, "Such are the reports, but whether they really mean to conclude or not, that I am unable to solve, for they make the largest offers in the world without ever coming to any result." I asked if it was true that they had offered Sienna? His Majesty said, "It is perfectly true, but they wanted to keep the citadel in their hands, as they are doing by Parma, to which the Pope will not consent, and I have seen the agreement as it was negotiated at the conference between Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva." His Majesty then said that the Marquis of Pescara was having Guastalla fortified, to harass Brescello (*Bressel*), a place belonging to the Duke of Ferrara, but that the Duke will soon be so well armed that he will not have any cause whatever for apprehension. I inquired what amount of Switzers were going to his Excellency. His Majesty said, "4,400, and 600 Grisons, and the Duke is raising another 1,000 on his own private account, besides which, by this time, he has a good number of Italian troops in marching order." He then said, "I believe Marshal Brissac to be

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still under Cuneo, but I am much surprised at not having had letters from him since many days, and they write to me from Lyons that not even there was there any advice, which makes me suppose that the Marshal is occupied with some undertaking about which he will not allow any news to come until it be completed."

I asked his Majesty what advices had come from England, and he replied, "It is said that the King will soon depart, bringing with him, according to report, 10,000 men, including horse and foot; but yesterday I spoke with one who came thence, and he told me they will not be more than 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse, of those light lancers of theirs (*de quelle sue lanzette*), which are not of much importance; but it is a great thing that that Queen should have despatched a herald to me without having ready the supplies required for the execution of what she sent to give me notice by word of mouth."

I inquired what forces his Majesty was sending to Scotland. He said, "To tell you the truth I shall send according to the need; 2,000 men are already there, and they will be followed by another 2,000 or 3,000." I asked if his Majesty intended to raise any amount of Scottish soldiery. He said, "Should the Queen of England bestir herself, I shall not fail to make that provision, and others also, but hitherto nothing of importance is heard, neither in Flanders until now has King Philip disbursed money for more than 10 "ensigns" of German troops, which are yet on their march towards Flanders, as mine are also, they being 30 "ensigns," numbering about 12,000 infantry, who are to make their muster this day, and the Gascons in like manner are drawing near; and I must tell you what took place with these Germans now on their march. For some six days mine travelled together with those of King Philip, in a disbanded manner, and on arriving at the place where they were to part company, mine coming towards France and the others going in the direction of Flanders, they came to blows and fought, some of them being killed, and the victors carrying off the vanquished, which having taken place with many of the companies, some of mine compelled some of those of the enemy to come hither, and when they had the upper hand they made mine follow them."

I asked where the main body (*la massa*) of the army would assemble. His Majesty said, "The enemy seem to intend mustering in Flanders, in which case I shall do the like in Picardy; if not, I shall do so in the same direction as that in which they also make their muster." I inquired whether his Majesty had determined to join the army (*di andar in essercito*). He said, "About this I shall be guided by circumstances, nor can I as yet decide;" and the conversation ending thus, I then told his Majesty that your Serenity had appointed as my successor the most illustrious Messer Giovanni Michiel, lately returned from his embassy to England, adding such tribute as due to his great worth and ability. The King replied that he should always be glad to see him, both on your Serenity's account and also by reason of his own qualities as mentioned by me.

The cause of the halt made by M. de Guise is kept more secret than I have ever yet known any matter at this court to be concealed, and

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all I have been able to elicit is that he sent Marshal Strozzi to Rome to treat with the Pope to place some security in his hands, and I hear mention made of Ancona or Civitavecchia, on which terms he offered not to fail in his defence, and it is said that afterwards the Marshal was to come hither ; but this discourse has cooled, and when I asked the King about it, he told me that it was true it had been reported, but that subsequently they had no farther advice whatever on the subject. Here the suspicion increases more and more of the Pope's being in close treaty for an agreement, and that it is perhaps not far from being settled, which was one of the causes for the retreat of the army, from doubt of being able to withdraw it in safety should the Pope have made terms, as already written by me to your Serenity. Before the news came of their having crossed the Tronto there was much suspense about what might have happened to them, it being known that in the field the Duke of Alva had the upper hand (era superiore).

Compiegne, 25th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

943. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I was with the Count de Feria yesterday evening, and having said to him what seemed fitting to me in favour of the peace, I found him very well disposed, but it seems to me that the King's disposition is greater than that of the ministers (che in altri), so I infer that the offices performed with his Majesty will profit more than those done with others. In this conversation with the Count several things of importance passed which I think it necessary for your Serenity to know. The first is that the difficulty about the peace with the Pope limiting itself to the security of the kingdom of Naples, I endeavoured adroitly to ascertain the nature of this security required by them ; and although the Count was very reserved, saying that matters are not yet so far advanced as to admit of discussing the particulars of the security, I nevertheless think I comprehended that they will not be satisfied with any sort of promise made to them by his Holiness, even if guaranteed by hostages, but that they will insist on Paliano, though they would indeed be content with your Serenity's taking upon yourself to secure it to them without anything further, but they do not think they can hope for this, although they desire it.

Another thing the Count said to me when speaking about the King's wish for the peace of Italy, was that his Majesty very well knows that war in Italy is contrary to his interest, for if he loses, his states are lost, and if victorious he conquers nothing ; and that knowing your Serenity's bias in favour of peace, the King was always of opinion to form a closer union with you, and often attempted it at several times and by various means ; for he manifested this his will (volontà) to the most noble my predecessor, both through his counsellors and with his own lips, and for this purpose he sent express to your Serenity Martin Alonso de los Rios ; and

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by commission from his Majesty, Don Ferrante Gonzaga spoke on the subject to the most noble Messer Steffano Tiepolo. These overtures being made at a time when war had not yet been moved against him in Italy, but when he was at peace, and at present when he has no longer any dread of war, it is evident that neither from cupidity, nor fear, nor inconsiderately, does he seek this union, but from his sole thought for peace and quiet, as his Majesty knows that when allied with your Serenity all the princes of Italy will keep quiet, and no one either Italian or alien will dare to sow garboil (metter bravaglio) in Italy; whereas seeing that your Serenity does not decide, his Majesty was compelled to purchase the friendship of other Princes, implying I believe Duke Ottavio [Farnese] and the Duke of Florence, having given Piacenza to the one, and being about to give . . . * (Sienna?) to the other. On this he expatiated at great length, coming to the conclusion that as the peace was desired and sought by your Serenity, so ought you to consent to this union, which is the best and most certain remedy whereby to introduce and preserve it (il migliore et più certo rimedio per introdurla et conservarla). He likewise repeated to me almost precisely what the King had said to me the day before, that your Serenity ought to rejoice at his having the Milanese in his hands, because it is in the hands of a prince your very great friend, and who is most intent on peace and moderate in all his desires, which made me believe that his Majesty likewise spoke to me to this end, though he did not express himself so clearly.

I endeavoured several times adroitly to turn this conversation, but it was not possible, for his Lordship chose to say all he had on his mind before he allowed me to speak. When he finished I said that I had no other order from your Serenity than to perform an office with his Majesty in favour of the peace, and that I spoke of it with his Lordship as of what he ought to attend to for the benefit of the most serene King, and for his glory; and with regard to these other negotiations I had no notice, and therefore could not answer him anything positive, save that your Serenity's friendship with this most serene King is true and sincere, as proved by many loving facts, both old and new, with regard both to the Emperor and his Majesty during so many years, and that in like manner as King Philip is disposed towards peace, so is your Serenity likewise, this being very evidently proved by facts, forming the true union of mind and will, and not either of words or of writings, and being directed to that end to which all good princes ought to aspire, viz., peace, to which topic I thus returned. Lest he should think that I intended to write this conversation to your Serenity (it seeming well to me to avoid entering upon such a matter as much as possible), I said I would write that, as hoped and desired by me, I had found his Lordship very well inclined towards the peace. He answered me that it was most true, and that for this reason he had spoken about coming to a closer understanding,

* Cipher in MS. corroded.

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talking with me confidentially, as he is accustomed to do, and not by any command he had from the King. I comprehended that he was not satisfied with my reply, and that he would have wished me to show greater warmth about this his desire; but I suspect that at my next audience the King will speak to me on the subject, so I pray your Serenity of your wisdom to give some light about this, lest I err in my darkness (*accidè che io non erri nelle mie tenebre*). In the meanwhile, if spoken to, I will limit myself as much as possible to general expressions, being of opinion that in such a negotiation this is the best course, until I receive certain advice of your Serenity's will.

London, 25th June 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher throughout, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 26.
Venetian
Archives.

944. MOTION made in the SENATE by the SAGES of the COUNCIL and the SAGES for the MAINLAND for a Letter to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome.*

By your letter of the 18th instant we learn that his Holiness has given, as coadjutor in the bishopric of Brescia to Cardinal Durante, a nephew of his right reverend Lordship. This act (*cosa*) having caused us such indignation (*dispiacer*) as you of yourself may imagine, we, with the Senate, charge you to go to his Holiness and tell him that, although we had heard some months ago of the provision made by him to repeal all the "*accessi*," we nevertheless would not have anything said to him then, as we could not believe it, and, on the contrary, we considered it certain that, in this general repeal there was not to be included the especial favour of the "*accesso*" to the said bishopric of Brescia, conceded to our Signory by Julius III. in the person of the Reverend D. Alvise di Prioli, one of the four Venetian noblemen who, at his Holiness' request, were nominated by us, with the Senate. But now, when we hear that a coadjutor has been appointed to the said bishopric, we cannot but feel great indignation (*dispiacer grande*), as the Pope thus annuls the favour which, for the important and necessary respects then declared by us, was reasonably conceded us in Consistory by a former Pontiff. Although, after the death of Cardinal Andrea Cornaro, who held that see, the said Pope Julius thought fit to confer it on Cardinal Durante, his Holiness nevertheless would not gratify his right reverend Lordship without giving us assurance that after his death the said bishopric should revert to one of our patricians. You will beseech his Holiness to maintain our Signory in possession of the aforesaid favour for the necessary and very important interests of our State, as our city of Brescia being a fortress of great consequence, it is necessary for us to have in it a

* Before this motion was made the Sage of the Council, the Procurator Grimani, and the Sage for the Mainland, Sebastian Venier, withdrew (*expulsis*), probably because they were related to Venetian Cardinals, but in the register no reason is assigned for their expulsion.

Concerning Cardinal Durante and the bishopric of Brescia, see "*Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli*" (vol. 5, p. 31, ed. Brescia, 1757), and letter dated Greenwich, 30th March 1558.

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bishop from our own bosom. All these things will, we doubt not, be taken into consideration by his Holiness, from whose goodness we hope that no difficulty whatever will be raised to this our just demand. Either before or after speaking about this to the Pope, if you think fit, mention it to Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano.

Put to the ballot, to send to the ambassador the copy of Cardinal Durante's letter presented to our Signory by his secretary, and of the reply made to him by the most serene Prince, for his (the ambassador's) instruction.

For the letter, 105.

Amendment moved by the Sages for the Mainland, Benetto Pesaro and Dominico Bollani.

Approve the letter now proposed, with the under-written addition : —“ And should his Holiness tell you that he has suspicion about the said Priuli's religion, you will answer him that you know that he has at all times been considered by us a religious person and of good life ; closing your discourse thus, that our Signory is certain that in like manner as Pope Julius III. granted us the aforesaid favour, so for the important and necessary respects which induce us to desire this, his Holiness will preserve it for us, that we, who are his devoted and reverent children, may remain content and satisfied.”

For the amendment, 78. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

June 26 ?
Venetian
Archives.
No date.

945. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the “*censo*”* was discussed in the Congregation General, the Cardinals-canonists said it might be accepted, under protest of its being *sine præiudicio caducitatis*, in which case the “*censo*” would be understood as received on account of all the “fruits” of the kingdom of Naples, which (King Philip having lapsed from the fief) devolved to the Chamber Apostolic ; but the Pope having said in Congregation that those who took part with these schismatics would be considered as their fellows, the Cardinals knowing his Holiness will, determined by their votes, that neither the tribute nor the hackney should be accepted.

On Thursday, although it was the festival of St. John the Baptist [24th June], the Pope called the Congregation of the Inquisition, and at his request Cardinal Puteo [*alias* Pozzo] attended it, notwithstanding his very serious indisposition. His Holiness informed them that he was about to reply to the letter written by the King and Queen of England (as mentioned by me on the 18th), and after greatly praising the Queen, he said he should address the letter to the King likewise, although he was in disgrace with God and this See, as from letters written by him to several Cardinals,

* In an omitted paragraph at p. 56 verso of Navagero's Letter Book, it is seen that on the 11th June 1557 the Duke of Alva wrote from the camp under Giulia Nuova to his uncle Cardinal San Giacomo, that King Philip had ordered him to pay the Pope the annual tribute for the kingdom of Naples, and to send him the hackney, and that the Pope would accept neither one nor the other.

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some sign of repentance (*recipiscenza*) was visible, so he would open the road whereby he might return to reconcile himself to God and His Vicar. The Pope did not say anything farther about the contents of the letter, but I have heard through a very good channel that Berengo, who writes it to them (*qual li scrive* (sic)), said to a cardinal that it would be better not to send it, as he suspects that instead of increasing King Philip's wish to demand the adjustment with his Holiness, it will produce a contrary effect.

The English Ambassador [Sir Edward Carne] has not yet despatched the courier who is going (*che viene* (sic)) about the affair of the legation, being unable to obtain a safeconduct from these Lords (*questi Signori*), who wished the said courier to convey their packet, to which (as written by me) the ambassador would not consent.

In the above-mentioned Congregation the Pope also said, that although he had appointed the four Cardinals for the affair of Cardinal Morone, that they may form the process, he chooses it to be seen by the whole congregation; the which Cardinals went into the Castle yesterday morning to examine his right reverend Lordship.

The agent of the most illustrious and right reverend Pole has told my secretary that amongst the writings of Cardinal Morone were two little treatises (*due operine*), the one "*De Sacramento*," the other "*De Bonis Ecclesiasticis*," in which he touched on the important points of freewill, of predestination, and of purgatory (*nelle quali tocca i passi importanti di libero arbitrio, de predestinatione et de purgatorio*).

The same person also said that there are advices from England, dated the 7th instant, purporting that on that day in London, war, by fire, sword, and bloodshed (*a ferro, sangue, e fuoco*), against the King of France was proclaimed there. It is not known how far this determination will please the Pope, nor whether it may make him change his opinions, including those which he is now having written to the King and Queen.

Rome, 26th June? 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 26.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

946. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at audience, when I requested the Pope to annul the bull appointing Paolo Lovo rector of St. Vio, after admitting the justice of my demand and promising compliance with it, he said, "God forgive these children of the devil who have prevented us from effecting the reform, which by this time would have been completed, for we were entirely devoted to it (*perchè v'eramo tutti dentro*), and at every Consistory we published some bull, and enforced its observance, not choosing to fall into the errors of our predecessors, who made their bulls with so many provisoes that they were vitiated before publication, by the words *non-obstante*;" and talking thus, his Holiness sent for Cardinal Trani and the reverend Berengo, and gave them such orders as necessary to cancel the bull appointing Lovo rector of St. Vio.

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After dismissing the Cardinal and Berengo, the Pope said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, that you may be able to advise the most illustrious Signory of the present important affairs, we tell you that we persevere in the purpose of receiving Philip, the prodigal son, into our favour (*accettare in gratia*), should he choose to return in fact, which may God grant, for as yet we see no other good sign than words, and fear they will persist as usual in justifying themselves before the world by vanities, and by sending to Venice and elsewhere, even to the Diet of the Switzers, and have it proclaimed that we fail to make the peace; and they lie (*e dicono la bugia*), because, as so often said by us, we are most ready to embrace him, should he come, and to pardon all the past offences. And in order yet more to open the road for him, we have answered the Queen of England's letter and his, as we told you we intended to do, and at the fitting moment we will give you a copy of it, as we wish a few days to elapse before exhibiting it, lest the copy arrive before the original; and because for a Pope to speak with one who is excommunicated and 'deprived,' is the bestowal on him of I know not what favour; and they can always avail themselves of that letter, which we made in such a way that we think it will do well, and so far from injuring us, will on the contrary, as we told you, open the road for his reconciliation to us, which we wish to be accomplished without our losing the King of France, as we told you heretofore, so that we may one day treat the universal peace; and for this reason we so studiously seek to entertain the one, as we in like manner toil to recover this other. For this purpose we sent him [the King of France] that lad (*quel putto*), for whom both the King and Queen [of France] wished, and he is a youth whose vivacity and intelligence surpass his years, as otherwise we should not have sent him; and we in the next place let him go the more willingly, under the guidance of Marshal Strozzi," whom he praised for valour, goodness, and prudence, preferring him to any other Italian for military matters, counsel, and fidelity; declaring that with regard to the peace, it is not to be told how much he desires the quiet of Italy, adding wonderful things about his obedience to the Pope's commands, as were his Holiness to tell him to go and present himself to the Duke of Florence, he is sure he would do so.*

Rome, 26th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

947. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The second fleet, which was expected from Spain, has arrived, bringing 1,500 Spaniards. Much is said about the money on board, but I nevertheless understand that for the account of the most Serene King it does not exceed 300,000 ducats, and is perhaps of less amount.

* Pietro Strozzi's father, Filippo, headed the conspiracy against Alessandro de Medici, whose successor Duke Cosmo having captured him, he destroyed himself in prison in 1538. Pietro Strozzi was killed at the siege of Thionville in 1558.

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The first fleet is returning to Spain, and will bring hither Don Ruy Gomez, with the rest of the supplies, about which I can say nothing certain, so variously are they reported. It is expected back in three weeks, when the English troops now being mustered will cross over to Flanders. I do not yet know what preparation has been made for ammunition and victuals, *nor can I ascertain it, which makes me believe that everything will not be ready so soon, those supplies being the principal ones, and requiring time; notwithstanding which* the most Serene King told me this evening that he shall depart hence speedily; and Don Ferrante Gonzaga was to arrive at Brussels yesterday.

The agent of Duke Ottavio [Farnese] came hither lately from Brussels, and spoke to the King immediately on his arrival. On the morrow he despatched an express to Italy, by whom I sent my last letters. *I have been told that Duke Ottavio will be governor general of the Milanese, and that this matter was already treated by the Duchess when she was here; but it was not made known to me whether he will have the government of the whole state, or only of the war department.* Although this advice is not so well grounded as possibly not to be false, there being most especially so many reasons to the contrary, I have not chosen to omit saying this much to your Serenity, who from other corroborative sources will be more easily able to learn the truth of it, and above all because the secret resolves of princes are sooner known on the spot where executed than in the place of their formation.

London, 27th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 27.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives
(2nd letter).

948. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have received two sets (*due mani*) of letters from your Serenity, the first, dated the 4th instant, containing the account of what was announced by Don Ferrante Gonzaga, and your Serenity's reply; the other of the 8th,* concerning the affair of the peace. Yesterday when I asked for audience of the King, it was not given me, his Majesty apologising on account of a slight indisposition, but I had it to-day, although this morning his Majesty did not appear in public as he usually does.

I began by executing the commissions received from your Serenity lately, reading the news-letters, and then narrating the affair of the galliot taken by the Proveditor of the Fleet, and its release for the gratification of his Majesty, requesting him to give efficacious orders prohibiting similar vessels from doing mischief (*a far danni*) in those seas. The King replied that his ambassador had given him notice of it, but that his occupations had prevented him from forming any resolve on the subject, though he would take the whole into con-

* See Deliberazioni Senato Register, page 96, date 7 June 1557.

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sideration as soon as he could, and would willingly do what was to be done for your Serenity's satisfaction.

I then spoke about the peace, performing the office enjoined me by your Serenity on that subject. His Majesty answered me that the courier he was expecting from Rome had not yet returned, which surprises him, but that he will soon be here, and on his arrival it will be seen what the Pope's will is, and whether he is inclined towards the peace as I had told him, and that your Serenity would know that his Majesty on his part would never fail (*non mancherà mai*). He said he had advices from his agents that the Cardinal Santa Fior, who has this negotiation in hand, does not find any inclination to make peace on the part of the Pope; and although at first, being driven by necessity, he had spoken about it, he nevertheless at present shows himself more harsh than ever (*più dura che mai*). To this I rejoined, that by your Serenity's letters I understood that our ambassador had spoken to his Holiness and found him well inclined to attend to the agreement, and that it must be considered certain that your Serenity would not write what you did not know to be true, but it might possibly be that on some fair account of his own, the Pope had not chosen so openly to declare his mind to others; adding that I knew it was unnecessary to pray his Majesty to incline towards the peace, as I had always seen him thus disposed, and had written many letters to your Serenity to that effect; but that I merely besought him to carry this his will into execution and advance this affair, from the settlement of which there would result the most precious thing that the world can have, namely, peace, that being also the most honourable to his Majesty, the most profitable for his subjects, and the most advantageous for Italy and all Christendom, and that the greater the difficulty to effect this the greater will his glory be, everything proceeding from his hands.

The King repeated to me that he had this wish, but that he could not form any decision until the return of the courier expected from Rome, and who, to say the truth, has not yet arrived, but I understand that from time to time his Majesty has very recent advices from Rome, and also from Venice, his last being dated the 15th, and they were brought by the same courier who brought mine of the 8th, so it would be no wonder should the Pope have changed his mind during that interval, and your Serenity's letters are too long on the road. Notwithstanding all this, the King seems well inclined, and he told me that by his order the Duke of Alva has sent to Rome to put the affair in course of negotiation (*per metter la cosa in negozio*). I remarked that when I said that by your good offices your Serenity would be ready to favour and aid this business, his Majesty, contrary to his custom hitherto, made me no reply; *nor did he drop any hint to me about the promise made by Don Ferrante Gonzaga, and still less would I be the first to mention it, but will obey your Serenity's order.*

London, 27th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.

June 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

949. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As a sequel to what I wrote on the 25th about Strozzi's going to Rome, I heard subsequently that after the Duke de Guise determined to retreat from the kingdom of Naples, he sent him to tell the Pope of this his resolve, which he was compelled to make, having no hope of succeeding in any enterprise, either to the honour or benefit of the league. The Pope immediately on hearing this sent to protest to his Excellency that his Holiness remaining thus abandoned, and a prey to his enemies, he therefore charged the Duke de Guise with all such loss and damage as might befall him (et perciò che li protestava de ogni danno et interesse che li potesse avvenire). The Duke on receiving this protest was doubtful what he ought to do, and determined to obtain fresh advice of the most Christian King's mind, so to gain time he sent Strozzi to tell the Pope again that the cause of his retreat was the impossibility of the undertaking, both because the places were very strong, as also because the Duke of Alva was his superior in the field; and, although M. de Guise might say that his Holiness had failed (non havea osservato), not only with regard to his contingent of troops, but also about the "privation" of the kingdom [of Naples], having neither made the promotion of Cardinals, nor sent the Duke of Paliano's son to France, as promised by him; yet nevertheless should the Pope really effect the mission of such troops as he was bound to contribute, as also the money for their pay, he M. de Guise was content to do what could be done for the benefit of the league; and that he prayed his Holiness to send Strozzi to his most Christian Majesty, that he might form such resolve as fitting about the execution of the enterprise (impresa), and that in the meanwhile he would halt with the army, prepared to defend his Holiness in any emergency. No other advice having been received subsequently, they are expecting Strozzi.

Having heard this from a person who has profound knowledge of the negotiation, I asked him what the King thought about the Pope's resolve. He answered me that his Majesty was certain the negotiation between the Pope and the King of England was far advanced, and that he thought his Holiness would conclude it, though should it not take effect, the King believed that it would not be the Pope's fault (che non haverebbe mancato dal Pontefice). When I asked him if his Holiness were unable to come to terms [with the King of England] what he could do, he replied, "Raise troops and send money to the camp, should he have any, but the most Christian King is very suspicious of his proceedings, and will no longer accept words." I rejoined, "Should the Pope have no ready money, as probable, may it not be already supposed that the most Christian King will abandon him?" My aforesaid friend replied, "In that case I do not believe that the most Christian King will desert his Holiness, but he will choose to make sure of what may happen" (vorrà essere sicuro delle cose che possono occorrere); adding, "The Duke de Guise might possibly remain in Romagna, and will perhaps choose to make sure of Ancona or some other place." I asked if anything had been said about this at present. He said, "No, the negotiation is

1557.

certainly not farther advanced than I have told you, but the most Christian King is so greatly dissatisfied with the Pope that he will no longer believe anything but deeds." He told me afterwards that it had been discovered that the Pope's designs were, not the kingdom of Naples (*che li disegni del Pontefice non erano il Regno*), but that his whole intention always had been to get Sienna, for which purpose he treated so much with the Duke of Florence, and that by his agreeing with the King of England it might be supposed the most Christian King would lose Montalcino and the other fortresses held by him in the Siennese territory, having very small means for succouring them, so that they must fall either into the hands of the aforesaid Duke or of the Pope, if by the agreement he might make with the King of England they should be promised him. His most Christian Majesty therefore remained in trouble, seeing that he had lost the hope of the Tuscan expedition, which, had the Pope proceeded differently to what he has done, was of very easy achievement.

Some 400 cavalry of the King of Spain having gone lately to garrison Bapaume whilst a certain part of the fortress which had fallen down was being rebuilt, when the work was completed they returned to their garrison at Bethune, and yesterday they made a foray in Picardy, which having come to the knowledge of the troops in Peronne, 400 men-at-arms went out to give battle, killing 100 of them and capturing as many more, and the rest having been put to flight, the French troops went back into their garrison. For the rest things in this quarter as yet pass very quietly, but the King has caused the whole of his stable department to come hither, and they go (*si vanno*) putting in order all the provisions usually made when his Majesty joins the army, the Constable doing the like, though hitherto it is not heard that his Majesty intends going, save in case the King of Spain also proceed thither. His most Christian Majesty has given free leave to Brittany and Normandy for as many ships as choose to put to sea, that they may openly assail all his enemies; and it is understood that a great number of vessels of every sort are already fitting out. The like is also said of the English, who have done much damage, and amongst the rest they landed in Normandy at a place called Cherbourg, where they sacked and burned a very rich abbey, carrying off all the friars as prisoners.

Five ambassadors have arrived from the Swiss Protestant cantons, viz., Berne, Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, and Basle, but they have not yet had audience of the King, nor is the cause of their coming known, it being merely supposed that their cantons have some dispute about religion.

Compiegne, 29th June 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 30.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

950. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday the ambassador from Florence had a courier from his Duke with the news of his having received Sienna in fief from

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King Philip on the conditions as by the articles, which have not yet arrived from the court; and his Majesty again tells the Duke to urge the Pope to make the agreement, letting his Holiness know that should he wish for peace he shall have it on such terms as he himself shall demand. Should he still choose to wage war, he might have too much of it, and unless it be now ended the Duke will no longer mediate, but attend to his own affairs. To-day the ambassador executed this commission with the Pope, who he says by word of mouth expressed his readiness to make peace, telling him to speak with Cardinal Caraffa; and for this reason, although the enemy are well nigh at the gates of Rome, and the least evil will evidently be the loss of the entire harvest hereabouts, I nevertheless delay the despatch of the present courier until to-morrow, in the hope of hearing the Pope's decision.

The said Florentine ambassador showed his Holiness some intercepted letters written by the Duke de Guise and the colonel of the Switzers to the Swiss cantons (*a quella nazione*), telling them that the government here (*questi signori*) are double-dealers (*doppij*), and that their agreement with the Imperialists will soon be manifested; he therefore exhorted the King's friends not to grant him any levy of troops; and, as written by me heretofore,* I heard this also from Cardinal Caraffa.

At the request of Cardinal Caraffa, the Cardinal "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza] sent his intimate attendant, Zuan Battista, a Milanese, to pray Marc' Antonio Colonna to abstain from ravaging the Roman Campagna, as similar operations, which would be bad at any time, because they bar the way to his obtaining pardon from the Pope, are much worse at present, when the agreement is being treated more stringently than ever.

According to the anticipations of the news-letters sent by me to your Serenity, Marc' Antonio Colonna attacked Valmontone, which surrendered yesterday, and he then went to Palestrina, which had been abandoned, except the citadel, where there were two companies. The enemy's quarters being only 20 miles from Rome, their cavalry advanced within a mile of Longezza, a place belonging to the Strozzi family, eight miles from this city. The Papal troops, numbering 1,000 foot and 300 horse, but all panic-struck, have retired to Tivoli, and Matteo Stendardo has been brought hither very ill of ague.

The Roman government (*questi signori*), having sent all their forces in that direction, intend the Roman people to defend Rome, and have made them muster 3,000 infantry of their militia (*ordinanze*), a medley of servants and shopkeepers, a measure which on former occasions proved itself more injurious than beneficial.

* This refers to an omitted paragraph in a letter dated 19th June (Original Letter Book, p. 57 verso), as follows: *dicendo, "Il Duca di Guisa al tempo che era entrato in diffidenza con noi, e voleva partire, scrisse all' huomo del Re co' Squizzeri, che 'l Papa era accordato con Imperiali a' danni del suo Re, e che facesse ogni opera che non potessero levar gente alcuna, forse dubitando che co' l giungere di questi in Romagna non se li serrasse la strada del ritorno, il qual capitolo di lettere m' è stato mandato da quel Colonnello di Squizzeri che fù qui, ma rengratio Iddio che non hanno potuto prohibirne a leva."*

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Cardinal Pacheco, having had letters from the King of England dated the 9th instant, was a long while with the Pope on Sunday and according to the report of a person to whom Pacheco made it known, he laid before the Pope the very great danger in which he finds himself, the troops of Marc' Antonio being at the gates of Rome, and the Duke of Alva having so considerable a force that there are about 70 galleys altogether, and troops, which in two days can be conveyed by him to any part of the Papal States he pleases. He also told the Pope that the Duke of Florence, owing to this fresh demonstration in his favour on the part of King Philip by giving him Sienna, will be compelled to do what his Majesty pleases; besides which, England is determined on war, as proclaimed throughout that kingdom. The Pope, after answering in his usual vague manner about peace, came also to some detail saying that were his own restored to him he would make peace, telling Pacheco to despatch a courier to the King to that effect. His right reverend Lordship was busy writing all yesterday, and after speaking a second time with the Pope, to ascertain his mind better, he will despatch the courier from England, who is still here, Sir Edward Carne (as written by me) never having been able to obtain the safe-conduct for him.

Then on Monday at 4 a.m. there arrived here postwise the Duke of Paliano, who went to dismount at the apartments of Cardinal Caraffa, and in the afternoon conferred with the Pope. His Excellency's coming seemed a momentous event. What has been heard, and what Marquis Montebello told my secretary, purports that he came to let the Pope know that the French army is almost entirely disbanded (*è quasi tutto sbandato*), the Duke de Guise having sent some 2,000 infantry to Ferrara, and a great part of the nobility having departed. He told the Duke of Paliano that he had not been able to remedy this untoward proceeding (*che esso non ha potuto remediare a questo inconveniente*), so that the Pope must provide for his affairs, in like manner as he Guise himself, and the few who remained with him (*perchè anco la sua persona con quelli pochi, che sono restati*). The Marquis added that the knot had got to the teeth of the comb (*che 'l groppo era pervenuto al pettine*), as was always said by him; that at present it will be necessary for the Pope either to make terms with the Imperialists, or that within a month from this time he must flee from Rome to Venice, or Avignon; and when he Montebello laid on the Duke of Paliano the blame of having broken off the negotiation for agreement, by stipulating with the Duke de Guise to send his son to France, Paliano replied that it was untrue that anything had been concluded by them there, but that Marshal Strozzi returned to the camp with this decision made by the Pope, nor could he Paliano oppose it. I went to-day to visit his Excellency, who told me that to-morrow evening, or on the following morning, he should go back to keep company with those French lords (*a stare in compagnia de quelli Signi Francesi*), whom he had left at Morano, together with the Duke de Guise in person, though they purposed shifting their quarters two miles in advance for change of air, and on

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account of the stench generated in the encampments of armies. The Duke of Alva's forces were posted on a hill near the Tronto, many men having died in their first quarters at Giulia Nuova.

The French Ambassador having, in the name of the Duke of Guise, offered Cardinal Caraffa a certain amount of cavalry to protect the Campagna against the forays of Marc' Antonio Colonna, his right reverend Lordship replied that it was unnecessary, as it would suffice Marc' Antonio Colonna to get in his own harvest without seeking to hinder that of others.

Rome, 30th June 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 1.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

951. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The servant of the Cardinal "Camerlengo," who took his letter to Marc' Antonio Colonna, has returned with the reply, to the effect that he is very desirous of peace, and will never impede a thing so holy, but that it was not in his power to desist from the undertaking now in hand, so he would send a courier to the Duke of Alva, and transmit his reply to the "Camerlengo," who sent Colonna's letter to Cardinal Caraffa, who is satisfied with his words, but not with his deeds, as at a late hour yesterday his cavalry carried off a great number of cattle within a mile of Rome. The said servant says that Marc' Antonio's army consists really of 2,500 Germans, good troops, and very well armed, 1,500 Calabrese, good soldiers, 1,000 peasants, and 500 horse, and that it is reinforced daily. The commanders, besides the Lord Marc' Antonio, are the Count Giovan Francesco da Bagno, Pompeo Colonna, son of the Signor Camillo, and Pompeo Tuttavilla, all young and injured men.

This morning Marquis Montebello told my secretary that last evening he was with his brothers the Cardinal and Duke, and said to them, "You tell me of the Pope's goodwill and yours towards the agreement, and that you have acquainted his Holiness with the condition in which this State finds itself, and with the small remaining amount of the French army, so I know not whence it proceeds that peace be not made, the Duke of Florence having promised that it will be effected entirely to the Pope's satisfaction; to which Cardinal Caraffa replied that the Imperialists did not yet come to any particular, and that the mediation of the Duke of Florence was not good, because he would wish to rid the Pope of the French entirely, in order more easily to make himself master of the fortresses held by them in Tuscany; and that were the negotiation in the hands of the Signory of Venice it might be concluded more willingly. The Marquis also said to the secretary that he fears there is some demon (*qualche diavolo*) interfering, to open the veins of this State, and to prevent the Pope and these others (*questi altri*) from seeing the extreme necessity to which they are reduced, with Marc' Antonio at the gates of Rome, and the Duke of Alva in such force on the confines of the March of Ancona.

For the sake of giving your Serenity more authentic information about the negotiation for peace, I sent my secretary to the Florentine ambassador, whom he found in bed with a violent attack of lumbago,

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brought on by the fatigue endured by him yesterday in obtaining audience of the Pope, and subsequently of Cardinal Caraffa. To see his Holiness he was compelled to go up and down the Vatican stairs ten times, and at length, choosing at any rate to confer with the Cardinal, it behoved him to go into the Pope's audience chamber, where Caraffa was with his Holiness, and thus, accompanying him through the palace to his own apartments, he had an opportunity for telling him what he wanted. After giving these details, the ambassador courteously and confidentially told the secretary the whole affair thus. After a long debate (*battaglia*), after demonstrating to his Holiness all the detriment and dishonour that may befall him through the war, and the advantage and glory which would result to him from peace (*che li resulterà della pace*); after convincing him of the goodwill of King Philip, and of his wish to be his Holiness' good son and servant, and to give him every satisfaction; and after having assured him that if he allows this opportunity to escape, his Duke [Cosmo de' Medici] will never more interfere in this matter, the Pope said a thing never previously uttered by him, that he was content to treat the terms of the agreement provided hostilities be now suspended (*sempre che si faccia opera ch' al presente si soprasseda dall' offesa*), and that the Duke of Alva and Marc' Antonio Colonna remain without advancing farther; and thus was it settled by Cardinal Caraffa likewise.

The ambassador added, "In ten days full powers will arrive from the court of King Philip for my Duke to treat and conclude, although even now he has so much in hand that he can promise largely, and I was already at liberty to assure his Holiness of such reverence and submission as he desires; and from what I can discover, King Philip merely requires the Pope to detach himself from his league with the French; not to become their enemy, but at the same time not to be their confederate. I sounded his Holiness about this, and he responded favourably. I also elicited another important article (*passo*), which is that of damages and indemnities; that provided the Pope get back all his own, he will let the King do as seems fit to him about the claims of papal subjects. The release from prison of those of the Emperor and King Philip will be demanded, because, as I wrote to Duke Cosmo, everything depends on disentangling this old man (*in disligare questo vecchio*) from the French, as eventually he will give whatever can be asked of him. And as I might be told that the Pope and Cardinal do not speak in earnest (*non parlano da vero*), but to avoid the danger now hanging over them, and in the meanwhile to get the reply from France, I reply, in the first place, that I believe they speak from the heart, and that even were they to deceive me, it would do me no harm, as at any rate this affair, as also their decision, must be cleared up; and thus will it be done at present, without any prejudice to King Philip, the truce not being made for many days, and in three days (in one way or another) the affair will be finished. Should they not have spoken in earnest, the deceit will fall upon themselves, as the Imperialists will always be in time to do their own work (*di fare il fatto loro*) when convinced that the Pope will not make peace.

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"I believe that my Duke, immediately on the arrival of the courier sent by me to him last night, will write to the Duke of Alva to stop Marc' Antonio Colonna, and to me to commence treating the conditions of the peace, and in the meanwhile the full 'power,' in his Excellency's person, will arrive (*venirà il mandato libero nella persona di sua Ecc^a*), and in ten days at the farthest we shall be sure of what the decision will be. You now know what no one else knows but the Pope, Cardinal Caraffa, and I (*Hora voi sapete quello che non sa altri, ch' el Pont., Car^{le} Caraffa, et Io*); tell it to the Lord Ambassador, praying him to write it to the most serene Signory with the utmost possible secrecy, because, were it to be divulged, besides my being ruined, and my Duke's having cause to remain dissatisfied with his Sublimity, it would confound the whole affair, because, were the French to know it, all their agents (*ministri*) here accredited to the Pope would rush to him (*correrriano*) and promise everything, even giving up Piedmont to come hither, and thus prevent him from making terms with the Imperialists, the French seeing clearly that this would be the heaviest blow that in these times could be received by them.

"I did not choose to tell this to Cardinal Pacheco when he asked me about it yesterday, as I know it would have been unseasonable, nor will the Pope give him more than general words (as he has done hitherto), so that Pacheco may send a courier to King Philip with account of his Holiness' good but indistinct will (*buona se ben general volontà*), which may nevertheless somewhat benefit the negotiation. I will also tell you that neither the Duke of Paliano nor Marquis Montebello are aware of this, nor will they know it so speedily, for the fact is that should the Pope wish to conclude the business, it must not be made known. Your most illustrious Republic is Italian, desirous of quiet for the See Apostolic, so it is well that they should know this, to enable them to commission their ambassadors to aid the business, which will be to the greatest possible benefit of Italy, and consequently of his Serenity."

The secretary thanked his Lordship for this very confidential communication, and assured him that it should be kept secret.

From what I write in the accompanying letter, proof is afforded of the truth of what the Florentine ambassador said, that the resolve formed with him by the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa is unknown to the Duke of Paliano and Marquis Montebello.

Rome, 1st July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(1st letter.)

952. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

As a supplement to what I wrote on the 27th, I now add that *I have been with Cardinal Pole and Don Antonio de Toledo, who is one of the most serene King's chief councillors*, both of whom confirm the fact of his Majesty's being very much inclined to make peace with the Pope, and that had his Holiness been of the same disposition a good peace might easily have been concluded by this time; *but the right reverend Legate attaches great importance to the arrest of Cardinal Morone (fa gran caso della retentione del*

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reverendissimo Morone), who had been appointed by the most serene King for this negotiation, and this seems a strong proof that the Pope will not have regard for any one who speaks to him in favour of peace. Advices have also been published *by the ambassador from Florence*, purporting that the Pope is intent on preparing money and reinforcing his troops, and that he threatens everybody and even your Serenity; uttering strange words about King Philip and his dependants, and showing his aversion to any thought for peace. In the midst of so many contradictory statements I find it difficult to defend myself, although I have the authority of your Serenity, who writes to me that your most noble ambassador [Bernardo Navagero], when exhorting the Pope to that effect, found him well inclined towards the peace, and disposed to accept a fair agreement; but these Lords (*questi Signori*) are so ill impressed, that it is hard to convince them of the truth of this.

I nevertheless when talking *with Cardinal Pole* about the affair of Cardinal Morone, said what I find to be the truth, that when Morone was arrested, the courier with the King's commission for him [to negotiate the peace] had not yet arrived, so it ought not to be inferred that he was persecuted on that account; and this greatly soothed *his right reverend Lordship*, who had almost despaired of the possibility of effecting this adjustment. I then adroitly attenuated the other charges, by telling *Don Antonio de Toledo* that what is said about [abusive] words and threats might be false, and not to be at all relied on, most especially as your Serenity writes that the Pope is inclined to make peace; and that the report of his providing money and reinforcements does not prevent it, as at one and the same time the Pope may well wish for peace, and that perhaps not seeing any evident sign of King Philip's intention his Holiness does not choose to abandon himself. *Don Antonio remaining well satisfied with this explanation* said that King Philip will certainly have to restore to the Pope all that he holds belonging to the Church; he will humble himself, will go down upon his knees and ask pardon, provided the Pope will open the door to him and not show himself his enemy, but his father; the King in like manner showing himself the Pope's obedient son, and requiring nothing else of him, except to be secure in his kingdom of Naples.

He then said to me that should the courier from Rome arrive before I can be with the King, who departs to-morrow morning for Brussels, and should he see any hope of the Pope's being,* he will perform such offices with his Majesty as to satisfy me; adding that so great is the most serene King's esteem for your Serenity, that in every matter, and especially in this one, he will follow your sage counsel; remarking to me spontaneously *how perilous for the King was this war with the Pope, both on account of the [Roman Catholic] religion, as also by reason of the affairs of Italy, where, should the war continue, he said that the King might lose much and not gain anything.*

London, 2nd July 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Two or three words corroded in MS.

1557.

July 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

953. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When the King received certain advice of Don Ferrante Gonzaga's arrival in Flanders, he immediately determined to depart hence so as to be at Brussels before the middle of the month, and in the field by the end of it; so he departs early to-morrow morning, accompanied by the most serene Queen to the seaside (*fino al mare*).* It is said publicly that in the course of the month, his Majesty will have ready upwards of 30,000 infantry, more than 10,000 horse, 60 pieces of heavy artillery for battering, besides many field pieces, and a great store of ammunition and victuals. The artillery is at Mechlin in Flanders, from which place part of the ammunition will be obtained, and part from England; and for the victuals they are awaiting the harvest, which will commence in a few days. His Majesty and everybody thus show by their words and deeds great readiness for war, great mental vigour (*gran vigor d'animo*) and great hope of victory. The herald who returned lately from France, whither he went to proclaim war, brings back word that he saw no preparation for it there, and that the harvest, especially towards the confines, does not seem very abundant, and that the most Christian King greatly regretted that this kingdom should have declared war; so the less the alacrity shown on the other side, the greater is that exhibited here.

In two days I will follow his Majesty, and on arriving in Flanders, shall be able to advise your Serenity with more foundation, both about the amount and quality of the army, and of the undertaking destined for it.

I return your Serenity my utmost thanks for your graciousness as announced to me by my relatives, and which is a very great relief in these times when compelled to incur expense infinitely beyond my means.

London, 2nd July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

954. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at audience of the Pope, in execution of your Serenity's orders dated the 26th ultimo, I said the city of Brescia was of great importance to you on many accounts, and above all from its being on the frontier. Thereupon his Holiness commenced pricking up his ears, and like one who foresaw what I was driving at (*come quello che prevedeva dove voleva venire*), showed manifest signs of resentment. I added, that these respects induced Julius III. to give the *accesso* of that bishopric to the Reverend Priuli,† he being one of the four noblemen nominated by the Senate at the request of his Holiness, who thereby intended to do what was agreeable to

* "The iij day of July the Kyng and the Quen toke ther gornay toward Dover, and lay all nyghtt at Syttyngborne." (*See Machyn's Diary, 1557, July 3, p. 142.*)

† Luigi Priuli, of the parish of S. Severo in Venice, the bosom friend of Cardinal Pole, with whom he was residing at Lambeth when Bernardo Navagero wrote this letter from Rome.

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your Sublimity. This act was passed in Consistory by a unanimous vote of all the Cardinals, and especially of Cardinal Durante, to whom Julius would not concede that bishopric, without giving assurance to the Signory that, on his death, it would pass to a Venetian nobleman. The appointment of a coadjutor to Cardinal Durante was, in fact, a repeal of the favour, and you with reason resented this act. During my discourse the Pope's anger went increasing, and the colour of his face changed, as usual when he gets into a rage, but I continued, that you charged me to beseech him to find a way, so that you might not be deprived of this favour.

When I had finished, the Pope stopped short,* and muttering, and swinging his right arm (*e movendo la bocca e vibrando il braccio destro*), he remained some while without uttering a word, like a person who wishes to say something that oppresses him greatly (*che li premea molto*), and then said, "Would that the Signory had limited (*mesurato*) their appetites, and not chosen to misuse the love we bear them, so as not to give us cause to deny them anything they ask us, for as we have so often told you, nothing that is just would we refuse them, but they must take patience about such matters as are contrary to the glory of God, contrary to the common weal of Christendom, and contrary to our honour, of which matters this is one, and indeed the principal one, and to tell you the truth it has quite sickened us." I replied that the Signory remonstrated on most reasonable and important accounts. The Pope rejoined, "Were our respects weighed with yours, they would greatly overbalance them, our respects being most exalted (*altissimi*) and most firmly founded (*fondatissimi*), so that we cannot listen to yours without 'nausea;' in the slight reform effected by us hitherto, we have done nothing better than the repeal of the *accessi*, and this is known to everybody who is a Christian. What is the meaning of *accesso*? Never was there an operation nor an invention more diabolical than this one, nor one that has more scandalized the world; it was devised, *periculosissimis et afflictissimis temporibus*, nor is mention made of it previously. By an *accesso* a Pope deprives himself of his own liberty, and of that of his successors, to provide for any church when it becomes vacant! God and the world will (*vuol Dio et il mondo*) that the reigning Popes do confer such benefices as become vacant in their time, without seizing those of living men."

I replied that the favour had been granted with the consent of Cardinal Durante. He rejoined, "What matters it that so iniquitous and unjust an operation be performed by any person whomsoever, since besides the aforesaid impropriety, it points a dagger at the throat of the actual bishop (*del vescovo attuale*). Let me not be spoken to about such a thing, which is contrary to the honour of God and of our office, as rather than fail in that respect we would leave this life, as, if my most immaculate Lord laid down His for sinners, why ought not I, a most vile and grievous one, to lay down mine for His Majesty?" At this point I did not choose to omit

* *Si fermò in due piedi*. The Pope had apparently been walking up and down his chamber with the ambassador.

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saying that the same impropriety as was attributed by his Holiness to the *accessi*, was common to the "coadjutorship," both with regard to prejudicing the successors, as also by giving cause to desire the death of the possessor.

His Holiness replied, "The coadjutorship is ancient, and was instituted in the time of Bishop Valerian* Neporense, who elected St. Augustin for his coadjutor, and this was continued at all times, because it is very fair for a bishop who is impotent through age or infirmity to be given assistance, that the Church may not suffer, and to avoid the other incongruity (*et per fuggire l'altro inconveniente*), a person in confidence, according to his own request, is given him, provided the coadjutor's qualities are worthy of so grave an office as that of taking care of souls. So in conclusion, Magnifico Ambassador," and he then commenced speaking with less vehemence, and with rather a more placid countenance, "our resolve in general was very sane, and with regard to Brescia in particular, it was formed for reasons very well grounded and of the utmost importance, nor will we say more on this subject; let it suffice you to know that we can render such account of it to God, nor are we responsible to others; that we pray His Majesty to grant us the grace to give an equally good one of all our actions; and should you wish to have more precise satisfaction, we, from the love we bear the Signory and you, will give it you; but you will hear things which will displease you; so we now proceed (*scorremo*), and repeat that our repeal of the *accessi* in general was most general (*generalissima*), and such as to produce much improvement, the repeal of this one of Brescia, in particular, being most perfectly founded (*fondatissima*), and effected with all becoming respects, the last of them being that of Cardinal Durante, though we wished to satisfy him, as we love him for his services rendered to our father, Paul the Third. We have given Brescia a bishop, who is your subject and vassal. And to return to the *accessi*, they produced this other inconvenience, that they conferred the church upon an individual who at that time was good and deserved it, but who before taking possession might, by becoming sinful (*vitioso*), have rendered himself unworthy of it."

I said, "Holy Father, coadjutors are liable to this same objection of being at one time good, and of becoming bad (*tristi*) before the demise of the bishop in possession; but although I repeated this, the Pope demonstrated inattention to it, and commenced talking about the plurality of cathedral churches (*della pluralità delle chiese cattedrali*), which originated in the time of Gregory the First, a most holy and most innocent man, who, a church having fallen vacant, and there being no one to his liking on whom to confer it, wrote to a neighbouring bishop to rule the vacant see until he provided for it; that this abuse was removed in the time of Paul III., but through the *regressi* a way was found to infringe the repeal; that he (Paul IV.) suppressed them *in genere*, leaving them to the Cardinals solely "*usque'quo*;" and he is still seeking the means to provide for them, and therefore (as written by me) he

* Qu. Valerian, second Bishop of Treves, mentioned in the martyrology of St. Jerome.

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made that intimation to the Cardinals, desiring them to give a note of all their *regressi*; and when his Holiness receives it he will prevent them from holding more than one. The Pope then requested me to write to the Signory, praying them to moderate their desires. He added, "Concerning this, there is no occasion to say anything farther; all that we did, both in general and in particular, was with all possible reason and consideration, and to cancel it would be contrary to reason, contrary to God, and contrary to our honour; let what we said suffice you, viz., that should you wish for greater satisfaction about the causes which moved us *arripere occasionem* in this particular case of Brescia, the moment it presented itself to us, we will give it you, but beware lest you subsequently regret knowing it."

I replied earnestly, but perceiving him to be again getting into a rage I proceeded to lay before him the contents of the news-letters from Constantinople, and after discussing them he said, "That you may be able to tell the Signory, in whose name you have performed so many good offices for the peace, they themselves having done so many others with Philip and the Duke of Alva, we will tell you that what we have so often said to you that these friends of ours carry peace on their lips, and war in their hands, is now clearly manifested; you see how after their offers to give us every satisfaction, as written by that King to the Signory, and to many Cardinals here, after we gave it to be understood that should he do so we would forgive him all his offences and receive him as a son, and after we had opened to him the way to return in every possible manner, Marc' Antonio Colonna, sent by the Duke of Alva, is again ravaging the Campagna, and they continue proclaiming that they offer us peace, and that we reject it. It is evident which side fails to do its duty; but they must not think to compel us to do anything unworthy of our grade, as we would rather die under any sort of torture and martyrdom. We will nevertheless not cease to pray for assistance from God, who is Lord of the universe and can give it. To-day the Duke our nephew is returning to the Duke de Guise, to detain him, so that in that quarter likewise we may be exempt from any additional injury, nor assuredly could any other anodyne (*temperamento*) be needed for French fury (*furia Francese*) than the discreet and quiet proceeding of this nephew of ours, who is so beloved by the Duke de Guise that he cannot live without him (*che non può stare senza esso*), and he wrote to us to send him to him speedily; but would to God that we had need neither of the Duke de Guise nor of others." "So be it, Holy Father," said I, "that we may witness a good peace, as hoped for, through your Holiness' consummate prudence. He replied, "By this time you can clearly comprehend our desire, not only for particular peace but for peace universal, should it please God to give it us, though you see the good road taken by these Imperialists; but we tolerate them with the greatest patience in the world, promising them pardon for all offences, which we perhaps ought not to have done, as their rebellion and contempt for God and His vicar are too great, yet nevertheless in order not to ruin Christendom we are content to receive them into favour, should they choose to return."

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On my taking leave of the Pope, he said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, we regret being unable to gratify the most serene Signory and you with regard to your request, for to tell you what we perhaps ought not to say, the honour and glory of God are concerned in this matter, for which as we have had more respect than for anything else, so shall we continue to do for the future."

Rome, 2nd July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 3.
Original
Letter B
Venetian
Archives.

955. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The gentleman in the service of the Cardinal of Pisa* has left for England with the Pope's despatch about the creation and the legation of the new Cardinal [Father Peto, of Greenwich], it being also said that he carries the brief recalling Cardinal Pole.

When at audience yesterday, it did not seem fit to me to ask for a copy of the letter, his Holiness having already said that he would give it me in due season, as he did not choose the copy to arrive in England before the letter itself.

Rome, 3rd July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

956. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marshal Strozzi arrived here at the Court on the day before yesterday, having, to the surprise of everybody, remained two days in Paris, as was also said by him at Lyons (come havea detto anche in Lione). He was well received by everybody, and after having been with the Constable for an hour without interruption he then went to the King and Queen. I understand that his business was to inform his Majesty in the Pope's name, that if his Holiness has hitherto failed in some respects (di qualche cosa), it was rather from want of power (impotentia) than from lack of goodwill and readiness to persevere (di continuare) in the League; wherefore he offered to send 6,000 Italian infantry to the army, besides the Switzers whom he hoped to have, and not to fail in making the entire payments according to his obligation. For the King's additional security he has sent hither to the Court the Duke of Paliano's son, the Marquis de Cava, as hostage for his Holiness' faith and that of his nephews, praying his Majesty by no means to remove any of his troops from his protection, and especially the person of the Duke de Guise, without which it would seem to him to remain abandoned. Should the King fail in this respect the Pope would be compelled (era astretta) to try and adjust his affairs as well as he could, so as not to fall entirely into the hands of his enemies. The person who told me this much said besides, that the form of these words was almost in the form of a protest, but without giving it that title (senza però nominarlo).

* This gentleman's name was Antonio Dangadro; see Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 319.

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I also hear that Strozzi has not omitted the performance of every office (as he continues doing) to keep this coalition united, for the benefit of one side and the other; nor does he fail to demonstrate in like manner to his most Christian Majesty, that all he did about these negotiations was principally on account of what he owes this Crown (per il debito ch' el tiene verso questa corona). I understand that he was listened to graciously, and they in fact confer many more favours on him than he received these last times when here at the Court.

This proposal of the Pope's has greatly troubled these Lords, considering in what a narrow compass this negotiation finds itself (considerando il stretto termine nel qual si ritrova questo maneggio), for although his Majesty would easily bring himself not to desert his Holiness, leaving him such assistance as necessary, yet would he have been glad to see M. de Guise here, to get rid of many costs and designs (disegni) which it is requisite to make for his honour and dignity; and on the other hand should he not satisfy the Pope (his Holiness giving it to be understood that he shall make the best terms he can), his Majesty through the increase of the enemies' repute, and perhaps from something else they might do, thus suffers likewise in his own dignity from having assumed that protection; so I have heard that after long consultations it has been determined for M. de Guise to remain in the Pope's service with all the troops under his command, and to this effect they are sending the present express, who will take these letters of mine as far as Ferrara.

I have heard something about a scheme for garrisoning Civitavecchia with French troops, but as yet I have no authentic news of this. I endeavoured to ascertain whether particular orders have been sent to M. de Guise about what he is to do, and understand that the King sends him many warnings (avvertimenti), but leaves all the resolves at his free disposal (liberamente in mano sua), as they have been hitherto. I have heard in like manner that a fresh order is now given for the Switzers raised on account of the Duke of Ferrara (should he not have need of them) to be sent to the army, so that with this reinforcement, and the 6,000 promised by the Pope, it would number upwards of 20,000 foot; but any undertaking that may be commenced seems to present such difficulties that to overcome them will be very laborious.

I am assured that the most Christian King is in no slight trouble, as besides it being the nature of the French, when once they entertain suspicion, never more (mai più) to divest themselves of it, even in trifles, still less in great affairs such as this present one, I hear that with all these demonstrations made by the Pope, it is nevertheless believed that should he be able to make a satisfactory agreement he will not fail to do so. They are much less dissatisfied with his Holiness individually than with his nephews, against whom they speak unsparingly (largamente).

The Duke of Paliano's son, who made the sea voyage with the Marshal, is coming by day journeys; a monthly allowance of 500 crowns has been assigned (consignati) for his expenses and those of

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Marquis Montebello's son, who was left here by Cardinal Caraffa,* and they [the two cousins] will remain in the service of the most serene Dauphin. His Majesty has sent for the person who is to be his governor, and in many kind words exhorted him to take watchful care of the youth, and not to let him want for any of such conveniences as the Court can afford, and always to apply to the Constable.

The ambassadors who came from the Switzers as written by me are four, from the four cantons of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Appenzel. They have performed an office with his Majesty, in favour of the inhabitants of the valley of Lucera (*sic*), which since the capture of Ivrea is held by him, because they being Lutherans (and therefore allied with the said cantons), the Parliament of Turin a few days ago burned some of them with their preachers; so the said ambassadors prayed his Majesty very earnestly to allow them to live according to their opinion (*nella loro opinione*) until the first future Council. As yet they have received no answer whatever, *but from the necessities of the present times it is understood that his Majesty will grant the request, as they were of the same opinion before they became his subjects.*

Nothing new has taken place in this part of Picardy since I wrote on the 29th ult., but they are as intent as possible on making provision for the war, and from what is heard the Constable will assuredly depart for the army at the close of this month, although as yet there is no body of troops in existence; but if the fine weather lasts they can very soon be mustered from the convenience (*commodità*) of the fresh wheat, of which this year there is so great an abundance throughout France that no one remembers there ever having been the like, and it is hoped that all the other crops will be no less plentiful, of which there is very great need, owing to the extreme scarcity of this year until now.

The most Christian King has made the Constable's second son, M. de Damville, a knight of the Order of St. Michael.

Compiegne, 4th July 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 5.
Deliberazioni
Senato.
File No. 30.

957. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO BARBARIGO,† "Baylo" at Constantinople.

By letters from England, which have been confirmed to us by letters from the Court of the most Christian King, we understand that the kingdom of England has proclaimed war on his most Christian Majesty, and that in England they were intent on mustering troops, to make them cross the Channel and march towards Flanders, where it is heard that the King of France has his frontiers well furnished (*ben fornite*), and that he on his part was making provision for the war. Between the armies of the most

* Cardinal Caraffa arrived at the French Court on the 16th June 1556, and left Paris for Rome on the 17th August in that year; but Soranzo's despatches do not allude to his being accompanied by the Marchesino Don Pietro, son of Marquis Montebello.

† See his "Report" of Constantinople in Albèri, Series III., vol. 3, p. 145 to p. 160.

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Christian King and of the most serene King of Spain in *l'ebrezo* (*sic*) (the Abruzzi ?) nothing else has taken place since we wrote you our last. The negotiation for agreement between the Pope and the King of Spain continues.

By letters from Naples dated the 19th June we are informed that in the Mole there, there are 60 galleys of the Imperialists, and the advices from Rome tell us that they have ten others. Of the galleys of the most Christian King we have heard nothing else since what we wrote to you in our preceding letters. The advices from Piedmont tell us that the Imperialists have succoured Cuni [Coni ?] and that the French have departed thence.

We with the Senate charge you to communicate these advices.
Ayes, 151. Noes, 18. Neutrals, 17.

[*Original draft, to be ciphered throughout. Italian.*]

July 6.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

958. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday, the ambassador from Florence* received a letter from his Duke in reply to what he wrote him on the preceding Thursday, and he told my secretary, whom I sent to hear how the affair was proceeding, that Duke Cosmo sent him two letters, one for the Duke of Alva, the other for Marc' Antonio Colonna, telling them to halt until he could ascertain the Pope's mind about the agreement; that he communicated the whole to the Cardinal of Pisa, who conferred with the Pope and with Cardinal Caraffa; and yesterday the ambassador went (in a litter, by reason of his ailments) to Caraffa, who told him the Pope was content to have the letters sent as soon as possible. The ambassador then demanded a guide for the courier that he might despatch him instantly, and went home and wrote until midnight. The contents of his letter to the Duke of Alva he showed to my secretary, and it purported that after much toil he had brought the Pope to consent to reveal to him his will, and the terms on which he will make the agreement, referring them to the arbitration (co' metterle all' arbitrio) of the Duke of Florence, to whom he chose the said ambassador to go because he trusted him; but that first of all he was to endeavour to prevent matters from proceeding farther to the detriment of the Papal States. This he wrote to his Duke, who in reply sent the aforesaid letter for the Duke of Alva, and that it would be well, as the Pope consents to detach himself from the French, but not to become their enemy, and as King Philip, like a good Christian Prince, wishes for peace with his Holiness, that he should suspend hostilities for some days, as they will be very few, the negotiation having to be concluded very speedily; and he prays his Excellency to be pleased to write a word about his will so that without losing time he (the ambassador) may be able to commence here with the Pope and treat. Having finished his despatch, and no guide being sent to him during that

* The name of this Florentine ambassador was Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, Bishop of Cortona. See Père Daniel, *Histoire de France*, vol. 9, p. 819. Ed. Paris, 1755. See also *Bibliothèque Sacrée*, vol. 8, ed. Paris, 1822, p. 289. "J. B. Ricasolus de Florence, nommé Evêque de Cortone le 21 Octobre 1538; siégea vingt-deux ans, et fut transféré à Pistoie."

1557.

night, he sent his secretary in the morning to the Cardinal of Pisa, who referred him to Cardinal Caraffa's secretary Sacchetti, who told him he had received no order whatever from the Cardinal, who on the day before had been abroad, and on that morning at 4 a.m. mounted on horseback, nor did he know whither he went nor when he would return; so this evening at 7 p.m. (the guide not having made his appearance), the ambassador wrote a note to the Cardinal of Pisa, which he in like manner showed to my secretary, to the effect that having waited all yesterday and to-day for the guide, and not seeing him appear, he wrote that note to make known that he on his part had not failed to execute the orders of his Holiness, with whom and with the Duke his Lord it sufficed him to justify himself; that if the Pope did not choose to send the guide he requested the Cardinal of Pisa to obtain leave for him to send back the courier to Florence, so that all parties might be enabled to do their duty.

In the course of conversation the Florentine Ambassador expressed himself thus, "The negotiation is brought to such a pass that at any rate the cause of its failure will be made manifest, as should the Pope refuse to declare his will, as promised by him, it will at once be evident that he wishes for war. Should he explain himself his demands will be either reasonable or unreasonable, in which latter case it will be tantamount to saying, I reject the agreement, and the Duke of Florence will instantly cut short the negotiation, so that every one may do what profits them most; and his Excellency will attend to the affairs of Sienna, not indeed that he will attack the Church, but that he chooses to recover his own, and should any one impede him he will let them know that they do wrong. Should the Pope's demands be reasonable, they will be treated and settled, and if any difficulty arise the Duke will labour to remove it, and perhaps the most Serene Signory of Venice may also be employed, as from what they have done hitherto it may be credited that they will not fail to write, assist, and persuade, and give yet more authority to the negotiation by mediating." My secretary answered him that he was of opinion that if the Pope's demands were reasonable it would be unnecessary to employ any other mediation, but rather settle the matter speedily without losing time by calling others, which might somewhat impede the conclusion. The ambassador rejoined, "My Duke writes, that the Signory's assistance would be much to the purpose, and also that those Lords ought not to be deprived of this glory of having been the cause of so great a boon to Christendom, and especially to Italy." The secretary replied that your Serenity was not ambitious, and contented yourself with affairs being quieted in such a way as set forward by the Lord God, and that all the praises should rest with his Duke and himself the ambassador, who had so dexterously brought the business thus far.

After acquainting Cardinal Caraffa with the reply of Marc' Antonio Colonna,* the Cardinal Camerlengo was exhorted and requested to write to the Duke of Alva in demonstration of the Pope's good will about receiving King Philip into favour (*di ricevere in gratia il Re Filippo*) and making an agreement with

* See before, letter dated 1st July.

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him, provided he will do his duty, and that therefore it would be well not to alter this good will on the part of his Holiness by continuing to advance and ravage the Papal territory. By the person who took this message and the letter, viz., Zuan Battista Drusolino, secretary of Count Santa Fiore, the Duke of Alva replied by letter to the Cardinal Camerlengo, that although he no longer believed in the words of these Lords (*alle parole di questi Signori*) as he had been often deceived, and although he knew his temporal forces to be no less superior to the Pope's than his Holiness' spiritual forces exceeded them, and that he had been informed of the journey to France of the young Marquis and Marshal Strozzi, and of the purpose for which it was undertaken, he was nevertheless ready to effect what was discussed and concluded between Cardinal Caraffa and himself on the Island of Porto, of which the Cardinal had a memorandum signed by his Lordship, who gave him the counterpart signed by the Duke himself, and that he would even do something more to bring about peace with his Holiness; yet if the Pope rejected it he the Duke would wage the war in another form than he has done hitherto, the respect had by him for the See Apostolic having caused him to be thought weak and ineffectual.

Cardinal Caraffa on receiving this letter seemed satisfied, and said that after conferring with the Pope he would see the Cardinal Camerlengo, to whom he sent last evening an autograph note purporting that he was content to accept the agreement with the terms and clauses treated on the island, and again offered by the Duke, of which the Cardinal Camerlengo was to write to his Excellency. In the morning the Cardinal Camerlengo went to the Church of the Trinità to discuss the affair with Cardinal Pacheco, who said that he approved of laying bare (*palesare*?) the mind of these Lords, but that he suspected them of acting thus to gain time, perceiving the opportunity which the Imperialists now have to do what they please, and that this thought struck him because in the note (*poliza*) he did not see that they would send anything more than a safe conduct for a person from the Duke of Alva to come hither to stipulate the clauses as necessary; so by sending this note as it stood there followed as a necessity a reply from the Duke, and perhaps the demand for the safe conduct, so that it would be better to speak with Cardinal Caraffa to resolve this difficulty now; but down to this evening he has said nothing to them, so they delayed the despatch until to-morrow, I also doing the like in order to give your Serenity more precise information concerning this most important business. Nor will I omit to add that Cardinal Caraffa, when discussing the peace and this despatch to be sent by the Camerlengo, said that letters had arrived from the Duke of Florence for the Duke of Alva and Marc' Antonio Colonna, but that he (Caraffa) did not choose to make use of others, as the affair was proceeding prosperously through the aforesaid Camerlengo, which warrants a suspicion that Cardinal Pacheco spoke the truth when he said that these Lords merely seek to gain time, and that therefore they do not choose the letters from Florence to be transmitted, lest the Pope be compelled to declare his mind as promised by him to the Florentine Ambassador.

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As these particulars, most especially those received from Duke Cosmo's ambassador, are as yet known only to six individuals, it is needless for me to urge the necessity for their being kept secret.

Rome, 6th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 6.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

959. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My secretary has seen the Pope's letter to the King and Queen of England, but could not obtain a copy of it, the person who showed it him having sworn that he was under oath not to let it be copied. Its substance was as follows:—

"To his very dear children,* Philip and Mary, King and Queen of England—Paul IV.

"Your letters delivered to us lately, signed by both of you, are the cause of our answering you jointly. The faith, religion, and piety of one of you towards this Holy See are very well known to us. Since the fall of the other and his alienation from the See Apostolic we have known about his good will to return, by the relation of certain Cardinals; and above all our beloved son Cardinal Pacheco has performed a most excellent office in this matter, as done by him in many other things.

"Respecting the repeal of the legation of that kingdom, and of the peril which it incurred, not being yet confirmed in the faith, by remaining without our Legate, we tell you that on very firm foundations and after mature consideration we recalled all the Legates and Nuncios; besides which, having to treat a most important matter, and as the Cardinals were given us as companions to assist in bearing this burden, we, by our letters already written, though not despatched, determined to call to us the absent Cardinals, including our beloved son Reginald Pole, choosing thus to gratify our wish. And as it becomes not the gravity of this See to reappoint that same person whom we had recently removed, the Lord God succoured us in this our anxiety, recalling to our memory our beloved son William Peto, an Observantine Franciscan friar, heretofore elected Bishop of Salisbury, who by reason of his goodness and doctrine—doctrine truly sound and catholic—it was our intention to create Cardinal from the commencement of our Pontificate; and so we have now promoted him to this dignity with the consent or rather at the instigation (*anzi studio*) of all the Cardinals, and made him our Legate and of the See Apostolic, in that kingdom and in Ireland; which operation will we think be agreeable to both of you, and particularly to you our very dear daughter, who knows this man's virtue and goodness, and above all agreeable to our sons the bishops of those kingdoms. We send him the symbol of his dignity, and although from the desire evinced by you to us to have the legation we persuade ourselves that you will honour and assist him in such things as he may require for the exercise of his office, we neverthe-

* "*Figliuoli.*" The substance is given in Italian, although the original letter was written in Latin, as seen by the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, "*Mary*," p. 319.

1557.

less request and pray you to place him in possession (*a metterlo in essecutione*), beseeching the Lord God to deign to preserve the religion and piety of one of you, and to increase in the other the wish to reconcile himself to us, and to the Holy See Apostolic, so that by returning he may be received by the Church his mother, like the son who comes back from a remote region."

Rome, 20th June 1557.

Cardinal S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] told a person who repeated it to me that the trumpet who came hither with the Duke of Alva's letter offering the tribute for the kingdom of Naples (*il censo*), as I wrote to your Serenity sending you the copy of the letter,* on being sent back, was seized outside the gate of Rome, the reply being taken from him.

Last night the Pope's cavalry at Frascati having had their rear guard attacked by the enemy's horse, from fear lest the whole of the cavalry should be in the vicinity, ran away to the gates of Rome with the mere loss of some of their baggage, though it was said that the whole of the papal horse and seven standards had been lost.

Five French galleys have arrived at Civitavecchia with news that Marshal Strozzi arrived at Marseilles on the 21st ult., and proceeded post-wise to the Court, leaving the young Marquis to follow him. It is said on good authority that these galleys are come to embark the Duke de Guise and some of these other French Lords. It is heard for certain that on board these galleys there are neither troops nor money.

The "Camerlengo" dined this morning with Cardinal Caraffa, and at 1 p.m. Alessandro Placido departed with his despatch for the Duke of Alva, and I am also told that he is the bearer of a safe conduct for any person the Duke may choose to send to negotiate. Placido is ordered by the Cardinal Camerlengo to find Marc' Antonio Colonna, and to tell him in his name no longer to irritate the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa, who wishes to oblige him, as he (Placido) is the bearer of a very important despatch about the peace. Then at 3 p.m. the courier of the Florentine ambassador departed with letters for Marc' Antonio and the Duke of Alva, the trumpet having appeared to escort him.

Rome, 12th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

960. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having received your Serenity's letters of the 25th ult., with the summaries from Constantinople, I went to-day to communicate them to the King; and having dined by invitation with the Constable and during the repast the conversation turning on the arrival in Flanders of Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], after the tables were removed

* See note to letter dated Rome, June 26, showing that on the 11th the Duke of Alva wrote to his uncle the Cardinal of Compostella offering to pay the "Censo." The letter was brought by a trumpet to Rome on the 18th June, and Cardinal Caraffa read it on the 19th to Navagero, in whose Letter Book, however, the copy of it does not exist.

1557.

(*dopo levate le tavole*), his Excellency called Cardinal Chastillon, me, and Marshal Strozzi to come close to him, and said, "Don Ferrante has arrived in Flanders, but has not yet crossed over to England, and I know that before leaving Italy he uttered many threats about invading this kingdom with two armies, but many years have elapsed since he was in France,* and he will find things in a different state to what he believes. By all means let him come, for he will be welcome. I know all that he expected to do (*ch'el pensava di fare*), and he will find much greater provision than he thinks. It was when King Francis, of blessed memory, expelled me the court,† at which time Don Ferrante had an understanding (*havea pratica*) in this kingdom, but he will now find matters proceeding in a different form. I assure you, my Lords, that unless King Philip does us some hurt within three weeks, not only shall we no longer have any fear of him, but he will have to put his own affairs well in order. I know what can be done by the English, who will find our fortresses in better condition than they found them heretofore. Nor will I omit telling you (and to this the King can bear true testimony) that I have much desired this declaration of war, as they never ceased doing us many injuries, and we, in order not to offend them, always acted with many regards, which will now be at an end, as we also shall play our part; but it is very surprising (*ma è gran cosa*) that on our respective frontiers we are more quiet than ever, nor do our people (*nostri*) demand any accommodation whatever that is not with infinite courtesy conceded them, which was not the case previously; and the Queen's Admiral has made three or four landings in Normandy, where he might have done us damage, which he did not do, making it appear that he wished rather to warn us to provide for our affairs, but preparations had been already made everywhere, as the whole coast is fortified (*perchè tutta la costa è spiazza*), and were they to anchor the fleet there, they would do more harm to themselves than to us." Then, drawing me aside, his Excellency said, "I certainly much regret, Lord Ambassador, the words used by Don Ferrante, which misbecome old men like him and me (*come siamo lui et io*)," to which, having replied in general terms, I then communicated the summaries to him, saying how the fleet had commenced putting to sea; whereupon his Excellency interrupted me, saying, "For what purpose does this fleet go out?" and having replied that I knew nothing farther, I imparted the rest of the news-letter.

The Constable then went in to the King, and shortly afterwards had me admitted. After I had made the same statement to his Majesty, he asked me at the close how Sultan Soliman was; to which I said that your Serenity wrote nothing more, but that being on the eve of departure for Constantinople it might be supposed he was well. His Majesty then commenced telling me how he had this day received advice that the muster of Germans had been made, and that they were 9,554 infantry, another 1,200

* Ferrante Gonzaga commanded the Imperial army under Landrecy in 1543. (See Père Daniel, vol. 6, p. 252.)

† In the year 1541. (See P. Daniel, vol. 6, p. 240. Ed. Paris, 1724.)

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being expected, the pistolers (*pistoletti*) being 532, and they were to be joined by 120 more, the entire body to halt on the confines between Picardy and Champagne, where the French troops likewise and the cavalry will also assemble, but that the army corps could not be formed so speedily, owing to the scarcity of victuals, which was still very great, but they should very soon have the new wheat; and when everything was prepared the Constable would go so betimes to the army that some exploit might be performed immediately on his arrival there.

I asked if the troops of the King of Spain were in readiness. "No," said his Majesty, "principally from the extreme difficulty they have about victuals, besides which they do not abound much in money, and I know that at Spire and in other places they had commenced collecting (*ad ammassar*) troops, but they all disbanded from want, some of food, and others of money; nor did any others pass, save the ten ensigns that came in company with mine." His Majesty then added, "Don Luis de Caravajal is made game of in England (*è giuocato in Inghilterra*), having brought but 800 foot soldiers on board eleven ships, which were to return to Spain to embark Ruy Gomez, who has made every effort to raise money, even by selling his own revenues at any price, nor could he succeed. This Caravajal spread a report of bringing a great sum of gold, but my ambassador, who is returned from England, has assured me that the sum does not exceed 500,000 ducats, and on his departure some one who can know it told him they were not more than 300,000."

I asked what the ambassador brought back about the preparations making by the Queen for the war. His Majesty said, "I believe that 10,000 men will come forth (*usciranno*), including 500 cavalry, or 1,000 at the utmost, but those people are discontented with this war, of which there is no doubt whatever, and to gratify them the Queen has promised to pay the soldiers the entire cost required for the conveyance of their baggage; and as it is the custom of that nation to carry with them unlimited, and even superfluous, conveniences, a great sum of gold will be required for this, nor do I know how she can hold out (*resistere*), as all her father's treasure would not suffice her." His Majesty then added, "De Noailles told me that on his departure the Queen made him the greatest possible demonstrations, as also the Lords of her Council, one of whom said to him, 'We shall not be long without you.' The ambassador replied, 'Why say you this?' and the said Lord rejoined, 'Because before six months shall have elapsed there will be good peace between us, and you will return hither as ambassador.'"

His Majesty having then ceased conversing, I asked him something about Italy. He said the Duke de Guise was in his usual position, and that some of the Duke of Alva's troops had crossed the Tronto, but that nothing farther had happened; and that M. de Guise had been with Cardinal Tournon to consult about such things as necessary. I inquired whether his Excellency would remain with the army to protect the Pope. "Yes," said his Majesty, "the Duke will remain, and Marshal Strozzi has told me in the Pope's name that all the talk about agreement has dissolved into nothing, and that his Holiness was raising 6,000 infantry of good troops, and I

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received advice this morning that he had levied 300 Switzers, who may I think by this time be in the Signory's territory, and they will all go to join M. de Guise; nor can the Pope any longer have lack of money, and the Marshal told me that this tax of one per cent. will yield in a few days 800,000 crowns." I asked his Majesty if he had any advice of Sienna's having been given to the Duke of Florence, as was reported at the Court. His Majesty said, "Thus is it heard, but without the citadel, and Cardinal Farnese arranged this affair;" and I added that it was understood in like manner *that the Pope was not much pleased with this resolve, it seeming that his whole wish was for this Sienna; and his most Christian Majesty, lowering his voice, as if he did not wish it to be heard by those who were in the same chamber, said, "This I really believe, and am of opinion that henceforth we shall see him more determined on the war. He has also sent hither his nephew, the Marquis, which the agents of the King of England could never persuade him to do,* adding that the Pope had called to Rome all the Cardinals except five, viz., the Frenchmen, Lorraine and Sens, the Spaniard of Toledo, now dead before the breve reached him, the one of Portugal, and the English one [Petow] made recently." I inquired whether the other French Cardinals would go. His Majesty said, "And how could they do otherwise, the Pope being determined to deprive the disobedient ones of the hat, but some little convenience of time must be allowed them;" and he then continued, saying that he was greatly surprised at what Marshal Strozzi had told him, that it was quite true that Cardinal Morone had wished to recant (*che il Cardinal Morone si havea voluto abiurare*), but that the Pope had not chosen to allow him to do so (*ma che il Papa non l'havea voluto admettere*).

His Majesty then said that the Duke de Guise was sending 2,000 infantry to the Duke of Ferrara, who had raised from 5,000 to 6,000 Italian infantry, with which he meant to take the field and oppose the fortification of Guastalla, and that in the meanwhile the Switzers also which his Majesty had raised lately would arrive, the Diet having conceded them. I inquired whether they would remain with the Duke of Ferrara or go to the Duke de Guise. His Majesty said, "This I do not know, because, should the Duke of Ferrara have need of them, they will remain with him; if not, they will join the army." His Majesty also added that the Duke of Ferrara had written to him that he had made known to your Serenity this his intention of taking the field (*dell' uscir in campagna*), making known to the King in like manner the many accommodations conceded by your Serenity, and the goodwill you had shown him and his State, for which his Majesty returned many thanks to your Serenity. I replied that the Signory had always loved and esteemed the Duke, but that also, out of respect for his most Christian Majesty, you would not fail doing what you could in fairness (*honestamente*) to oblige him; and then, after returning the usual thanks to his Majesty, I took leave.

I have also heard that M. de Guise writes to the King that the Pope was making every possible demonstration of honour and favour towards him and the army, as not only were many supplies of victuals and other necessities being made, but that his Holiness

1557.

had also sent orders throughout the Romagna for M. de Guise to be obeyed as if he were the Pope in person. *I have also endeavoured to ascertain what the army is going to do, and in conformity with what I wrote on the 4th, I hear that all the resolves are referred to his Excellency, although, for his instruction, he has been reminded of many things; and in fact it seems that this determination about Sienna greatly confirms the King in his belief that the Pope will be more and more resolute about the war, it having been clearly discovered that therein is his whole desire fixed, as frequently written by me to your Serenity, this matter being largely (largamente) discussed by persons of quality.*

Since a long while there is here at the Court a secretary of Cardinal Farnese, who, besides transacting the affairs of his right reverend Lordship, has also urged the payment of a debt of 60,000 crowns due from the most Christian King for the widow's portion (*contradotte*) given by Pope Paul III. to his Majesty's daughter, wife of the late Duke [of Castro] Horatio,* and after much verbiage, which has delayed it, the Constable at length told the secretary a few days ago that the King will not give the Duke [of Parma] anything until some change be effected in the present state of affairs.

The Bishop of Aix (*sic*) [Acqs]† has returned from his embassy to England, and his Majesty has appointed him ambassador in ordinary to your Serenity, as successor to M. de Lodève. He came to visit me out of respect for your Serenity, and also because I had known him both in England and at this Court.‡ I assured him that from respect for his own individual abilities, and for the offices performed first with me and then with the most illustrious Messer Giovanni Michiel in England, independently of consideration for the Constable, with whom he and all his family are in very great favour, your Serenity will not fail to make every possible demonstration of honour and gratitude towards him. I performed the same office with the Constable, and also with his most Christian Majesty.

Compiegne, 8th July 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 9.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

961. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, at audience, I told the Pope that you had received a reply from your ambassador with King Philip, to what you enjoined him, in conformity with your own natural desire and his Holiness' wish concerning the peace; which I would let him hear by your Serenity's own letter. This I did seeing that it was in good form and very important, and most especially in these times, knowing also that his Holiness likes having the letters themselves read to him. Of such satisfaction he gave manifest signs whilst

* For the marriage of his widow to the Constable's eldest son on the 4th May 1557, see Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 303.

† François de Noailles, Bishop of Acqs. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

‡ Giacomo Soranzo was Venetian Ambassador in England from March 1551 to May 1554, and succeeded Barbarigo in France in May 1555.

1557.

the letter was being read, by joyfully moving his head, and yet more at its close, when quite softened, and well nigh with the tears in his eyes, he said, "Magnifico Ambassador, we cannot deny that much to our satisfaction we perceive all the proceedings of the most illustrious Signory, but this office performed by them, and the intimation of it by this present letter, we confess to you ingenuously has quite moved us from tenderness, and I pray you to thank his Sublimity for it accordingly in our name, that he may know our infinite satisfaction, and we thank you likewise. *Beati pedes evangelizantium pacem*; and we affirm to you that never will we fail to make a good peace, both because war does not become him who has the charge of preaching peace, as also to comply with the desire of your most illustrious Signory; and when we shall be able to make it to our dignity we think it will be justifiable in heaven and on earth, let happen what may, and let others inveigh against it as they please. And rest assured that no mediation pleases us more than that of the Signory, both by reason of our desire that she (*ella*) should have the honour of so holy an operation, as also because we choose to believe that the State interposing (*intromellendosi*) would not allow us to be sacrificed (*assassinati*) and destroyed, for two reasons; the one because our destruction is their destruction; the other because their honour would be at stake. God grant that the Imperialists (*costoro*) may speak the truth, for we know not how to reconcile their fair words with their foul deeds. We will have this said and written in every place, and to all persons who offer us peace on such terms as willed by us; and at this same time the Duke of Alva in one direction, and Marc' Antonio Colonna in the other, are doing the worst they can. Marc' Antonio has renewed the devastation of this Campagna, taking and burning many places although they were not garrisoned, notwithstanding which he went with horse, foot, and artillery, and without any cause, for we remained expecting them to carry their promises into effect, and the Duke de Guise had somewhat retreated rather than otherwise. The Imperialists (*loro*) must let us know what they propose doing to be reconciled to us, and it would be fitting for them first of all to restore what belongs to us, and to desist from hostilities, for is not this the State of our Father and of the Church of Christ? and to molest it is sacrilege and the utmost impiety. We choose to hope that thus will they do, although they are people in whom but little trust can be placed; yet relying on the mediation of the Signory, whom we request to continue it, we place our heart in her hands. We are indeed willing to call others to mediate, but we do not see a more fitting channel, nor one on which we can rely more than that of his Sublimity, who, we are confident, will not pledge his word at the risk of being deceived to our ruin. You will have pondered the boasting of these Imperialists (*di costoro*), who say 'that although our affairs are in very good condition'!"*

* "Ch' ancora, che le cose nostre stiano in molti buoni termini." The Duke of Alva's words to the Cardinal "Camerlengo" were, "se bene se conosceva di forze temporali tanto superiore al Papa, quanto sua Beatitudine era superiore a lui in spirituale," etc. (See Navagero, Letter Book B, No. vii. p. 78, verso, lines 6, 7, 8.)

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I then said, that his Holiness' prudence was quite sufficient to confer so precious a gift on Christendom and wretched Italy, and that perceiving his goodwill and choosing to believe King Philip's to be such as he writes, I could not doubt but that on commencing the negotiation the agreement would be effected.

The Pope replied, "We cannot do more than we have done, for to the Cardinals and others who spoke to us about King Philip's goodwill, we gave it to be understood that we were now prepared to take him into favour, and to forgive all his offences, by doing which, perhaps, *fuimus minus*, disparaging the dignity of this Holy See, but we committed this error, if it is one, from our wish for the quiet of Christendom and particularly of Italy. It is now their turn to let themselves be understood, and to act in conformity with their words, for until now no good sign has been witnessed. Pacheco came hither declaring that he would give us entire satisfaction, but weeks and months have elapsed without any detail being heard. It would assuredly have been fitting for the Duke of Alva to let us know what order he had since you read to us even your own letters, although we believe you as much as any other person who ever has or ever may speak to us; and his not having done so gives us cause to suspect either that he has no commission, or if he has one that he does not choose to execute it, but to persevere in his impious acts as he is doing; and this has with reason made us wish to negotiate with others, rather than with him. There is here in Rome the Cardinal Pacheco, who has exerted himself greatly, and can conveniently treat with us, there being many other persons likewise who might be employed in this business; and to open our heart to you, we in short do not refuse to negotiate with any person soever, provided, as is fair, that they explain themselves and come to facts; as should any good result be obtained we shall acknowledge it from the Signory of Venice, and first of all from the Lord God, *qui dederit nobis quam mundus dare non potest pacem*. And what the Constable of France said is assuredly true, that should agreement be made by us for whom the King moved war, the rest can be arranged easily, as the cause being removed the effect is removed; this being our chief object. For should it please God to give us a small space of quiet, and were the devil to cease prevailing through disturbance such as he caused us by means of those children of his, we, with the assistance of God, who said, *sine me nihil potestis facere*, would show the most illustrious Signory and the whole world what is necessary for ecclesiastical reform, as required by all good men, for, leaving aside specious words, and what others have done, by reforming something daily, and enforcing it all at once, abrogating simultaneously the offices mentioned by us heretofore, we would finally accomplish the reform to the satisfaction of Christendom, and spend the money wasted by us for soldiery on men of ability and knowledge;* but during the turmoil of war we are unable to attend to this other matter, for we are old; "*frigidus assistit circum præcordia sanguis*."

* E spenderessimo i danari che consumamo in soldati in huomeni valorosi, e virtuosi.

1557.

I then had the news-letters from Constantinople read to his Holiness, and after discussing them with him took leave.

Rome, 9th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

962. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here in the Campagna in this direction Marc' Antonio Colonna has done much harm, carrying away and burning the grain. The Imperialists, it is true, apologize for him, saying that these burnings are not by his will, nor by that of other commanders, but that owing to the municipal feuds which these castles have one with the other they thus revenge themselves on their enemies.

It is feared here that unless an adjustment be made, Paliano and Velletri must surrender, as they are destitute of everything, their scanty garrisons being also discontented. A few mornings ago the enemy's cavalry after scouring the Campagna came as far as Torre di Bove, at a short distance from the Porta di S. Sebastiano, where having found some carts loaded with grain they carried them off, the labourers in the vineyards escaping into Rome, whither the Papal cavalry have retreated, nor do they amount to 200 men, and this small number is disbanding because they are ill paid. The entire infantry force, 700 men at the utmost, are still at Tivoli.

Towards the March of Ancona the Duke of Alva's army is said to have crossed the Tronto, and to have taken a fortress two miles from Ascoli, where he has made an encampment, and has sent troops to Offida, a very good town, for which reason some months ago they half sacked it.

The army of the Duke de Guise which decamped on the 3rd from Rioriano [Marrano ?] retreated towards Ripatransone in the mountains, going away from the sea ; and letters from Fermo say that the general opinion in that province was, that the Duke de Guise and his brothers, and all the rest of the nobility, were going to France, leaving the command of those troops to the Prince of Salerno, though this is not confirmed by the French here in Rome, who say on the contrary that they are sending 6,000 Switzers, for whom the King's ambassador at Venice has requested passage through your Serenity's territory.

The Siennese here are doing their utmost to prevent Sienna from passing into the hands of the Duke of Florence, and have treated with the Imperial cardinals at Rome to write to King Philip that it is contrary to his interests to deprive himself of that city ; and they say that the delegates despatched by them to his Majesty will perhaps be accompanied by Don Alonso de Sande, who disapproves of this alienation.

The Romans having complained to Cardinal Caraffa of the devastation of the Campagna, he told them they were the cause of it by not providing funds, as they ought to have done, without which no valid resistance could be made. Some of the chief Romans, accompanied by Cardinal Caraffa's auditor, are now visiting the

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houses of private individuals, prelates, and others, praying them to contribute a certain sum of money on the "*Monte del Quatrino*" for each pound of meat, to complete the amount of 130,000 crowns, which were offered in lieu of the one per cent., but they can find no one who will invest capital in this security.

Rome, 10th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 24.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

963. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Besides what was said by Cardinal Cesis to Chizola, as written by me in the public letters, the Bishop of Torcello told me that when he said to Cesis that by so much the less ought the Cardinal [Farnese] to have attempted this, as the "*accesso*" had been given in public Consistory as a favour to your Serenity (*in grazia di vostra Serenità*), and with the consent of Cardinal Durante himself, as he had been assured by Cardinal Pisani; Cesis answered him, "I believe that Cardinal Pisani deceives himself, because, although I remember that in the schedule (*nella cedula*), which is now in my possession as summist (*come summista*), no mention is made either of '*accesso*' or of the Signory of Venice, nor of any contentment (*contentamento*) of Cardinal Durante; and, indeed, I think I remember that Cardinal Durante canvassed certain cardinals not to grant him this '*accesso*,' which being heard by Julius III., he made a *motu proprio*, and the '*accesso*' was conceded as a favour to the most illustrious Signory." Cesis also said to the Bishop of Torcello, "This might easily have been a trick (*un tratto*) (to speak freely with you) of Cardinal Farnese, who, to find some opportunity for sowing and nourishing some disagreement between the Pope and the Signory, thinking thus to benefit some design of his through the opportunity afforded by these present times, persuaded Cardinal Durante, offering him simultaneously to make that see lapse (*casar*) to his nephew." I have just got the copy of the schedule through the Bishop of Torcello, but not having time to transcribe it, it shall be sent with my next to your most excellent Lordships, to whom I have willed to write the aforesaid things for becoming respects, but, above all, lest, having again to discuss this matter, you make your foundation on what is not a fact (*non si facci fondamento sopra cosa che non sia in fatto*).

Rome, 10th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

964. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Cardinal Caraffa has avoided audiences and business since many days, so that every one remains not only dissatisfied but almost in despair. He remains always as if in retirement, intent solely on sensual gratification (*intento solamente a soi piaceri*), nor do his attendants allow any one to approach his apartments, as they say they have orders from him accordingly. The French ambassador has been many times to speak to him, and many times did he

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return, the like having befallen many other persons. The commissary, who bears the burden of all the victualling and pecuniary supplies, has since a long while been unable to obtain audience, and said he would not return unless sent for. He gave me to understand that when speaking with the Pope about money, showing him how ineffectual and perilous this imposition of one per cent. is, and that should the war continue thought must be had for some fresh and brisk provision (*qualche nova e viva provision*), nor could he see any one more sure and speedy than the sale of some papal city, and, above all, to your Serenity (*et massime alla Serenità vostra*), the Pope replied, "Speak not to me again about this, for I would rather do anything than alienate a span of earth belonging to the Church. God will assist me, and find means to defend His cause."

The commissary also informed me that having no answer about the lectureship desired by him in the university of Padua, and as he sees things here going so badly that they could not go worse, his usual admission into the privy council being also suspended, seeing that he is not held in such account as his labours deserve, he thinks of returning soon to France.

Rome, 10th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

965. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday Marshal Strozzi departed hence to embark at Marseilles on his way to Rome, nor has he anything more to impart to the Pope than what I mentioned heretofore, save that his most Christian Majesty is well satisfied with his Holiness, for whose benefit he will never fail to do what he can; and in conformity with what I wrote on the 8th, it is now more and more confirmed that the King considers it certain the Pope will no longer fail him, and rejoiced greatly at the rejection in Consistory of the pension for the kingdom of Naples, whereby it seems, as it were, declared that King Philip has forfeited that fief (*che il Re Filippo sia caduto da quel feudo*). I tried to elicit whether any positive order had been sent to M. de Guise to make an enterprise, but from all quarters it is heard that everything is referred to him, with liberty to do whatever time and opportunity shall indicate; and I may add that Strozzi has gained so much by this negotiation that he may almost be said to have recovered his former favour with the King, and the Constable in particular has shown himself most friendly towards him.

The King of England having crossed the Channel with the English troops, said to number 10,000 men, it being also heard that he will soon have a large number of German troops, his army thus amounting to upwards of 40,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, the French are in no little trouble, as hitherto no one believed the King of England to have such considerable forces; and as his most Christian Majesty will not have more than 20,000 infantry in the field, including Germans and Frenchmen, his men-at-arms and light horse being about 7,000, no thought is had for anything but

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self-defence, to which effect frequent consultations are held, not only about the best means for securing these frontiers, but also for preventing invasion of the French territory. According to report, it is almost certain that the enemy will make their first attack on the new fortress called Riucherot (sic) [Rocroy?], near Marienburg, in which direction a certain amount of troops have marched already, and as it is not yet completed there is a general fear of its loss, and being on this side of Marienburg, that fortress remaining exposed (esclusa), causes in like manner apprehension, although it is well garrisoned and victualled for some time. They also suspect that, should Riucherota (sic) be taken, the enemy might go to Mezieres, about which place, however, they do not seem alarmed, as it is a strong fortress and well provided (munito). The Duke de Nevers, the governor of Champagne, did his utmost to enter the place, but the King would not allow him to do so, as he is a personage of too great quality, and in right of his governorship has charge of the whole of that province, but there entered it the Baron de Corton, a knight of the Order, and a very old soldier.*

It is also suspected that in this other quarter, with the assistance of their fleet, the English may make some attempt upon Boulogne, where the French have not failed to make much provision, but as they have not yet cropped all the wheat, any undertaking must at least be delayed until towards the end of this month, when his most Christian Majesty's forces will be marshalled, and they are therefore hastening every sort of supply; and the Constable will go to Moncornet, near Lan [Laon] where the troops will be mustered sooner than was said a few days ago, but from what is heard his Excellency will not remain there long, but after passing the review, and giving such orders as he shall know to be necessary, may return to the Court, provided necessity do not compel him to remain with the army.

It cannot yet be affirmed whether the King will go thither in person, for although every provision continues being made as customary on former occasions when he did so, many persons nevertheless are of opinion that he will not go, finding himself less powerful in the field than the enemy will be. Everything necessary is also being prepared for the going of the Dauphin, who wishes to accompany his father, but of this likewise there is as yet no certainty.

The Germans who made the muster as written by me are still in Champagne, and treat the friars, priests, and churches with every sort of insolence, much to the universal regret, and for the most part they are very sorry troops (*et per il più sono assai trista gente*). The King has formed a junta of a certain number of counsellors and presidents of the law courts (*corte presidiali*), in order to sell those offices as usual, to the amount of about 500,000 francs; so the parliaments have sent to his Majesty to complain of this fresh addition of ministers, but they will have to take patience, as the King chooses to avail himself of this money.

* Corton (see Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 886), one of the prisoners at the rout of St. Quentin, 10th August.

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His Majesty has also received 200 000 crowns at Lyons at 16 per cent., with the usual conditions. The ambassadors of the four Swiss cantons, who came for the causes assigned by me, have lately been despatched with the following reply, that his Majesty will not allow Lutheran preachers to preach in that valley, but that no inquisition will be made about anybody's mode of living (*contra il modo di viver di alcuno*), with which they remained well satisfied, and when the King sent them 200 crowns each for their expenses they would not accept them.

The King of Portugal is dead, his successor being his grandson,* a child of about three years old.

Compiegne, 15th July 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 16.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

966. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day at 5 p.m., the hour assigned me, I went to the Pope, and in conformity with your Serenity's missive of the 10th gave him account of what took place at Venice between King Philip's ambassador and Cardinal Trivulzi, and in reply his Holiness said: "Is it possible for us to be disbelieved? we know not whether it be blockishness or Divine judgment; you know how often we have told you that those Imperialists (*costoro*) are traitors, that whatever they do has for object to deceive, that they preach peace for the sole purpose of making war more commodiously. This has indeed been known by a thousand signs, and is now moreover so evident that he who does not see it is blind, and he who ignores it is lethargic and stupid.

"Philip writes to a number of cardinals about his excellent will towards the peace, desiring them to communicate it to us, and he also employs his brother the most illustrious Signory (*et adopera anco fr'ello la Sig^{ria} Ill^m* (sic). We offer ourselves to him; we open to him the bosom of commiseration, and do more than was becoming from the wish we have for quiet, and from our hope of effecting universal peace; but simultaneously the Duke of Alba sends a rebel of ours, an excommunicated convict, an accursed son of Satan, giving him sufficient soldiery to come and insult us face to face; for it would have been less injurious had the said Duke come again with all his forces into those parts. You also will see them, and the Signory will be certified that they have been bantered by them, to our detriment and to their shame, for it seems that they assume authority after all the good offices performed by you for the peace; and they moreover permit that sorry Hebrew (*quel tristo Giudeo*) to beard them, thus allowing King Philip as it were to command. In their capital his ambassador ought to observe your laws, as do our representatives, although we are supreme head, and yet no demonstration of resentment is made; you are too familiar with them; may God give you

* Don Sebastian, born 20th January 1554. (*See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*)

1557.

good counsel ; they are bad company, and we choose to let you know it ; they are on the wrong side.

“ The Imperialists carry with them the title of heretics, schismatics, and enemies of God, and the like may be said of their adherents. We have proof in our hands when it shall please us to exercise the dignity conferred on us by the Lord God, who has power to turn the wheel, and to show you to-morrow another world. *Cognoscet Dominus judicium faciens*. We shall remain intent on serving Him, and on hoping in His Majesty alone, for we are certain that He will have knowledge, power, and will to defend His cause, and we who treat it are prepared, without the slightest anxiety in the world, to suffer any torment and death for His glory ; and to you we repeat that they are bad company, and should you bind yourselves too much to that quarter (*a quelle parti*) it may prove to your detriment.”

In reply, I requested his Holiness not readily to believe that you would do anything contrary to the honour and advantage of this Holy See, and of himself individually, as he would credit that which is not ; saying, that what took place was inevitable, it not being in your power to make any demonstration against an ambassador who represents his prince, and may be said to have acted for his benefit, nor yet against a notary who committed no other error than that of accompanying a person who calls him to perform his office.

The Pope said, “ With regard to the notary, this excuse is frivolous, for he is a public person, bound to perform any office relating to acts of private individuals, but he has nothing to do where affairs of State are concerned, and he well knows that his interference might cost him his life, and we know that the Signory is more disputatious (*più contesta*) with her subjects concerning affairs of State than any other prince.” I rejoined that the notary seemed to me to have evinced judgment by not having chosen to sign the instrument on perceiving such a tumult (*non havendo voluto rogar l'istrumento, poi ch'avea veduto quelli tumulti*), and that therefore his Holiness had no cause for exasperation.

The Pope continued, “ We cannot conceal from you that we should have wished the Signory to have resented such extreme audacity and rashness, and if we speak to you angrily it is out of the love we bear you, which makes us wish to see you preserve your dignity and not give yourself as a prey to those Imperialists, for if we considered you an enemy we should be silent, dissembling everything, and without farther discourse we should treat you as such ; but the love we bear you makes me warn you of what has eventually to prove for your welfare, viz., that you should at length see clearly the deceitful practices of these our enemies, or rather yours, and first of all of God. Do not allow yourselves to be fed with words ; maintain yourselves in your dignity, as this will suffice us. We have seen you of yore, for the defence of this Holy See, in league with the Pope, and at the time of the sack send your fleet and your army into these parts ; at present we know not what to say, but we nevertheless remember that once when in affliction you had great assistance from our house, viz., from our uncle Oliverio Cardinal Caraffa,

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who was the refuge of Messer Hieronimo Donado, when everybody expelled you, besides which that ambassador elected him as minister for the reconciliation, and principally through his assistance the six ambassadors were accepted.* That is notorious, and we on every occasion, even from our infancy, have given evident marks of our love for that 'Dominion,' acting in like manner during our cardinalate, so that after the Consistories the Venetian cardinals were compelled to come and thank me; nor at present do we fail, nor shall we fail the Signory; but it would at least be fair that the truth spoken by us and visible facts should be credited, and that you should not allow yourselves to make promises to the enemies of God, and of the Italian race, but rather avenge the injuries done us to our dishonour."

I replied, "Holy Father! in like manner as the most Serene Signory will not fail rendering all obedience and reverence to your Holiness and the See Apostolic, so with regard to what has happened all they could do was to regret it, and to negative (*negar*) the two demands made by the Spanish Ambassador; and if my Signory, as confessed by your Holiness, received so much from you when *in minoribus*, now that your Holiness is greater than at that period, the more does the Signory at present expect from you."

His Holiness, being thus somewhat pacified, proceeded to say, "Yesterday, in the congregation of the Inquisition, with the junta of certain persons summoned by us in addition to the ordinary members, viz., the cardinals, vice-chancellor, penitentiary, camerlengo, governor, president of the chamber, auditor di ruota, and the like, we did a thing which we believe to be more useful for the 'Reform' than anything that has been done during the last 300 years, if carried into effect (we must allude to ourselves) (*bisogna che tocchiamo noi*), a thing which other Pontiffs never chose to do, and to this we can bear true testimony, having been always employed on similar business.

"We think to please the most illustrious Signory, who is so solicitous for the glory of God, and will assist us to carry the plan into execution so far as the State is concerned. We are of opinion that no tribunal acts with more sincerity, nor more with a view to the honour of God, than this one of the Inquisition. We have proposed to ourselves to assign to it (*deputarli*) whatever depends on the articles of faith, or can be made to approach them (*overo che si possono tirare a quelli*). Profane swearing, which we assigned them heretofore, is a species of infidelity, as it attributes to God what is not His, depriving Him of what He has. We assign to them the heinous crime against nature, from its enormity; and yesterday we assigned to them besides the simoniacal heresy, forbidding all the other tribunals, penitentiary, chancery, chamber, "auditorio," and all others of every denomination, to interfere with those matters for the future, but to despatch the processes already commenced in their respective courts.

* For details of this embassy, see Cardinal Bembo, "Della Istoria Viniziana" (vol. 2, p. 95. Ed. Vinegia, 1770).

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"We shall thus abolish the sale of the sacraments, the ordination of lads, as any beast could be ordained, for money, the sale of benefices, and all the other illicit contracts, which have caused all possible mischief and scandal. We may say that yesterday we did a thing, of the point of which, as relating to our profession (*pertinente alla nostra arte*), we can draw the lines, the surface and the substance, &c., which we have chosen to tell you that you may write it to the most illustrious Signory, in proof that notwithstanding all the anxieties caused us by these children of the devil, we do not fail to proceed with the reform in such a way as is in our power, and as passed by us, likely to bear fruit."

Rome, 16th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 17.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

967. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marcantonio Colonna, having retired towards Paliano, remains passive, perhaps owing to the despatch from the Cardinal "Camerlengo" and from the Duke of Florence, but he does not allow either persons or effects (*robba*) to enter Paliano, which is said not to be victualled for many days.

Cardinal Caraffa evinces great hopes of peace, and told Marquis Montebello to be of good cheer, as he will now know that what he so often told him about not wishing for war, but that it became him to obey the Pope, was the truth.

The ambassador from Florence [Ricasoli] sent me some letters for the ambassador Vargas in Venice, saying that they were in reply to what the said ambassador had written to him about the affair with Cardinal Trivulzi. I declined accepting them and had him told that there were other means for their transmission, I on certain reasonable accounts not choosing to involve myself in this matter. Ricasoli communicated to me King Philip's treaty with the Duke of Florence about Sienna. He said that the Pope seemed to approve of it, although the Duke is bound to assist the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese whenever they are molested by a league of Italian Princes. The Duke stipulated it on the 4th instant; and on the 6th Figueroa entered Sienna, he being commissioned to give possession of it to Dom. Luigi and Chiappino Vitelli, who were to receive it in the Duke's name, but that the troops were not to enter, as the Spanish soldiery laid claim to many arrears of pay, and although King Philip sent some "assignments," there is a difficulty about them, as the Cardinal of Burgos [Francisco Mendoza y Bobadilla] says he is the King's creditor for a considerable sum. The Duke promised to disburse the money on receiving an assignment guaranteeing its repayment, nor is it known whether this will be settled without sending to the King.

The Pope has deprived Cardinal Morone of the government of Sutri, conferring it on the Cardinal of Naples.

Rome, 17th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.
July 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

968. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, by invitation, I accompanied the King in a general procession, in which his Majesty, the Queen, the Dauphin, and all the other personages now at the Court took part, it being customary in France to perform this ceremony whenever an army takes the field.

In the afternoon, when about to tell the Constable what your Serenity desired me, I was anticipated by his telling me that as it had pleased his most Christian Majesty to appoint him commander-in-chief of his army in this quarter of Champagne and Picardy, he should therefore depart one of these days, and that I was to assure your Serenity that wheresoever he might find himself he would be your servant and good friend; adding, "Request the most serene Signory, should they hear of the many preparations making by King Philip, to suspend their judgment of his most Christian Majesty's affairs until it be heard how they proceed, as before the end of this month our matters will be in a different state to that in which they are represented at the Court of King Philip, where it is said publicly that his Majesty here (*questa Maestà*) has neither money, nor troops, nor commanders; but they will perhaps find themselves mistaken, and should they not do something of importance before our army is in being, they will possibly find more impediments than they expect; but in case they succeed, I shall nevertheless endeavour to repair the damage as well as I can." I replied that any auspicious event happening to his Majesty would always be hailed by your Serenity with satisfaction. I then made the statement about restitution of Venetian merchandise, in accordance with your Serenity's last letter, and repeated it when introduced to the King, who, without allowing me to finish speaking, said, "Lord Ambassador, I am accustomed to speak freely with you, and thus will I do at present, though with others I should perhaps do otherwise. I told you heretofore that this prize (*presa*) does not belong to me but to my subjects, to whom I cannot deny justice, most especially in these present times. Assure the Signory that in whatever appertains to me I will always gratify them as much as they can desire, but in this nothing more can be done." The King also said that the council had determined thus, and that nothing more could be done.

I communicated to him the news-letters from Constantinople. He then told me that the Constable would depart one of these days to marshal the army, and that his 30 German companies (*insegne*) were at Tigni (*sic*), a place near Mezieres, and the French troops were still marching in that direction, they being 60 regiments (*bande*), with about 16,000 infantry, and the cavalry was marching in like manner, so that about the 25th of the present month they would all be ready; and that although the Spaniards still continued adding to their numbers, he nevertheless did not think they would in fact be so many as reported, and most especially with regard to the English, of whom as yet only a very small number had crossed the Channel. I asked if his Majesty would go to the army. He said,

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laughing, "I do not know; I wish to go thither, but these attendants of mine (*questi mei*) endeavour to persuade me to the contrary, but my arms and horses are in order, together with all the other requisites. According to opportunity I shall do as God may inspire me. King Philip causes it to be reported that he will take the field, but I do not expect him to do so at this commencement. We shall wait to see how things go." He then added, "What think you, Lord Ambassador, of the King of Spain's having after all tricked the Pope (*ha pur burlato il Papa*), having kept him in hope of giving the Duke of Paliano Sienna, and bestowing it on the Duke of Florence? I asked his Majesty if he had received advice that the thing was quite settled. He said, "Yes, for certain, and I very well know the agreement. The King gives Sienna, with the citadel and all the rest of that state, to the Duke of Florence, except Orbitello and Port Hercule, which will remain in his hands; and he, on the other hand, makes him give the Lord of Piombino the whole of his state, except Porto Ferraro and a circuit of two miles of territory, which remains in the Duke's hands, he in return promising to assist the King with 4,000 infantry and 400 horse to combat any league formed in Italy against him; and, to explain this point to you better, he is not bound to send these troops elsewhere than against the forces of the leagues, as, for instance, in Piedmont, where the whole cost is defrayed with my money alone; in acknowledgment for which King Philip promises him 4,000 foot, 200 men-at-arms, and 300 light cavalry for the defence of his state."

His Majesty then added, "The Pope is of good cheer, and expecting Marshal Strozzi, who will soon arrive, and the Duke de Guise is also awaiting the orders which I have already sent him." I said to his Majesty that it was nevertheless heard that something continued to be said about peace between his Majesty and the King of Spain. He replied, "It is always rumoured, but nothing is ever concluded," adding that he supposed I had heard of the state in which the Marquis of Pescara finds himself, in a very narrow pass, out of which he has only two exits, the one by Le Langhe (*sic*), a mountainous territory and very arduous (*difficile*), the other by way of Asti, which were he to attempt he would have to give battle, so some result will soon be heard." In conclusion he said that after the capture of Pienza in Tuscany, Montluc had provisioned for at least two years the fortresses entrusted to him.

The Constable has confessed and communicated, and will depart in three or four days. The enemy's plan of the campaign not being yet known, they are therefore compelled to remain undecided here likewise, but I will not omit to mention, on good authority, that in the field the French troops will exceed 20,000 infantry, with about 7,000 horse, viz., 1,500 men-at-arms, 2,200 mounted bowmen (arcieri), some 2,000 light horse, and 600 "Feraroli," and the rest will consist of the King's household and other gentlemen. The garrisons in all the fortresses have been reinforced, orders being given to withdraw all the provisions from the places near the frontiers, and to place what remains in the rest of the territory in the fortresses, so that should the enemy invade the kingdom they may

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be unable to find victuals there. The Constable purposes mustering the said troops (as written by me) at Mont Cornet and the neighbouring places between Laon and Mezieres, which territory being on the borders between Champagne and Picardy, his Excellency intends to push forward in such direction as he shall know to be necessary. Should the enemy lay siege to any fortress, his Excellency, with the army, will take up a position distant six or eight leagues from them, to intercept their victuals and other supplies, with the intention of not fighting, but remaining merely on the defensive, and retreating at the same distance in such direction as the enemy may apparently have in view, according to what he shall deem most to his advantage.

It is not believed that the most Christian King will join the army, from its inferiority of force to that of the enemy, but should the King of England go, as is anticipated, it seems that his most Christian Majesty will with very great difficulty comply with the wishes of these Lords (*questi signori*), who even in that case exhort him not to go; but a person of quality has told me that unless the enemy's forces outnumber those of the French by more than 10,000 infantry, and if the King of England be in the field, it will by no means be possible to prevent his most Christian Majesty from doing the like. Everybody seems to have a very great wish for some agreement, and it is spoken of largely even by persons the most exalted (*anche dalli maggiori largamente*), it being said that the need on both sides is such that should they delay during the whole of the remainder of this summer, at the commencement of the winter, should no one else be found to interfere, the Princes will have to mediate between themselves. I have been told by a person of importance, that in pursuance of his constant wish to bring his most Christian Majesty to some agreement, he is going to the army with the intention of not losing such opportunities as may present themselves to that effect, which your Serenity will keep secret. As all the powers except your Serenity seem interested parties, and therefore unqualified to interfere (*intramettersi*) with this negotiation, it is said publicly at the Court that you (*Lei*) would be the best medium.

Some while ago I wrote that Cardinal Tournon was treating to enlist the Duke of Urbino in the most Christian King's service, and subsequently the negotiation advanced so far that here it is considered settled, his Majesty having given full power to Cardinal Tournon to adjust such differences as remain. The convention is supposed to purport that the King takes him and his state under his protection, giving him 12,000 crowns salary (*provisione*), pay for 100 men-at-arms, and a certain subsidy to complete the fortification of Sinigaglia, and that his Majesty will make him a knight of the Order (of St. Michael). I understand that here they hold this conclusion in great account, by reason of the accommodation derivable by the King from the duchy of Urbino for the possible attack (*la impresa che si potesse far*) either on Naples or Tuscany.

A gentleman of the territory of Lyons (*del paese di Lion*), by name M. de Mions (*sic*), by means of an understanding with some of the inhabitants of that city, and through assistance promised him

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from the "Franche Comté,"* had plotted (*dissegnava*) to give Lyons to the King of Spain, having already assembled in his house, two leagues thence, several accomplices and a large supply of arms; and, through secret intelligence with the warder of one of the gates, he intended on the day of the next fair to introduce a certain number of troops in the garb of merchants, and during that confusion to make himself master of the said gate, which is a very strong one, and that after keeping it four days, as he hoped to do, he should be reinforced by 4,000 infantry from the "Franche Comté" as afore-said; but having been discovered, he made his escape, and some of his accomplices having been arrested, they, by the King's order, will be hanged, and the house of the said principal razed to its foundation.
Compiègne, 19th July 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 20.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

969. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday evening, Plácido and the Florentine courier returned from the Duke of Alva, and on Monday he conferred with Cardinal Caraffa, with the Cardinal Camerlengo, and with the ambassador from Florence. From their report it is heard that the Duke of Alva is in a castle two miles from Ascoli, which castle he had determined to raze. That they departed on Thursday evening, on the morning of which day they saw the army decamp; it numbered eight ensigns (*insegne*) of Germans, and seven of Spaniards, with three standards (*stendardi*) of men-at-arms, which the Duke was sending to Marc' Antonio Colonna, having more horse and foot than he required either for the safe custody of the kingdom of Naples or for the invasion of the March of Ancona. They say that the Duke perseveres in his wish to make terms with the Pope in such form as discussed by him and Cardinal Caraffa on the island of Porto, but that he will not listen to a word about truce or suspension of hostilities. The Cardinal "Camerlengo" has told a person in his confidence, that Cardinal Caraffa sent him a memorandum (*una poliza*) which he said contained what had been mooted on the island for consideration (*quanto era stato ragionato nell' Isola d'avviso*), but that he Caraffa had lost the paper (*la poliza*) containing the terms on which the Duke of Alva would make peace, which memorandum (*la qual poliza*) the Duke of Alva found to differ in many important parts from the one he has in the handwriting of said Cardinal Caraffa; so not having the autograph with him he delayed this despatch for five days, as he had to send to Naples for the document, a copy of which he now transmits, saying that he remains firm in his purpose to grant those conditions, and that should it be chosen not to accept them, there was no occasion to toil

* Franche Comté, successively part of the kingdom and duchy of Burgundy and the kingdom of France, was given to Philip II. of Spain as the dowry of Isabella of France, whom he married in 1559. It was conquered and retained by Louis XIV. in 1674. (See Haydn's Dictionary of Dates.)

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any farther by sending here and there ; as if they did not adhere to what they had promised, and put to writing, he knew not what more to say nor to believe. When the confidant¹ of the Cardinal "Camerlengo" (who repeated it to me) asked him about Paliano and the securities, which are the most important articles, he replied that the Duke chooses to have Paliano in his hands for a certain time, or else that a confidant (*un confidente*) be placed in it, and with regard to security they will be agreed, provided the Pope dismiss the French and withdraw from the League.

The Florentine ambassador told my secretary subsequently, that when speaking with Cardinal Caraffa about this memorandum (*questa polizza*) he did not deny its being his holograph (*di sua mano*), but he says that it has neither date nor signature, implying that it is not authentic ; and that he prayed him to despatch the courier immediately to Florence, as he did on that very day at 4 p.m. The ambassador says that the Duke of Alva wrote nothing else to him, save that in his letters to the Duke of Florence, he gives account of the whole fact, and that he (Ricasoli) thinks he sent him the copy of the Cardinal's holograph memorandum, which his Duke having seen, and as the Caraffas do not choose to observe what they have once promised, he (Ricasoli) is of opinion that Duke Cosmo will send orders that if they will not keep their promise, Ricasoli is no longer to mediate, and that the Duke of Florence will write to the Duke of Alva to do what profits him.

Yesterday at 1 p.m., the Switzers made their entry into Rome through St. Peter's gate, the Pope having chosen to see and to bless them, and therefore had his dinner prepared in Belvedere, so that from a window overlooking the meadows through which they passed he saw them and blessed them. On that day and some days previously he greatly commended the Switzer nation for fidelity and valour, calling them "Angels sent by God to defend His cause," saying that before the reign of Julius II., the Popes formed their body guard of Italians, but having experienced the fidelity of the Switzers, they thenceforth placed themselves in their hands ; and that he himself, had he to form a household (*a far famiglia*), would have none but Switzers in his service, even as chamberlains. He sent refreshments for them to Ponte Molle, and also his guard of horse and foot and six pieces of artillery, and on passing the Castle the ten ensigns were saluted with discharges of cannon. These troops do not amount to 2,000, they are all armed with pikes and swords, without corslets or sallèts, and lodging was assigned them in the quarter "del Popolo." To-day the Pope had a mass of the Holy Spirit celebrated, after which he knighted their colonel, and gave a gold chain of no great value to each of his 11 captains.

As told me to-day in chapel by Marquis Montebello and Giulio Orsini they will go to-morrow morning with these Switzers and the rest of the Roman cavalry and infantry to succour Paliano.

Rome, 20th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.
July 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

970. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the very day when I wrote my last of the 19th to your Serenity there came hither to the Court M. de Vaudemont, the uncle of the Duke of Lorraine, he having come chiefly to pay his respects to the King as usual, having been to the English Court to visit King Philip and to accompany the Duchess his sister-in-law. With this opportunity he informed his most Christian Majesty that he found the King of England very well inclined to treat some agreement, and should the King of France be of the same mind M. de Vaudemont said he would not fail to repeat such offices as performed by him heretofore. He was answered in general terms, evincing good will and inclination towards the agreement should it be possible to conclude it on fair terms; but from what I have heard Vaudemont's office having been very general, and merely with a view to ascertain his most Christian Majesty's mind, he is in doubt whether or not to continue the negotiation, which although earnestly desired here seems very difficult because King Philip being strongly armed (gagliardamente armata), it is thought that he will choose first of all to try how far his good fortune will favour him. The like may also be said of King Henry, who shows that having no fear of being unable at least to defend himself securely, he will not condescend to terms diminishing his repute, but when these first ebullitions shall have subsided everybody hopes that at any rate matters will be adjusted. M. de Vaudemont then told his most Christian Majesty that in the event of the troops of the King of England choosing to pass through the Duchy of Lorraine he could not prevent them from doing so, and that indeed choosing to preserve in his neutrality, he must needs accommodate them with victuals and such other things as they shall ask of him, in like manner as he did by the German soldiery of his most Christian Majesty who passed through the said territory, complaining of them greatly because on their passage they committed many thefts and other atrocious damages; but besides this I also understand him to have informed the King that should this passage of the aforesaid troops take place he is somewhat apprehensive lest they seize some of the fortresses in Lorraine, which he, relying on his neutrality, has hitherto not kept so well garrisoned and provisioned as requisite; and with this he took leave and will depart for his government.*

Yesterday the Constable departed, being accompanied by the Marechal de St. André† and almost all the rest of the Court, and as the King has given it to be understood that he chooses all his servants to go to the war, scarcely anyone will dare to appear at the Court. His Excellency is going straight to Lan [Laon?] where he will remain to give such orders as he shall think necessary for the immediate incorporation of the army, taking a good part of the veteran soldiers out of the fortresses and substituting recruits, so as

* Nicolas Comte de Vaudemont, guardian of his nephew Charles III., Duke of Lorraine.

† Jacques d'Albon. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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to strengthen it. Having heard that the forces of the King of Spain are mustering in two directions, one between Mons and Valenciennes, and the other at Namur, his Excellency in like manner will determine about his troops according to circumstances and as shall be most opportune. On the morning of his Excellency's departure my secretary went again in my name to take leave of him.

Three days ago a courier arrived from Rome, despatched by Cardinal Caraffa to Marshal Strozzi, who having already departed hence, the Nuncio acquainted his most Christian Majesty with the stir made so near Rome by the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna, *and again laying before the King the need in which the Pope finds himself, prayed him in his Holiness' name to continue succouring him*; all which having been already settled as written by me, no further confirmation of the King's good will was needed. By the Pope's order Cardinal Caraffa also wrote to the said Nuncio, by name Cesare Brancazzo, a Neapolitan, late governor of Rome, to take leave of the King immediately and to return post haste to Rome where his Holiness requires his personal services for some very important negotiation (*maneggio*); so after taking leave of his Majesty and receiving a present of 1,000 crowns, he departed post-wise, the King and the whole Court having the best possible opinion of him, both as a most prudent minister and as a right honourable gentleman. He will be succeeded by the Bishop of Fermo.

The Bishop of Aix [Acqs],* who has been appointed by his most Christian Majesty ambassador to your Serenity, will depart in a week on his way to you by day journeys, and from what I have heard he will not be charged with the management of the money matters as the Bishop of Lodève was.

The merchants here have received letters dated Valladolid the 1st instant, informing them that the assignments made heretofore by the King of Spain to the merchants for payment in three years of seven millions of gold, for which he is their debtor, have all been retracted (*levati*), without appointing them any prorogation of time; of the which sum four millions belong to the Genoese, one to the Fuggers, and two to divers other merchants. They also write that the King of Portugal had agreed to pay two millions of gold, due from him to the merchants, within the three next years, and that he had given them the assignments.

Compiègne, 23rd July 1557.

This letter being detained until the 25th, the Court having hitherto delayed the despatch of the aforesaid courier, I now announce the departure of M. de Vaudemont. The King of Navarre has in like manner departed and returns to his State, with orders to survey the frontiers of his government of Gascony, and to provide them with whatever shall be necessary both towards the sea and on the confines of Spain.

The Constable will arrive at Laon to-day and will enforce the

* François de Noailles. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

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orders already given for the retirement into the fortresses of all the victuals and everything else. It is not believed that the whole of the army can be embodied until about the 8th of next month.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

971. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

*The King will not depart hence until the 27th or 28th, and in the meanwhile what I hear about the army is as follows. There are with the Duke of Savoy from 13,000 to 14,000 infantry, 3,000 men-at-arms, and 1,500 light cavalry and mounted harquebusiers. The infantry consist of veteran Spaniards, some 3,500 who were in Hesdin, 15 ensigns of Walloons under the Count de Meghen, 20 ensigns of Germans, one half under Lazarus Schwendy, the other half under George Van Holt, both good colonels. The ordinary men-at-arms of this territory are under the command of M. de Benincourt, the light infantry and harquebusiers having the Count d'Egmont for their general.**

The Duke of Savoy is now with these troops in the direction of Marienburg ; it is not yet known for certain whether he will attack Rocroy or some other place, Rocroy being that fortress which the French erected to succour Marienburg, it having been heretofore a church with a tower, to which they added certain flanks of earthwork, with a good moat. It is situated in a wood, where it would be difficult to encamp, and it is rather to the left, between Marienburg and Mezieres, viz., to the westward, and, being a small place, it is not engraved on the maps.

Such is the present march of the Duke of Savoy, but the most serene King will proceed to Valenciennes, and remain there three or four days, the States having to assemble there to give the further orders required for the due provisions. During this interval the rest of the army is now living at discretion round Maastricht, with such discontent to the poor people as intelligible to any one, and so great is the inexperience of these ministers that, although they have the money ready, they nevertheless do not give the troops their pay. This remainder of the army is said to number from 50 to 60 ensigns of infantry, including Germans, "High" and "Low," and Frieslanders, and from 6,000 to 7,000 cavalry, one half Blacksmiths (Ferraruoli), but the truth will be better known when they are mustered. The entire body would amount to from 20,000 to 22,000 infantry, including Germans and Walloons, 6,000 to 7,000 Spaniards, together with the recruits who arrived lately on board the fleet, and some 12,000 cavalry, of which one third are Blacksmiths. Besides these there are the English troops, which do not exceed 5,000 infantry, nor have they yet orders to leave the environs of Calais. Thus there are three army corps (3 membri), each turned

* For the correct orthography of the names, Meghen, Schwendy, Benincourt, and Egmont, I am indebted to the late Sir William Hackett's Index to the Foreign Calendar of Queen Mary's reign.

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in different directions, so that no opinion can be formed as to where the blow will be struck.

The King sent me word to-day that we ambassadors are to remain here, where the Council of Justice also remains, and that his Majesty does this for our greater convenience. This resolve has been caused by two things, the one the request of the Florentine ambassador to be spared this toil, the other the dislike of all these Lords (as was the case heretofore with the Emperor) to have persons near them who see and write what they are doing. I shall request the King's permission for me to join the army.

Brussels, 23rd July 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher ; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 24.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

972. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Thursday night the ambassador from Florence had a courier from his Duke, in reply to his last, sent with the despatch from the Duke of Alva ; so my secretary being indisposed I sent my coadjutor to him for authentic intelligence. He said he went yesterday to Cardinal Caraffa and let him know that his Duke writes, that having mediated for this peace he will continue doing so, provided the Pope will now conclude it, but should he this time detach himself (*ma se questa volta la si stacca*) his Excellency will no longer interfere in the matter, but attend to his own interests, King Philip and his ministers doing the like, they seeing that they have hitherto obtained nothing but words. The Cardinal replied that he would confer with the Pope, and to-day he gave him the answer, couched in general terms, expressing a desire for peace, all his endeavours failing to obtain any farther decision.

The Pope's forces, horse and foot, with succour for Paliano, marched out of Rome on Thursday at 7 p.m., with eight field pieces, Marquis Montebello being captain-general of the expedition.

Letters from Monte Alcino announce the entry into Sienna last Monday of the troops of the Duke of Florence, and that the Cardinal of Burgos had proceeded towards his see by way of Milan, carrying with him the arm of St. John the Baptist, hitherto preserved at Sienna ; this the Duke will not suffer, and will do everything to make him restore it.

His Excellency has written to M. de Montluc that he has always observed the truce, and that now that he has obtained Sienna he shall continue to do so, provided it be not broken by the French. M. de Montluc answered him, that he is of the same mind about observing the truce, but that as it was heretofore broken by those who ruled Sienna he could not do so of his own accord, but must write to the French Ambassador and to M. de Guise in the March of Ancona ; and as the French troops had made certain plunder at the Certosa, distant about one mile from Sienna, and at another place called Rosia, also distant six miles thence, were it not restored to his soldiers, he could not fail to do justice to his "subjects ;" which plunder of animals, &c., Montluc had restored. The person who gives me this intelligence says that at Montalcino, when this word



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"subjects" was heard, not a man in the place could refrain from tears. The French Ambassador says that all he knows about these matters is that the Duke of Florence has obtained possession of Sienna without paying any money, and that great rejoicings had been made there.

On the day I wrote my last the Pope, when at dinner, in the presence of all the bystanders, said that those persons who believed that a pontiff would make peace receiving its conditions from others deceived themselves; that to him, as to the Vicar of God (*come a Vicario di Dio*), it appertained to impose them on all princes, and trample them under foot (*et haverli sotto piedi*); and when talking in private with a certain cardinal who is much attached to your Serenity, the Pope said to him, "These people (*questi*) really believed that we would make peace without the Cardinal and our most obedient son the King of France, who has done so much for us; they deceived themselves, and we laughed at this their opinion; it was always our intention to make a general peace, and arm in arm with the King."

Yesterday the Abbate di Jesis, a distant relation of the Pope's, was hanged in the bridge (*in ponte*), these Lords having discovered that, thinking thus to ingratiate himself with them, he falsely accused several persons of plotting with the Duke of Alva to poison his Holiness and Cardinal Caraffa.

The Pope did not give audience either yesterday or to-day, being somewhat indisposed from loss of appetite and a catarrhal affection, notwithstanding which he always dined in public, though to say the truth he ate little and loathed whatever was presented to him. On Thursday, the day appointed for the Inquisition, which he never misses by any accident, after keeping the cardinals and other persons appointed waiting till 6 p.m., he made his appearance, apologizing on account of his age, and because he had need of repose, as he felt rather unwell, and thus dismissed them. Then this morning I hear that he ate of everything, and almost as much as usual. At the Vatican they say he has ordered his house steward to prepare as well as he can certain little rooms (*stansiette*) at Monte Cavallo, where he formerly resided with his Theatins,* as he wishes to stay there for a few days in retirement, with three or four of his chamberlains and his guards, but a variety of accidents may impede or alter these projects.

Rome, 24th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 24.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

973. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Cardinal who told me what the Pope had said to him, as written in the public letters, is Cardinal Pisani.

I am now sending to your most excellent Lordships the copy of

* After the death of Pope Adrian in September 1522, Gian Pietro Caraffa retired into solitude and lived with the Theatins. According to Panvinio (p. 684), he there resided "in una picciola stanza nè amena nè bella sotto il monte Pincio, e da ogni cura delle cose humane affatto si rimosse, et allontanò."

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the consistorial schedule (*cedola*),* alluded to in my last, in which, to say the truth, there is no mention whatever of the "*accesso*" of the reverend Priuli.

Rome, 24th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

974. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I had a long conversation with the King to-day about divers matters. I said that although I saw his Majesty in arms, remembering, nevertheless, what he had always told me about being intent on peace, I wished to know what might be hoped about it. His Majesty replied that the courier from Rome had already arrived, bringing the worst possible news of the Pope's disposition (animo), and narrated many things written by me heretofore, expatiating on the recall of Cardinal Pole, and those other matters, from which his Majesty inferred extreme ill will towards him on the part of the Pope. He then added that, notwithstanding all this, his Majesty on his part will not fail performing every office to attain the desired end, and showing himself the Pope's obedient son, though he will not say, as desired by his Holiness, that he has been against the Church, as it is unbecoming, and he would be telling a lie (et diria la buggia). I said I would hope that the Pope might not be so averse to peace as he makes it appear, and if, as said by his Majesty, the Pope did every act of enmity to compel him to wage war, so should he perform every act of friendship to induce his Holiness to make peace.

His Majesty rejoined, that the Pope had been sounded (tentato) by your Serenity and by the Duke of Florence, and by many others, and gave no indication of inclining towards peace, having always made demonstrations to the contrary; notwithstanding which, his Majesty would try to conquer him (voleva veder di vincerlo), and that remembering what I had already said to him, that he should send an envoy to his Holiness for this purpose, he thenceforth had it in his mind to do so; but partly from what he said to me at the time, and in part from subsequent press of business, he had been unable to attend to this, but that he would not depart hence without deciding.

I prayed him to elect such a person as would warrant hope of an auspicious result. He said that he would decide this evening or to-morrow, and would appoint Vargas, his ambassador with your Serenity, and a discreet and prudent person, and that he will give him orders to move to Florence, and then regulate his proceedings according to those of the Duke with his Holiness. All he required was, to be secure of his kingdom of Naples, concerning which he dilated much.

I said that no greater security than was already in his hands could be wished for. He rejoined, "What is it?" I said, "Your Majesty's power, which having been so superior during open war to that of those who sought to offend you in that quarter, I know

* Not found.

1557.

not how there can be apprehension in time of peace." If this security is demanded on account of Paliano, I understand there are many places of the Church of greater importance for the kingdom of Naples than that fortress.

It seems to me so much has been obtained from this side that more could not be expected, and the person appointed as envoy is most suited to the purpose, by reason of his parts (*le conditioni sue*), and your Serenity will be able to give him instructions.

Brussels, 25th July 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher ; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

975. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When conversing with the King I told his Majesty what had been communicated to me by his order about remaining in this place, and prayed him to leave me at liberty to follow the army, but I could not change his Majesty's mind. I said the necessity might arise for me to be with him on business, and asked what I was to do in that case. He replied that I might send one of my attendants, according to circumstances, and if the matter was of importance, requiring me to go in person, he left me at liberty to do so.

The putting to sea of the Turkish fleet causes great alarm here. A letter from the Duke of Ferrara arrived yesterday for transmission to the Duke of Savoy, one of whose servants says it relates to the peace. It is not yet settled who is to replace the Cardinal of Trent at Milan, he having been dismissed, as written by me lately; but the choice will be made, and a considerable sum of money will be sent hence postwise into the Milanese to provide for the need there, the funds being derived from the money destined for the war here, as in the meanwhile Don Ruy Gomez will arrive with a considerable sum from Spain, raised on the produce of the Indies.

I forgot to announce the death of the Archbishop of Toledo.

Brussels, 25th July 1557.

[*Italian, in cipher ; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 28.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

976. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning, at 10 a.m., a courier arrived here from the Pope's camp which went to succour Paliano, with news that Marquis Montebello, finding himself unable to succour Paliano, the enemy having been reinforced by the Spanish and German cavalry, he retreated, and in the act of doing so was routed. Owing to this most important feat, Paliano and Veletri may be considered as lost, and Rome is placed in very great danger, as there is no one here to defend it, nor has any distressed city in the world a more disaffected population, as, besides what it has suffered hitherto, Cardinal Caraffa has given the Romans to understand that as they do not disburse the 130,000 crowns promised by them, in lieu of the one per cent., they must prepare to pay this last tax, as they will have to do with the Exchequer (*perchè haveranno da fare col Camerario*).

Yesterday the Pope gave public audience, but remained only a

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short while, many persons being of opinion that, having heard of the general report of his indisposition, he chose to show himself. Cardinal Caraffa likewise has been unwell during the last two days, but it is said that his illness is slight and that he got up to-day.

The Florentine ambassador [Ricasoli] told my secretary that the day before Cardinal Caraffa took to his bed he discussed the affair of the peace with him, and that they agreed about all the articles except that of the securities, which he settled yesterday with Cardinal Vitelli, being unable to see Cardinal Caraffa owing to his indisposition. Cardinal Vitelli was to have given the reply to-day, but this evening he sent to request him to delay the despatch of the courier until to-morrow.

In the course of his conversation with Ricasoli my secretary adroitly elicited from him the substance of the articles, thus:—The Pope to renounce his league with the King of France, and to send notice of this to the Duke de Guise, dismissing him at the same time, so that he may return home, evacuating all the papal fortresses. This being done, the Duke of Alva to restore all the towns occupied by him in the Papal States to his Holiness, and not to speak of reinstating Marc' Antonio Colonna, nor others, but to leave the Pope at liberty to judge his own subjects. With regard to the prisoners in the Castle, the ambassador says that no difficulty is made about the release of King Philip's subjects, merciful judgment to be passed on the others who remain. That, as security for one side and the other, the Duke of Alva is to send one of his sons to Rome, and the Pope will send Cardinal Caraffa or the Duke of Paliano either to Naples or to Florence. Ricasoli added that all these things were promised by him three months ago, when he fashioned them with his Duke, and the Duke with the Duke of Alva and with King Philip, and received the order accordingly. The ambassador also said that by his next letters from Florence he expects to hear that the Duke has received the full power from King Philip to enable him to conclude, and he also told Cardinal Vitelli that if, besides the Duke's signature, he wishes for that of the King, he will pledge himself to have it sent; saying in conclusion, "I have bound them to say of necessity either yes or no, for delay will be considered no. I know not what they will do; it seems well to me that every satisfaction should be given, and that, peace not being made, the whole world may see clearly who fails to do so. Besides which, they are in such need that greater cannot be imagined, nor does their condition leave them sufficient time to await the coming of Strozzi, for they must take care to decide speedily, as should they have the bad luck to lose Paliano, these articles now under consideration would be null, and the Duke of Alva would speak in another form." He then said, as a great secret, "The making these numerous concessions to the Pope, to tell it you as it stands, proceeds from the approval by my Duke and by King Philip of a reason written by me to them some months ago, that they should not insist on punctilios with the Pope, as everything depended on detaching him from the French, which, if effected, they would be rendered so distrustful of each other as never again to be reconciled, these Lords being compelled eventually to throw themselves into the

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arms of King Philip and do what his Majesty chooses, being unable of themselves, after the Pope's death, to defend either the Duchy of Paliano or the Marquisate of Montebello when deprived of French support, it being credible that a future Pope would neither wage war for them, nor perhaps permit them even to hold those states, so that they will have to pray King Philip as a favour to dispose of them, making some compensation to their present holders, as they will perhaps do during the present Pope's life ;" Ricasoli being of opinion that this restless old man (*questo vecchio inquieto*) will become the enemy of the French, it not seeming to him possible that his humour (*cervello*) can adapt itself to neutrality.

When in the act of despatching this letter, Spina, the secretary of Cardinal Caraffa, came to tell me in his Lordship's name that an imperial trumpet had just arrived to let him know that Giulio Orsini was alive, but badly wounded in the thigh by a harquebuse shot, and that he had therefore ordered Maestro Realdo to go immediately to attend him.

Rome, 28th July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

977. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the very day when I wrote my last of the 25th, the troops of the King of Spain, said to be in number about 30,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, willed (*volsero*) to approach the new fortress of Rocroy, as it was expected here for certain that they would on their first entry [into the French territory]. Some of them having advanced to reconnoitre it, the garrison, in number 2,000 infantry and some 500 horse, went out, and before the enemy got near had a sharp skirmish, killing 50 of them, so that they retreated without reconnoitring the fortress, and returning into it with the loss of one single foot soldier. After this the whole army retreated a distance of two leagues into their own territory to a place called Himes,* three leagues from Marienburg. *Rocroy is situated in the Ardenne forest with no more open country round it than is within range of a cannon-shot, and by the Constable's order its construction was commenced on Ash Wednesday in this present year, since when the works have been continued with great assiduity, his Excellency not having failed to furnish every sort of supply so as to render it a fortress as soon as possible, which hitherto it has been impossible to effect so completely as to render it secure, and consequently on hearing of the enemy's approach there was great fear of their taking it. The chief hope was derived from the difficulty about water, which has to be brought from a place five miles off, and by reason of this difficulty it was considered certain that unless the fortress surrendered in two or three days the enemy would raise the siege. The erection of Rocroy was to facilitate the victualling of Marienburg, which could not be accomplished last year without a very considerable escort, and were Rocroy lost, Marienburg, remaining isolated, would certainly fall*

* Han-sur-Somme ? (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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likewise, the enemy being thus enabled without any opposition to come to Rheims and ravage a great part of Champagne. Nor has this apprehension yet ceased, it not being known what the enemy purpose doing, although the Constable, who was yesterday at Notre Dame de Liesse, a place near Laon, wrote to the King to rest assured (che stia con sicurtà) by this commencement of retreat, as his Majesty's forces having taken heart he hopes that the enemy will be unable to do hereafter more than they have done hitherto.

His Excellency also writes that yesterday, at a place called "*le Torre*," he inspected the German infantry, and that they are 10,000 fighting men, very fine troops, and that the French, both horse and foot, continue to arrive, so that they will soon be embodied, but in fact I do not hear that this can be done before about the 8th or 10th of next month. It is also understood that 5,000 English infantry and 1,000 horse have landed, and 1,000 sappers, nor are they without some suspicion that in the parts of Flanders towards Picardy the King of Spain will form another army corps.

*At the Court it seems that well nigh no account at all is taken either of the affairs of Piedmont or of M. de Guise, although a brisk skirmish in the neighbourhood of Ascoli has been heard of, everybody's thoughts and words reverting, on the contrary, to this part of Picardy. They do not in any particular delay pecuniary supply or whatever else is needed, both because this is necessary on account of the Constable taking the field in person, and also because it seems that the other undertakings matter little when this one of harassing or invading the kingdom of France is being treated (si perchè così conviene essendovi la persona del Sig^{or} Contestabile, come perchè pare che le altre imprese poco importino quando si tratta di questa di travagliare ovvero di invadere il Regno). There have been intercepted lately a great number of letters from Spain under a cover addressed to merchants at Lyons, beneath which cover was another addressed to merchants at Besançon, and on opening all the packets, letters were found from the Emperor to his most serene son, to whom he thereby writes his opinion about the mode of conducting (*di maneggiar*) this war, and I have been told that through this dissertation (*discorso*) it is acknowledged that his Cæsarean Majesty is of as sound intellect as ever he was. This correspondence has also enlightened the King of France about many things to his advantage, and as he heard that in Spain there was some idea of sending troops towards Fonterabia, he therefore despatched the instructions mentioned in my last to the King of Navarre, who is in those parts. It is also heard by the said letters that the [Spanish] Council had retracted all the assignments given heretofore to the merchants (as written by me), which were thus pledged down to the year 1566, and that they would requite them for their credits [by mortgages ?] on estates and other property of the Spanish crown at the rate of three per cent.*

The Duke of Paliano's son has arrived in Paris, and will come to the Court on the King's return from Offemont (*sic*), whither he

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departs to-morrow, to remain six or eight days; it is not yet decided whether he will return hither or go to Villers-cote-Retz.

Compiègne, 30th July 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 31.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

978. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Marquis Montebello arrived here last Thursday at 7 p.m., and at 11 he was followed by the troops who went with him to succour Paliano. They are supposed to have made their entry by night, both because many of them are missing, and as those who remain most especially the Switzers are without arms, having merely their swords, and some of them being without that weapon, all of them in the flight having thrown down their pikes. The rout in substance was as follows: last Saturday at a very early hour the Papal forces arrived in the neighbourhood of Paliano, so that on that same day, after resting the army, they might have attempted to succour it, but they did nothing; on Sunday, Flaminio della Casa, the governor of Paliano, sent out a soldier to Marquis Montebello to tell him that the enemy had received reinforcements of horse and foot; on Monday morning the Marquis sent the ammunition, victuals, and artillery towards Segni, the army halting the whole of Monday; on Tuesday morning the cavalry company of Matteo Stendardo, which was on guard, discovered the enemy marching towards them in battle array with their artillery. When Giulio Orsini heard this he and some of his followers ascended a hill, and seeing it to be true, sent word to the Marquis, who rose from table where he was dining, and went in like manner to ascertain the fact. On his return he had the troops put in order of battle for their retreat. The enemy moved quickly, and some of their cavalry with a number of harquebusiers having crossed a stream* and commenced skirmishing, the Marquis made them recross the river by giving a charge, during which the infantry ought to have ascended the hill, but owing to confusion amongst the commanders, each of whom chose to give orders, he halted so long that the enemy came up, charging the rearguard and breaking through it; the Marquis' horse was wounded under him, and he chose to fight on foot (*volse combattere a piè*), but the troops took flight, and throwing away pikes and harquebuses ascended the hill to save themselves; the enemy occupied the road for retreat, which being perceived by the Marquis and the others, including Francesco da Vicenza, who gave me the foregoing particulars, they each seized a pike (of those thrown down by their own soldiers), opening the way by force and escaping, as otherwise they would have been killed or captured like Giulio Orsini, of whom no farther news has been received beyond what I wrote in my last, nor has Maestro Realdo, who was sent to dress his wound, yet returned. He also says that 400 of the best soldiers were killed, the good ones being those who fight. Having had this

* Passage of the river Sacco. (See Busching's map of the Campagna di Roma.)

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statement from a person who was on the spot, and who seems to me intelligent and experienced, I would not omit transmitting it to your Serenity.

It is said that Captain Flaminio della Casa, who is in Paliano, seeing that it could not be succoured, sent all the men and women out of the place to save the victuals for the soldiery.

On the day when the news of the rout arrived, the delegate from Bologna went to Cardinal Caraffa and offered him the 70,000 crowns demanded in lieu of the 1 per cent., with the understanding that the clergy contribute to it. The delegates acted thus, perceiving these Lords to be determined to obtain that sum, whilst on the other hand their letters from Bologna desired them to put an end to this imposition, as the Bolognese resenting the registry of their property were so irritated that the city had never been more so since the flight of the Bentivoglio family.*

Rome, 31st July 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

979. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the retreat of the Spanish forces from Rocroy, they remained on that frontier, not without causing much suspicion to Marienburg, lest they might return to Rocroy, but after departing thence, and approaching another fortress called La Capelle, though without halting, they did the like by Guise. On hearing this, the Constable marched from Notre Dâme de Liesse with 10,000 Germans and 6,000 French, 3,500 of whom had joined him lately, and the rest were taken from fortresses in his rear, together with 5,000 cavalry to follow the enemy's army at some little distance (*un poco a largo*). But the enemy continuing their march, some of their bands (*bande*) made their appearance at St. Quentin, with the white crosses, to make the town's people believe that they were his most Christian Majesty's soldiers, with the intention of entering the citadel furtively by means of ladders which were kept outside the town for a pontoon which was in course of construction. They hoped to accomplish the undertaking easily, having heard there was no other garrison within than the usual municipal train-bands, who, with 1,200 of the town's people, are bound to defend themselves; but accidentally, on the evening before, the Dauphin's company of 100 men-at-arms was quartered within it in order to continue their march next morning to join the Constable. On the approach of the enemy's vanguard to seize the ladders, whilst the rest of the army was advancing, the garrison recognizing them skirmished until they obtained the ladders, two of the French men-at-arms [Scots?] being killed and some twenty of the enemy; so although the undertaking failed, the army nevertheless on its arrival encamped there. The Constable in the meanwhile, hearing of the enemy's advance, immediately despatched the Admiral with 300 men-at-arms and two bands (*bande*) of infantry, with orders to do their utmost to enter St. Quentin. The Admiral marching the whole night appeared

* Alluding to the expulsion by Pope Julius II., in the year 1506, of the Magnifico Giovanni, who was then the feudal lord of Bologna.

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under the fortress at daybreak, where the enemy had been unable to encamp, on account of a morass, and in the sight of them, without difficulty, with the entire force (*con tutta la guarnisone*), entered the place; so it is considered certain that the enemy will retire from St. Quentin, though nothing more is known hitherto. The Constable with his aforesaid forces is at La Fere, a place distant seven leagues from St. Quentin, and according to their march in one direction or another, his Excellency will do the like, and by the 10th instant it is said for certain that the Gascons with the rest of the cavalry, and the field artillery (*l'artiglieria campale*) (which has already left Paris), will have arrived.

The Constable assures the King daily that there is no cause for apprehension, as the enemy will effect nothing of importance, every provision being now ready. His Excellency has broken 500 French infantry, who did not seem to him good troops, preferring a lesser army and a better one, to one enlarged by raw recruits, as required by the plan of his intended defence.

The Duke of Ferrara has had account given to the King by his ambassador of what took place at Guastalla, apologizing for the number of his troops being less than was required, but that he sent them, anticipating collusion as arranged by him, in which he was disappointed. *But in matters relating to the war, his Excellency's name here is in such small repute as to defy diminution, it being said that when he might easily have obtained Coreggio, and then recovered it, thus rendering the fortification of Guastalla unnecessary, he allowed it to escape him, to save his money; and then when he wished to do so he had neither orders to that effect nor the ability for knowing how to do it (nè modo di saperlo fare); yet nevertheless not a word is heard of distrust; but merely of dissatisfaction and disesteem.*

The most Christian King has given the merchants of Lyons to understand that they may remain secure, as the more King Philip has failed in the promises given by him to his creditors, the more is he (King Henry) confirmed in his intention of fully maintaining what he promised them, knowing what becomes the honour of a prince; and he has again had 300,000 crowns from the German merchants, besides the 200,000 received by him a few days ago, with interest at the rate of 16 per cent. as usual.

Compiègne, 4th August 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(1st letter).*

980. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

My secretary has learnt that when Marshal Strozzi discovered the order given by the most Christian King to M. de Guise to depart with the whole army, and to abandon the Pope, and to make war on Parma,

* This letter from Rome, detailing the rout of Paliano in July 1557, forms a parallel to one from France by Navagero's colleague Soranzo, dated Paris, 13th August 1557, giving a minute account of the rout of St. Quentin; and the two together will suffice to close the contemporaneous narrative of the league contracted between Rome and France against Philip and Mary.

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he came in haste to Rome to see whether the Pope had power to make the agreement with the Imperialists, that he might effect it before the departure of M. de Guise; but finding him most obstinate he had recourse to another remedy, which was to persuade the Pope to send the "*Marchesino*," the Duke of Paliano's son, to France, and thus detain M. de Guise until the King sent fresh orders. The Pope consented, on condition that the Marshal should go to the King to justify his Holiness with his Majesty from the three principal charges brought against him by the French, viz., that he had not placed the promised fortresses in their hands; that he had not made their cardinals; and that here they had failed to provide the necessary supplies of money, troops, and ammunition. On arriving at the French Court the Marshal informed the King that Cardinal Caraffa caused the promise of the fortresses to be made to his Majesty without the Pope's consent. Cardinal Caraffa is, however, writing to the King, that if the Pope says that the promise of the fortresses was not given with his consent, he cannot contradict his Holiness, to whom he affirms, on the other hand, that if the King says he had the promise of the fortresses from him, he cannot contradict his Majesty. With regard to the cardinals, he apologized for the Pope, in like manner, so that the King was pacified. He says that when the Duke de Guise arrives the first thing to be done will be to succour Paliano; concerning which, he added, that on Monday, at the garden in Trastevere, Cardinal Caraffa, Paliano, and the Marshal being there in consultation about victualling Paliano, the Cardinal having said something about what was more than feasible, the Duke rejoined, "*Monsignore, by these lies you betray the Pope, the King of France, and his ministers (Monsignor, con queste carote, assassinate il Papa, il Re di Francia, ed i suoi ministri); you ruin the world, you lay waste Italy, you exterminate our family, and myself in particular, having, from inability to do worse, deprived me of my only son; I have borne with you, I can no longer do so (non posso più); I shall communicate the whole to the Pope, and proclaim you for what you are.*"

The Cardinal replied, "*Thou thinkest that this coif will make me show thee respect, I will throw it away, and will make thee appear an irrational animal (e ti farò parere una bestia).*" The Duke stepped back to draw his sword, and the Cardinal flinging his coif on the ground flew at his throat, but the Marshal, who was the only person present, separated them. The Duke departed in a fury (*arrabbiato* (*sic*)), declaring that he would go instantly to the Pope, and saying, as he went forth, so loudly that many persons heard him, "*This traitor is born for the ruin of the world.*" The Marshal, who remained with the Cardinal, told him that he would go to the Pope and represent this case as adroitly as possible, and contrive so that his Holiness should enjoin silence and effect a reconciliation between them; but the Cardinal replied that he was not apprehensive of the Duke's having more credit with the Pope than he had, and that he had the heart (*che li bastava l'animo*) to ruin him utterly, by telling his Holiness that his wife [*Violante Garlonia*], by showing him that their son was lost,

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had deranged his intellects, thus causing him to make this commotion (*questa sfranacanza* (sic)). It was said afterwards by one of the Duke's intimates that he went to the Pope, and was followed by the Cardinal, and that his Holiness imposed silence, but yesterday when the Marshal asked the Cardinal if he had spoken about this affair to the Pope, he said he had not.

The Pope, immediately on seeing the Marshal, said, "My son, I did not expect you to find me alive, we were about to go to the Lord God; we had our mouth closed so that they were compelled to force it open with a spoon; for a week we lived on jelly-broth alone (*dì stillato solamente*), for at table we could eat nothing whatever; we ordered the Cardinal to recall his brothers hither; we recommended the College of Cardinals to him (*li raccomandassemo il Collegio de Cardinali*), praying him to seek the election of a good Pontiff, and exhorted him to have patience, but our hour not being yet come, we had a night's rest, our appetite returned, and we are brisker than ever."*

Rome, 5th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

981. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier from England, who left the Court at Richmond on the 26th ultimo, arrived here last Tuesday, and notwithstanding such great speed he brings but three letters, one from the Queen to her ambassador, one to the Pope, also from her Majesty, and one from the friar lately elected cardinal. The friar apologises to the Pope for not accepting either the hat or the legation, as both are too great a burden for his old and feeble shoulders. The Queen writes that although his Holiness has not granted her request instantly, she believes that he will do like the Lord, who, when entreated more than once, at length satisfies those who pray to Him heartily; so she again prays and supplicates the Pope to restore the legation in the person of Cardinal Pole, and to pardon her if she professes to know the men who are good for the government of her kingdom better than his Holiness, and also if she wonders that a legate, after confirmation by him, and after performance of so many good works that it may be said with truth that through him alone England resumed her obedience to the Church, should be recalled without cause; her Majesty also protesting that should any disturbance take place in England, it will be on this account, but that so far as in her power she would do her utmost to prevent it. Cardinal Pole's letter to his agent consists but of six lines, signed by Monsignor Priuli, to the effect that he is sending a messenger of his to the Pope, and therefore writes nothing further.

Although the Pope continues to dine in private he is said to be

* Amongst other ciphered paragraphs in this interesting despatch, there is one purporting that Marshal Strozzi anticipated great difficulty in adjusting matters between Rome and France, where much evil was said of the Pope, and yet more of Cardinal Caraffa, whose nephew, Don Pietro, son of Marquis Montebello, whom he had left at the French Court in August 1556, was abandoned by everybody, having lodgings assigned him in villages instead of in the royal palaces, as when he first arrived there.

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well, and to-day he attended the congregation of the Inquisition till 6h. 30m. p.m. The English ambassador has not yet had audience of his Holiness, although he asked for it yesterday, and was at the Vatican in person to-day from noon till the Inquisition adjourned, when the Pope sent him word to take patience, as he was tired.

Rome, 5th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(3rd letter.)

982. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The person who communicated to my Secretary what I write in the public letters, is the Signor Flaminio da Stabio, the brother-in-law of Marshal Strozzi, from whose own lips he says he had it, and on other occasions he said many true things, of which from time to time I advised your Serenity.

Rome, 5th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

983. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the ambassador from England had audience of his Holiness, and on presenting his letter from the Queen, the Pope during its perusal, by the expression of his countenance and the movement of his whole frame, evinced exasperation (*segni d'alteratione*). He having read it, the ambassador presented him with the one from Friar Peto, and then said to his Holiness that he prayed him, seeing the Queen's submission and reverence for him, such as would perhaps not have been shown him by any other sovereign, that he would be pleased to grant her demand. The Pope remained a long while without answering, and then said, "This is a matter of very great importance; we will confer with the cardinals our brethren, and give you a reply." The ambassador rejoined, that the Lords and Gentlemen of England (*li Baroni e Signori del Regno*) seeing a legate created by his Holiness' predecessors, with his assent when he was cardinal, and subsequently confirmed by him as Pope, recalled without cause, are so angry (*sono di sorte alterati*), that even should the Queen choose to endure this thing they would raise some great tumult, so that for the consolation of England, and for the benefit of the See Apostolic, he prayed him not to deny her Majesty this favour.

The Pope replied, "We have told you that we will argue the matter, and answer you;" and when the ambassador asked when he could return for the reply, the Pope said, "We will send to call you," and thus dismissed him.

Rome, 7th August 1557

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

984. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday afternoon the most Christian King remained a long while in council, and 20 captains were despatched to raise 20

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companies of French troops, in number about 6,000 infantry ; the captains having been ordered according as they procure the troops to send them on to Hoggion (*sic*) [Hinson ?], a city four leagues hence, and nearer to St. Quentin, where they will receive the necessary arms. It has also been determined to send for a levy of 5,000 Germans from the territory near Lorraine and a Colonel Rincherot is to use all haste to raise them immediately, and to take them to the army before the end of this month. They have also sent off secretary Aubespine to the Constable to hear his Excellency's opinion about some other provision for the war ; *and I have heard that, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, he will tell the Constable that the King chooses him (volle) not to fail doing everything possible to hold St. Quentin, and that his Majesty is very angry that a fortress of such great importance should not have been better provided than it is ; for which at the Court much blame is laid very publicly, not only on the Admiral,* but also on the Constable himself, who both in virtue of his office, and as commander-in-chief (generale) of the enterprise (impresa), should have had greater diligence used than what is seen by the result.* The Constable enclosed a letter from the Admiral, who is in St. Quentin, telling his Excellency that he has no fear of not defending himself stoutly against the enemy, and when the Admiral went into St. Quentin he was accompanied by the Constable's third son. *His Excellency also writes that he had not yet decided whether to go with his forces to Ham and join the Marshal de St. André [Jacques d'Albon] posting himself midway between Compiègne and St. Quentin, thus preventing the forays made by the enemy in this direction, and simultaneously depriving them of the opportunity for pushing forward without any impediment ; or, whether he should cross to the "Castelletto" (sic), a French fortress between St. Quentin and Cambrai, to intercept the victuals which are constantly sent to the hostile army. This morning a person arrived from Ham, bringing news that the infantry with M. d'Andelot,† who were killed, numbered about 500, although the Constable reported but 50 or 60 ; and that the troops of the King of England had commenced mining.*

The Gascon troops are still on their march and have already commenced joining the army, together with 17 field pieces, brought from Paris ; and the report continues, that on the army's being reinforced by these fresh forces now mustering, the King in person will go thither, and from what his chief intimates say, he very much wishes to be there, and complains of the many necessary supplies not having been provided in time, he himself in person now attending constantly to their despatch, nor does he neglect anything ; neither has he any other councillor about him but the Cardinal of Lorraine.

* Gaspar Coligny, Seigneur de Chastillon, Admiral of France. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

† François de Coligny. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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The sons of the Duke of Paliano and of the Marquis of Montebello arrived at the Court to-day.

Compiegne, 7th August 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

985. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

When I was on the point of going to the most Christian King, a message came to me that his Majesty having just received unexpected advice that the Constable with the army had encountered the enemy's forces, and been worsted, his Majesty was in the act of making many necessary provisions for the remedy of such disaster (*per resarcir un caso tale*), wherefore the Cardinal advised me for my safety and convenience to go immediately to Paris ; to which I replied I would do so. Subsequently I learned that at this very hour, news arrived that yesterday the Constable wishing to put 1,000 infantry into St. Quentin marched with all his forces and succeeded very easily ; but on his return when about to cross the river Somme, the enemy attacked and routed him, killing many of his troops, neither his Excellency nor the Marshal de St. André having been found, though it is hoped that they have saved themselves in some neighbouring fortress. This has also been confirmed to me through another channel, though the particulars are narrated variously. From what I hear, the King likewise will return to Paris, not being in safety here, as it is not a fortified place, and the enemy are near at hand, the gates of the town being already closed, and the confusion usual in similar cases begins to be felt ; I likewise being now about to depart for Paris ; *but as no provision whatever is made either here or elsewhere, the mischief might make itself felt more and more daily.*

Compiegne, 11th August 1557.

[*Italian ; the passage in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

986. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Signor Scipion da Piovene is being sent to Italy, to make M. de Guise return immediately, postwise. The ambassador from Ferrara has also been despatched to his Duke, to make him in this great casualty not fail rendering pecuniary assistance, and every other supply in his power. From hour to hour the rout of the army seems to become greater and greater, nor is any personage of consequence known to have escaped. At this hour the King is departing for Paris.

Compiegne, 11th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

987. MICHAEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral is in St. Quentin and not outside as reported. King Philip's forces have made themselves masters of the suburb of St. Quentin which is towards France, and they have quartered 3,000

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men there for its custody, with great hope of taking the town shortly. I have had a letter from the Count de Feria, who, besides confirming some of the particulars written by me, writes that his Majesty will soon go to the camp, as although the French had not duly provisioned the town, it is nevertheless a strong place, and the Constable of France is within four leagues of it with succour, and they have the river to assist them, so King Philip must go in person, to make every possible effort to prevent him; and that the troops mustered by the French amount to 20,000 foot, and a large body of cavalry; so to blockade the town it is necessary to divide his Majesty's camp. Thus does the Count write to me, and then this evening advice arrived that yesterday morning the Duke of Savoy defeated and routed a great number of French troops who were on their march to succour St. Quentin; many colours being taken, and many persons being killed, wounded, and captured. Those named are the Rhinegrave, commander-in-chief of the German troops; M. d'Enghien; and M. de St. Pol; many knights of St. Michael; and many of the French nobility. It is also said that the Constable is a prisoner, but without any certain foundation, it usually happening that the first bearers of important news do not know the details, each of them inventing according to their own fashion; but all agree in this, that the French have suffered a great rout, and that there is no longer any hope for St. Quentin.

The King had not yet left to go to the camp, because the French were scouring the road between Cambrai* and St. Quentin, at a place called Le Catelet, but he was to depart to-day, escorted by the English troops, and by 3,000 Walloons and 500 Spaniards.

Brussels, 11th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

988. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although the whole of this city is full (*è piena*) of the capture of the Constable, there is not as yet any certain account of it.

The King went in person to the army yesterday, and during the action a succour of 500 infantry entered St. Quentin, but it is not believed that the place can make much resistance against a powerful and victorious army.

Brussels, 12th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

989. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the evening of the 11th, when all the rest of the court left Compiègne, the King chose to remain there for the despatch in every direction of orders providing for this present important need. Then on the morrow he departed and arrived here to-day; and the chief provisional measures with which I am acquainted hitherto are as follows. Besides the recall of M. de Guise, the King has also sent

* From this it may be inferred that King Philip had moved from Brussels to Cambrai and went thence to St. Quentin, the day after the rout.

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for M. de Termes who is in Piedmont, and for Marshal Strozzi likewise, but of this I am less sure than of the recall of the other two. He has also sent to raise another 4,000 Germans besides the 6,000 already despatched, and even a yet greater amount if it can possibly be obtained. He has, moreover sent all over France, to raise the best infantry that can be got, and according to report, he would wish (if possible) for as many as 40,000, and the beat of drum has already commenced; whilst from the Parisians he for the present demands 25,000 paid infantry, which they seem ready to grant him, but they have not yet determined to pay any but this city's guard, nor would they wish to contribute for those who should take the field. This does not satisfy the King, who wishes them to supply the whole number, that he may make use of it for what is required according to his own judgment (*deliberamente*), so it is said that they will at length comply with his decided wish. Very stringent orders have also been sent to re-embody the cavalry, to which will be added some that were garrisoned in certain fortresses; and they will also call out the reserve rear-bands (*le arriere bande*), which did not take part in this action, as likewise his Majesty's household and body-guard, so that the number of cavalry will be greater than it was before. They are also intent on raising money by all means possible, and to say the truth, very great inclination is visible on the part of everyone to contribute for this need, much affection being demonstrated universally for his Majesty, who, by reason of his natural graciousness, and from the opinion entertained by all Frenchmen of his valour and prudence, is so generally beloved that they will not deny him anything. In all these environs the panic is very great, most especially in this city, where some of the gates have been closed, good guard being placed at the others, although it is not heard that the enemy have advanced (*si siano allargati*) beyond the siege of St. Quentin; and to curb this dense population, which of its nature is most cowardly (*vilissimo*), and therefore very easily tumultuate on the slightest suspicion (*et per cid molto facile per ogni mediocre sospetto a far tumulto*), all provisional measures are taken as secretly as possible, the necessity being dissembled. The utmost is done to prevent persons of a certain quality from going out of the city with their goods (*con li loro beni*), as many of them wished to do, having loaded a number of carts and barges, to send them away, but they have all been stopped, and it is hoped that the King's presence will now keep them yet more in check. The Ferrarese ambassador is still here owing to a slight attack of fever, and the chief cause of his mission is understood to be the confirmation of Duke Hercules II. in his goodwill towards King Henry *from fear lest this so great a commotion, by increasing his natural timidity, induce him to form some new thought*, and at the same time to exhort his Excellency as the King's commander-in-chief in Italy, to render him such offices and assistance as may be required by his necessities.

Paris, 13th August 1557.

[*Italian; the passage in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.

Aug. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

990. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After what I wrote on the 11th, having had the opportunity to speak with a gentleman my friend, who was present in the affair of the rout of the army (*il quale s'è ritrovato nel fatto della rotta dell'essercito*), I will write you what he related to me.

On the 9th, at noon, the Constable with the army of 16,000 foot and 7,000 horse, being quartered near La Fere, ordered the chief lords and gentlemen to go to rest, because at night he intended to undertake a certain expedition (*perchè la notte voleva fare qualche fazione*), so everybody having retired accordingly, and returning to his Excellency at 5.30 p.m., he again dismissed them saying that he had determined to defer the expedition till the next morning. At midnight he made the infantry and cavalry commence their march, not prohibiting conveyance of the necessary conveniences, so a number of baggage-horses were sent in advance. At 2.40 a.m. [on the 10th], his Excellency went forth in armour, accompanied by a number of lords, and continuing his march, arrived with the army at a hill near St. Quentin, opposite to the one on which the town is situated, the two hills being so near each other that the space between them is almost completely occupied by the river Somme. The hostile army being encamped on the other-side of the town, the two were separated solely by the stream; but the enemy's infantry lying in ambush on the Constable's side, his Excellency sent some of his companies against them, thus causing their retreat. Simultaneously discharging a battery of 12 pieces of artillery which commanded a position on the other side, where the enemy were encamped near the river, he dislodged them, thus obtaining an opportunity for launching in the lake formed by the Somme near the town, 15 boats which he had had brought upon carts, but from mismanagement not only was much time lost but three of the boats sank, and in the remaining 12, having embarked some 200 foot soldiers with M. d'Andelot, general of the infantry, they all got safe into the town; but not having made suitable arrangements for the boats to return with a reinforcement of upwards of 1,000 additional foot soldiers, they remained there, and four hours' time having been lost in this expedition, the Constable ordered the army to return towards its quarters six leagues off.

Whilst this time was being wasted, a considerable number of the enemy's cavalry was seen continually fording the river one after another (*alla sfilata*) towards where the Constable was, and he and the rest of his staff being warned of this, they would not bring themselves to believe that they were the enemy's horse, declaring them to be their own, who had crossed the river to skirmish, and would return; and without ascertaining the fact farther they commenced their march. But subsequently seeing the enemy's squadrons to increase more and more, and that to the number of about 6,000 horse, divided into four, they repeatedly pursued them; the Constable made his army halt, to hear something certain, thus losing much time. Finally, seeing the enemy's right and left wings draw near each other, leaving the other two

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squadrons a little in the rear, the Constable on ascending a hill midway on his march again halted, and moved the artillery which was in the German squadron, placing it in that of the French infantry, thus losing half an hour's time, which was the cause of all the mischief, for had they not halted so often, they would have been safe and sound in a wood near at hand. During that interval, the enemy having approached them, some French cavalry commenced skirmishing, 300 horse of the French right wing charging one of the enemy's squadrons of Blacksmiths (*Feraroli*),* hemmed them in between them and the other French bands (*bande*) in their rear, who when face to face with the enemy ran away (*voltarono le spalle*), and falling on their own German infantry disordered them greatly. During this encounter, another squadron of Burgundian cavalry coming up, after having almost dispersed the first 300 French horse who had pushed forward, mercilessly cut to pieces the whole of the said German infantry, 10,000 in number; and in the meanwhile, the Blacksmiths (*Feraroli*) crossing over to the left wing where the French infantry was, in like manner dispersed a great part of them. In short, the whole French army was routed, some 12,000 persons being killed, and with but very little loss to the enemy. The Constable was taken prisoner, having been wounded with an harquebuse shot in the loins, and with a spear-thrust in one of his thighs, having fought bravely. Amongst the killed and the prisoners are several other lords, and amongst the latter are the Duke of Montpensier of the blood royal, and the Marshal St. André, as likewise the Lord Ludovico Gonzaga the Duke of Mantua's brother, who being near the Constable, although urged to take flight, refused nevertheless to do so, but his horse being shot under him with three harquebuse shots, he was captured, together with the Duke de Longueville of the house of Orleans, he likewise being of the blood royal, and a youth 16 years old.

After the rout the enemy took the artillery and the French quarters, where they slept that night, sacking all they found there, which was of great value, together with baggage of the greatest importance, as they also did by what was with the army, which both on the march and in action was the cause of very great detriment and hindrance (*con le bagaglie di maggior importantia, sì come fecero anche di quelle, che erano con l'essercito, le quali sì nel marciare come nel combattere diedero grandissimo danno et impedimento*).

The enemy took all the colours, in number 56, except one alone, which remained in the hands of the French.

One of the Constable's sons, 16 years old, fell with his horse into a ditch, and broke his neck; and another of his sons a little older shares his captivity.

* The etymology of the term may be read in a ciphered despatch, written by the Venetian Ambassador, Marc' Antonio Damula, from Brussels, on the 3rd August 1554, thus, "The German cavalry armed with carbines are called Blacksmiths (*Feraroli*), because their surcoats, weapons, visors, gauntlets, and horses being all black, they resemble our blacksmiths." The above-written paragraph, like the rest of Damula's correspondence, was deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini, in the year 1872.

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The Duke de Nevers with a number of great personages has retreated to La Fere, a very strong place, where he is reassembling the remains of the army, but while the remaining infantry force is very small, the cavalry suffered but little; and it is said that if all those who ran away and disbanded return, another corps will be formed of at least 6,000 horse.

Paris, 13th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

991. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ambassador from England is awaiting the Pope's summons to receive his reply to the Queen's demand about restoring the legation to Cardinal Pole, and says that should he hear nothing further he will let be thus (*scorrerà così*) till Monday or Tuesday, and then urge the matter. I am assured on good authority that Sir Edward Carne is commissioned, should the Pope say that Cardinal Pole is suspected of heresy, to reply, that should this be the case her Majesty will be his greatest enemy, and that therefore the Pope should send to draw up his process (*a formare il processo*) in England, as customary against English subjects, and as was done lately respecting the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal's predecessor, who was tried (*processato*) in England, condemned at Rome, and burned in London (*sic*)*; and that should Cardinal Pole be found guilty she will not fail to let the law take its course (*non si mancherà d'eseguire la giustizia*); but that in the meanwhile she wills to hold him for a man of worth, Catholic, and holy, having before her eyes by what good examples and by what sound doctrine he has brought back England to the true worship of God, acts which could not have been accomplished by any other hands than his. Should Carne be told that this process will be drawn up at Rome, he is to reply that the Cardinal, besides being an Englishman, and that therefore he must be tried in his own country, is also Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in virtue of many apostolic decrees (*per molte constitutioni apostoliche*) cannot go out of the realm. In conclusion, should the Pope absolutely deny the demand made by the Queen, who considers it a fair one, her ambassador is to leave Rome, making first of all a protest, in public if possible, if not, by going from house to house of all the cardinals, and informing them that the Queen and Council, and the whole kingdom of England, will never swerve from their devotion, reverence, and obedience to the See Apostolic, and to his Holiness' successors, although for a certain period (*per qualche tempo*) they were compelled not to obey Pope Paul IV.; which having been told me as a very great secret, I beseech your Serenity to keep it accordingly.

I also hear that on Thursday in the congregation of the Inquisition this affair was debated, the Pope having the Queen's letter read, adding that he would not then ask any one's opinion,

* Archbishop Cranmer was burned at Oxford on the 21st March 1556. (See Froude, vol. 6, p. 429. Ed. London, 1860.)

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but that they were to consider the matter until another congregation. Cardinal S. Giacomo [of Compostella, Juan Alvarez de Toledo], who was present, and he is believed to have gone precisely for this purpose, many days and months having elapsed since he was in the Vatican, said it seemed to him that they ought not to be too long thinking about it, as it was just and necessary to gratify the Queen in order not to lose England. The Pope cut short his speech, telling him angrily to hold his tongue, as the affair was a most important one, and worthy of much consideration.

I know that certain cardinals who desire the welfare of the See Apostolic have requested Sir Edward Carne to use address, and to avail himself of time, as possibly the present state of things will take some other form, causing this demand of his likewise to take a better course; besides which, in certain cases it is well to go always temporizing (*andar sempre scorrendo*), by so much the more when one has to do with an old man, 81 years of age.

Rome, 14th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 14.
MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X.,
p. 186 verso,
187 recto.

992. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP (*al Re Cattolico*).

The great and fortunate success* which it has pleased our Lord God now to grant your Majesty at the commencement of this your first undertaking, gives you much and great opportunity for rendering ample testimony to the whole world of the great piety with which His Divine goodness has endowed you, by acknowledging everything from thence (*da quella*), as I have heard you do—on which I heartily congratulate you—and that you, in fact, show yourself more than ever prompt and disposed towards peace and the public quiet by continuing to order performance of the commission given by you previously to make peace with his Holiness; and by doing so, as I hope your Majesty will do, you will preserve alike and increase the grace and favour of God and man, and thus obtain true and perpetual commendation. In virtue of my especial duty and affection for your Majesty it has not seemed fit to me to fail exhorting you as much as I can to this effect, praying our Lord God to direct all your counsels for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, and of His Divine service, and ever prosper you more and more, to which end the most Serene Queen immediately had public thanksgivings rendered to God for this happy event, in conformity with the hopes always entertained by her of the especial favour of God towards your Majesty, whose hands I humbly kiss.†

Richmond, 14th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* Philibert Duke of Savoy gained the battle of St. Quentin on the 10th August 1557, as written by the Ambassador Surian on the 13th.

† According to Machyn's Diary, p. 147, the news of the battle of St. Quentin arrived in London on the 14th August, and thanksgivings were ordered there on the morrow, but they had of course been offered up at Richmond on the day before.

1557.
Aug. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

993. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the most Christian Queen, to settle the business commenced by her during the King's absence with the citizens (*con questi della città*) to obtain the subsidy she had caused to be demanded, went in person to the Parliament House, accompanied by certain cardinals and a number of princes, and in very grave form of speech represented the present need, adding that although the most Christian King had incurred such vast expenditure during the past wars, yet nevertheless he had always had more regard for the cities than for any other state of this realm, of which fact he required no other evidence than their own consciences, reminding them of how little they had contributed hitherto; but as the need continued his Majesty did not consider it fitting any longer to burden the people, who for the ordinary expenditure were very heavily taxed, and yet more exorbitantly through the extra imposts; wherefore it was necessary for the cities, remembering so many benefits and favours received by them from his Majesty, to demonstrate to the whole world, in this the kingdom's extreme need, their fidelity and affection for their prince. Her Majesty spoke with such earnestness and eloquence that every one was moved; and she said, in conclusion, that the most Christian King required a vote of 300,000 francs for the payment of 25,000 infantry for two months, adding that she would then retire, to leave them free, as usual, to deliberate, which she did by withdrawing into a chamber; but it was immediately voted to comply with her Majesty's demand, and when she returned to her place they freely promised her to pay these 300,000 francs, and, to give the most Christian King greater assistance, 100 of their city burgesses (*cento di loro borghesi della villa*) offered to give immediately 3,000 francs each, so that his Majesty might promptly avail himself of this sum, which they with greater convenience would subsequently get back from the city; and they then respectfully prayed her Majesty to use good offices with the King in favour of their privileges. The Queen thanked them in so sweet a form of speech that she made well nigh the whole Parliament shed tears from emotion (*che fece lachrimar per tenerezza quasi tutto il parlamento*); and she told them that, remembering this their demonstration towards her, she would always consider them her clients (*che la gli haveria per raccomandati*), and that she promised them to appoint her son the Dauphin their solicitor and intercessor with the most Christian King. Thereupon the Parliament adjourned, greatly applauding her Majesty, and with such marks of extreme satisfaction as to defy exaggeration; and all over Paris nothing is talked of but the prudent and gracious mode adopted by her Majesty in this business, everybody declaring that had it been managed by any other person there would neither have been so much liberality (*larghezza*) nor so much facility.

The determination of this city to give 300,000 francs will yield his Majesty about a million and a half of gold, it being customary that when Paris forms a resolve of this sort, she does so for herself and for all the other towns in the kingdom, each of them thus

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knowing her proportional quota. The same mode as adopted here for instantaneous payment will also be observed in every other place, so that his Majesty will have this sum in full very speedily. The Parliament also determined that this city is to pay the garrison required for its defence in case of need, and which will amount, they say, to 74,000 infantry.

By the express sent to M. de Termes, desiring him to return immediately, they also wrote to Marshal de Brissac to retire into the fortresses with such garrison of Frenchmen as he shall know to be necessary, and to send hither the combined Switzers and Italians, together with 250 men-at-arms and 500 light cavalry, and in lieu of the Italian foot soldiers to raise an equal amount of new ones; and in like manner, to renew the Switzers, his Majesty has sent to engage 6,000 others, with orders to make them pass into Piedmont in the stead of the aforesaid who will come hither. His Majesty has also sent a fresh order for the 5,000 Switzers raised originally for Italy to turn back and enter France in like manner, so that what with the Switzers and the aforesaid Italians, together with the 10,000 Germans whom they have already sent to raise, recruiting also the same number of Frenchmen, that the King purposes having an army corps of 50,000 foot and 8,000 horse, and he says publicly that he shall take the field in person, but so far as can be seen (although there is no lack of all diligence) he will have need of a month's time before these things can be accomplished. They have likewise written throughout the kingdom for all the captains who formerly had pay from his Majesty, and who from age or other circumstances retired to their homes, to come immediately to the court without any excuse; and in all things the King shows so much prudence and firmness of mind that he has quite confirmed all men in their opinion of his great ability. The news of the enemy's troops who were in the battle having sacked the French quarters has not been verified, but they were indeed well nigh all sacked by the French themselves, and especially the Constable's tents, in which were found about 18,000 "crowns of the King," together with plate belonging to his Excellency of immense value. The Duke de Nevers, with the few troops he could get together, has retreated to Ham, abandoning La Fere, as he had doubts of being able to keep it, so all the neighbouring inhabitants have abandoned the territory, and the peasants themselves have destroyed the roads, so everything in those parts is in disorder, as also at Compiègne, from whence, after the King's departure, all the inhabitants took flight. M. d'Enghien, brother of the King of Navarre, was found dead on the field of battle, he being taken to La Fere,* and also M. de Lansac.

It is heard that the Constable's wounds will not be of much importance, and physicians (*medici*) have been sent to him from hence. His Excellency's son, who was reported killed, is a prisoner with him.

* "Jean de Bourbon, duc d'Anguien, frère du Prince de Condé, fut blessé à mort d'un coup de pistolet. Il fut pris, et conduit au camp ennemi, où il expira en y arrivant." (Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 836. Ed. Paris 1755.)

1557.

Although this town has very great need of defence, no other provision has been made hitherto, save that of fortifying certain parts where most necessary, but even that work proceeds very slowly.

Orders have been sent all over the neighbouring country to bring in grain and other necessities for subsistence.

Paris, 14th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

994. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Nevers is still at Ham, and has got together some 5,000 horse and 3,000 foot, the greater part Germans who escaped after the rout of the army, which seems to have been less than was at first reported. His Excellency is now distributing the greater part of these troops, with such others as have recently been raised in this neighbourhood.

The army of the King of Spain continues besieging St. Quentin; they have raised a battery of 60 guns, with which they cannonaded the town briskly for two days, but made a very small breach, and the besieged defended themselves so well that the enemy, being unable to make any progress in that direction, purposed erecting a battery in another direction. The Admiral has informed the most Christian King that he is sure of being able to hold the town for a month, and that although he has not such an amount of troops as would be required for its entire security, yet those within, by their valour, will supply all deficiencies. In order to make the bread last longer he has sent away all useless mouths, thus gaining 20 days more. In the act of departure a woman gave information about a ditch full of grain, with the assistance of which they would have wherewithal to live for three months, most especially as they are well provided with everything else.

In addition to the other troops, a new corps of 400 men-at-arms is being raised, besides those for which they are recruiting to fill up the old companies, and the companies of the new corps have already been distributed; *but although all diligence is used to hasten to the utmost the incorporation of this new army, it will not be completely embodied before the 20th of next month; and although his most Christian Majesty wishes for 50,000 infantry, he will not have more than 40,000, and 8,000 horse.*

Several lords and gentlemen who were made prisoners have been released for very moderate ransoms, and they greatly commend the good treatment received by everybody, and the fair war (*la buona guerra*) waged throughout the country. Permission has been obtained to send as many as six servants for each of the chief prisoners; and the Lord Ludovic [Gonzaga] of Mantua* has been

* On the 14th August 1549, at the age of ten years, Lodovico Gonzaga, brother of Duke Francesco, went from Mantua to the court of France, and took possession of the estates bequeathed him by his grandmother, the Duchess of Alençon; viz. the towns and baronies of La Guerche and Pouance, and of Château Gontier, Senones? (Senoces), and of Bressoles. (*See "Il Fioretto delle Croniche de Mantova,"* p. 84.)

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given to his uncle Don Ferrante;* the which Lord Ludovic has sent to tell the most Christian King that although many of those lords have strongly urged him to assume the red cross, yet, nevertheless, the white one is so deeply engraved in his heart that he will never change his determination.

The fear in this city is still very great, though less than a few days ago, *and all hope is placed in the defence of St. Quentin, which, if lost, some riot is apprehended here on the part of this Parisian rabble* (da questo popolazzo), *of which they have greater dread than of the enemy themselves*; and permission has been given to everybody to send out of the town their women, children, and goods (*robbe*), but all the heads of houses are commanded to remain, and should any of them be absent, they are to return within eight days under penalty of confiscation of their property; and as this city is divided into 16 districts (*in 16 parti*), a captain has been appointed for each of them with a considerable guard, to prevent such disturbances as might otherwise arise.

Since the first despatch to M. de Guise desiring him to come in person, orders have been sent for the same leave to be given to all the lords and gentlemen who shall choose to avail themselves of it, so they are all expected here; and Marshal Strozzi will remain as commander-in-chief of those troops, *about which I hear it opined that they may very possibly be disbanded, his most Christian Majesty having almost entirely alienated his mind from the affairs of Italy, so that evil prognostics are also made about the [French?] fortresses in Tuscany.*

The plot at Lyons, to which I alluded heretofore, according to letters from the French Ambassador at Rome, was devised by Don Ferrante when he passed through Lyons on his way to Flanders.

M. de Lansac, who was said to have been killed in the battle of St. Quentin, has been found alive amongst the prisoners.

Paris, 18th August 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

995. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I dined with the Cardinal of Lorraine,† who said to me, "The King was gratified by your condolence. This affair was brought about not by men (*da gli huomeni*), but by the will of God. But we have to thank His Divine Majesty for that it was no worse, as it would have been had the enemy known what they might have done with their forces; at present, however, we hope they will no longer do us any harm. In a few days M. de Termes will be

* Don Ferrante Gonzaga, the only man for whom the Emperor Charles the Fifth was ever known to have shed a tear, died in Germany on the 15th November 1557. (See Fioretto, &c., as above, p. 85.)

† This would be at the Hotel de Cluny, where the Cardinal of Lorraine (the uncle of Mary Queen of Scots, who I think at one time resided there, but I forget on what authority it was stated) had his gallery and chief valuables, as stated in a despatch from the Venetian Ambassador in France, date Tours, 20th April 1560.

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here, and shortly afterwards M. de Guise, and those other lords who are with him; and the Germans and the Switzers will likewise be here very soon, so our affairs will no longer be in danger. But this alone pains his Majesty, that the Pope may remain in some trouble, although Marshal Strozzi will stay with him, together with the troops late under the command of M. de Guise; but the King, nevertheless, will give neither trouble nor inconvenience to any of his friends or confederates about defence or assistance for his Majesty, who has, however, desired his ambassador with the Signory to request them (*ch' el facci officio*) to mediate for the adjustment of the disputes between his Holiness and the King of Spain, and to do their utmost for the cessation of war in Italy, and the King is certain that his Serenity will not fail to do so." I answered in suitable terms, repeating my condolence with the King, and I then said that with regard to the King's wish for your Serenity to mediate about an agreement with the Pope, I believed that so far from slackening your efforts you would make them the more willingly.

The conversation then ended, because dinner was announced to the Cardinal, after which, being introduced to the King, I addressed him in the like form, and he returned great thanks to your Serenity, who might rely on his reciprocating most amply both by affection and good will. Then as to what had taken place, his Majesty said, "Such was doubtless the will of God, so there is no occasion to discuss it farther. I have not failed to make immediately such provision as was possible. I sent for M. de Guise and those other lords who are with him; and he will have had the unexpected good luck to find 12 galleys at Civita Vecchia, which will, I hope, bring him quickly, as I despatched orders for him to come on board, without which convenience, having to come by way of Switzerland, he would have gone to pass a day at Venice. He will bring with him six ensigns (*insegne*) of Frenchmen, the others remaining in the Pope's service under Marshal Strozzi." His Majesty added that he was very sorry for this new accident (*nuovo accidente*) of Paliano,* but that from what had been written to him the Marquis di Montebello had been the first to run away, which caused some confusion, but that the Lord Giulio Orsino, not choosing to do so, had been wounded and was made prisoner, and had behaved himself very well indeed.

The King then continuing the topic said, "M. de Termes likewise will very soon be here, and the Switzers will come from Piedmont, where the French and the Italians will remain until other fresh Switzers shall be sent thither, and in like manner those others who were raised for Italy will be here very soon; and concerning them my ambassador writes to me that as to-day, the 20th of the month, they were to have commenced their march in that direction, but Messier Scipion da Piovene will have arrived previously with counter-orders for them to come hitherwards, they being in all twelve thousand. We shall in like manner have six thousand Germans, part of whom are already on their way, and there will be a consider-

§ *Viz.* failure of the attempt to succour Paliano, of which see account in Navagero's Despatch from Rome, dated 31st July.

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able amount of Frenchmen, so that within a month I hope we shall be ready; and I have already sent troops for all the citadels (*fortezze*), and given orders for all the victuals to be removed into the walled towns (*forti*), and such as cannot be removed to be burned, together with the mills, and every other convenience of which the enemy might avail themselves, as it is better for us to ravage our territory, rather than that they should do so. As for money, I hope we shall have no lack of that, as all the people make so great a demonstration towards me that I could not have wished for greater, and besides my own subjects, the merchants of Lyons, competing one with the other, lend me 600,000 crowns, 100,000 of which are without interest, and the remainder on the usual terms; and to say the truth I am surprised to see so much liberality on such an occasion, nor are the German merchants less ready than the others."

The King having then ceased speaking, I asked him in what condition St. Quentin was, and what the enemy were doing. His Majesty said, "I have autograph letters from the Admiral [Gaspar Coligny], dated the 18th, giving me assurance of his holding the town (*la terra*), and praying me to turn my thoughts to every other quarter, and to be under no apprehension about that citadel (*quella piazza*), and in fact he is behaving very well, and as you know, he is a very good soldier. The enemy battered the place with 16 guns, and made a breach of some 130 yards, but merely in the wall, as the earthen platform has not fallen, and the Admiral has raised such strong bulwarks (*ripari tanto gagliardi*), that better could not be desired. They mined twice, but the mine failed; we shall wait and see what they will do."

I inquired for how long a time the fortress (*fortezza*) was victualled. His most Christian Majesty said, "To tell you the truth, for six weeks at least, although they write to me that the provisions will last for a longer period, but during this interval I hope to be in order (*esser in ordine*)."

I asked if the army of the King of Spain was all united, or whether they had sent troops in other directions. He replied, "They have sent 12 pieces of artillery, 4,000 infantry, and 2,000 horse to the Catelet, which is a very small fortress but well garrisoned. I hope they will not take it so easily, as I have had a valiant commander placed in it, and a good number of soldiers, and they have victuals for a very long while, but even should they take it, it would matter little."

I asked his Majesty if he had any news of the Constable, and he said, "The Constable was struck with that harquebuse ball, which made a severe wound, and there was much suppuration and his fever ceased, and I believe they are taking him to Ghent. The Marshal de St. André and the Rhinegrave are prisoners to the Duke of Brunswick, who intended to have them taken into Germany, and they are as well treated as possible, and I hope we shall soon have them back, both because the Germans covet nothing but money, as also because the said Duke is so much the Count Rhinegrave's friend, that were they brothers they could not be on more loving terms with each other. The Duke de Montpensier, who is badly

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wounded, is in the hands of Count Mansfelt, * but he treats him admirably; and the Viscount of Turenne [François de la Tour], the Constable's son-in-law, is dead." His Majesty then added, "The Prince of Mantua will be released by means of Don Ferrante, and in truth I am so well satisfied with that youth that I could not be more so, for had he chosen to make his escape he might have effected it, but he would never abandon the Constable; and subsequently, being with the enemy, they did their utmost to make him change sides, having frequently appended the red cross to his neck; and he always said, 'I am your prisoner, you can do what you please, but as for me I neither can nor will change my mind;' and rest assured that he will become a most thorough gentleman. His Governor chose to have leave to go to him, and departs to-day, and according to report they will send him into Italy. Many of the prisoners have returned, greatly commending the good treatment received by them, and no few of the number, from not being known, were released for a small ransom; and all bring word that the army suffers from scarcity of victuals, that the bread is very black, and that for the most part they drink water." The King having thus closed the conversation, I, after returning thanks in your Serenity's name, took leave.

In the next place I visited the most Christian Queen, and in performance of such office as becoming the nature of the times, I told her Majesty that I had heard with very great satisfaction that the whole of this city commended the address and mode of proceeding adopted by her in Parliament, thus obtaining vast accommodation for the King and infinite praise for herself. I then commenced discussing the events of the war, and after telling me many particulars which it would be superfluous to represent to your Serenity, her Majesty said to me, "*Before this event happened, the King was informed that during these two or three months the King of England intended to make an extraordinary effort (un grosso sforzo) to take some of the fortresses in this kingdom, so as subsequently, when negotiating some agreement, to be upon a par with the most Christian King, with regard both to giving back and to retaining; and although he has had this so great an opportunity, he nevertheless has not chosen to advance, seeming rather to persevere in his first opinion, though I hope that he will not obtain what he desires, for St. Quentin will hold out; but the Almighty, who perceived that the most Christian King, whose great prosperity had so elevated him that his enemy the King Catholic was now terrified, chose to make Himself known, and for my own part, I believe that He wills these two Kings to be equal, for although on us He has inflicted this trouble, yet did he blind the enemy to what they might do.*"

On my remarking to her Majesty that now there was no longer anything to fear, so many days having elapsed without the enemy's advancing, so that this kingdom was already secure; the Queen replied, "*By delaying so long, they have assuredly deprived themselves of the opportunity for striking some great blow, but let us not tempt God by saying we are safe, for we should thus fall into*

* Albert, Count of Mansfeldt. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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the error incurred by the Constable through too much self-reliance" ; and she added, " God by these means will perhaps point out the way to peace, which otherwise seemed impossible. As for myself, I desire it greatly, but first of all the King must take the field in person, and expel the enemy from our confines ; after which, should they wish to negotiate an agreement, I, for my part, would willingly listen to it, but previously his most Christian Majesty chooses to be armed." I asked if the King would take the field, and what the amount of his army would be. She replied, " To tell you the truth there will be about 36,000 infantry and 8,000 horse, and the King says he will decidedly (al tutto) take the field in person, and moreover regrets not having done so before, as things would not have come to this pass." And here she said, " Oh ! it has indeed been a great thing for us to have been routed by three thousand cavalry ; and that the Constable, who had not his equal in all Christendom, should have committed such a mistake (sia incorso in un tal caso) ; and I give you my word that when he departed, he went with the determination not to fight (di non combatter), and when he took leave of me, I said to him, ' Compeer (compare), for the love of God beware, and consider what would ensue were any misfortune to occur ;' and he answered me, ' Madame, I know what it is requisite to do ; be not anxious about this, for I know how to regulate myself.' "

Her Majesty also told me what affection she bore your Serenity, and how she longed for an opportunity to do something agreeable to you, to which having replied becomingly I took leave, and went as usual to Madame Marguerite. Many preparations continue being made in this city for its defence, they are working greatly in order to fortify it, making very wide ditches and other works, so that should the enemy come they may be prevented from encamping ; and they are registering 12,000 foot soldiers from amongst the artisans, to be distributed under the 16 chiefs already elected, as written by me, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon,* of the blood royal, having been commissioned to make all these arrangements (*tutte queste provisioni*).

Yesterday evening the Bishop of Acqs [François de Noailles], who has been appointed by his most Christian Majesty ambassador resident with your Serenity, came to visit me, and took leave to depart this day. *I have in fact known him both in England and here to be very respectful and well affected.*

To-day the most Christian King went out to hunt for the first time since the rout.

Paris, 21st August 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 21.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

996. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Thursday, in the congregation of the Inquisition, it having been deferred until then to discuss the affair of the legation of

* Charles de Bourbon. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

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Cardinal Pole, nothing more was said, owing to the absence of the Cardinals Carpi, S. Giacomo, Puteo, and Pisa; the Pope saying that as the matter was of great importance he should delay until those cardinals were present; and Sir Edward Carne likewise, being more than ever in favour of delay, has not made any fresh demand of the Pope. The Inquisition has arrested the secretary of Cardinal Fano [Friar Pietro Bertano, made Cardinal by Pope Julius III.]; it is suspected that this arrest may have deeper roots, bearing in mind the example of Cardinal Morone, and Cardinal Gislerio [Supreme Inquisitor] being Cardinal Fano's enemy. The Inquisition has in like manner seized a person in the service of Cardinal de Bellai, and who is said to have been formerly a friar.

—Rome, 21st August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

997. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The battering of St. Quentin commenced on the 14th with 29 cannons, 25 being placed towards the east and north, which is the loftiest site, and where the King is quartered, at not more than 40 paces from the wall, and there are four others in the suburb. On the following days they battered sometimes with eight guns and sometimes with four, so that during this interval they have levelled to the ground a great part of the wall in that direction, and some large towers, built in the ancient fashion, which served as a slight flankwork (*che fiancheggiavan pur qualche poco*), and yesterday they were to batter in another direction. Those within repair the walls briskly, and go raising them, nor have they any lack of earth or of space (*nè piazza*), and not only the men, but even the women, work; nor as yet are they heard to show any sign of fear. This side is of opinion that the place will be taken, but that they will have much to do, and that the surest way will be by sap, so for this purpose they have made some covered ways, to enter into the moat and go under the wall.

Within they have 18 "banners" (*bandieri*), six which were there at first, six that entered afterwards, and six raised by the town, amounting to about 3,000 men, all very choice troops.

The site outside St. Quentin consists entirely of little valleys and dikes (*è tutto vallette et argini*), so although his Majesty's army is compelled to encamp disunited, it has at least this convenience, that some of those dikes serve as a trench, and discover part of the town, and most especially on the side where the suburb is, which was already occupied.

King Philip, seeing that the French in le Catelet, a small fortress between Cambrai and St. Quentin, did much mischief, and, by scouring the road, greatly impeded the passage of provisions and whatever was required for the army, sent thither nine pieces of artillery and a considerable force to batter it, but two days ago he had the artillery removed to St. Quentin, leaving only the soldiers to prevent the French from making sallies.

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The Count d'Egmont, with his light horse and with the English troops, has entered France and ravages everywhere on his march (*et va ruinando per tutto dove passa*). The Constable has been sent for safe custody to the fortress of Hant (*sic*); the Marshal of St. André, and the Rhinegrave, and the brother of the Duke of Mantua have been consigned to Don Ferrante, who is security for their ransom, which is said to amount to 40,000 crowns. The Constable was brought to the King, and his Majesty advanced some steps outside of the tent to meet him, and the Constable wishing to kiss his hand, the King would not allow it but embraced him, and they remained awhile alone together, conversing, and he was much honoured by all the chief personages.

Brussels, 22nd August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

998. From the SAME to the SAME.

With the opportunity afforded by the rout of the French, Cardinal Pole wrote to the King exhorting his Majesty to continue demonstrating by facts his goodwill towards the public quiet by enforcing the commission given by him heretofore to make peace with his Holiness, from which the King might not only hope for the grace and favour of God, but moreover for much praise from man likewise, and confirmation of the good opinion he has obtained for himself. Cardinal Pole gave me notice of this office, urging me also to do the like, but not having had any letters from your Serenity for a very long time I have no occasion to go to the army, nor do I see what additional good any office of mine could effect, unless I receive some fresh order, most especially as I am informed *that his Majesty's confessor*,* through whose hands this negotiation for the peace passed, has said that his Majesty repealed the resolve formed to send Vargas to Rome, because his affairs proceeding so prosperously it is not fair that he should make peace on such terms as he would have made it previously.

Brussels, 22nd August 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 24.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

999. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Veronese Ormanetto has arrived here, being sent by Cardinal Pole; he went to Cardinal Caraffa yesterday, but has not yet been to the Pope. When he obtains audience of his Holiness I will endeavour to learn what particulars he brings, and the Pope's replies, to communicate them to your Serenity.

Yesterday at 3 p.m. a courier from Venice brought letters for Cardinal Pacheco, from the ambassador Vargas, announcing the rout of the Constable in France. At a late hour Cardinal Pacheco narrated the event to his Holiness, exhorting him to make terms

* Francesco Bernardo de Fresneda. (See his Letter to Queen Mary, date 14 March 1558, Brussels, in Foreign Calendar "Mary" Entry, No. 734, p. 364.)

1557.

with the Duke of Alva whilst it was in his power ; to which he says the Pope replied, " God be praised, as we shall make the peace ; we were awaiting one of these opportunities to conclude it, and King Philip, by making it upon this his victory, will by so much the more evince his obedience and goodwill towards this Holy See."

Then last night a courier arrived from the Duke de Guise, and this morning a second one, with letters purporting that D. Scipio di Piovene, a gentleman in the service of the Cardinal of Ferrara, had come to his Excellency at Spoleto from France, to recall him for the assistance of the kingdom, the Duke sending hither a letter addressed to him by the Duke of Ferrara, thus, " You will have heard of the Constable's horrible disaster (*horrendo caso*) after victualling St. Quentin ; I am going to Venice to recommend the realm of France to the Signory. The Pope must be induced to make terms, and assist the King according to his means ; such I am told are the contents of the letter."

Marshal Strozzi conferred with Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Paliano all last night till 4 a.m. this morning. He says that for centuries the world has not witnessed greater confusion than at present, and that Constable Montmorency was a true prophet when he said, " Other people (*altri*) by their follies have turned our heads likewise, causing such disorder, that may God grant that this kingdom derive advantage from it." The Marshal added that here there is nothing to do but to persuade the Pope to make the agreement on such terms as he can obtain, the Duke de Guise being compelled to depart speedily for France.

Rome, 24th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1000. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The siege of St. Quentin continues as usual, and although the army of the King of Spain has battered the town in seven different places, the only breach made was the destruction of the wall, the platform remaining quite firm in every direction ; and, in addition to this, the Admiral has made a new fosse within, and a very strong trench, having also lowered the summit of a belfry, and by discharging some pieces of artillery from it damages the enemy greatly, so that in one direction they have been compelled to retire a little. The Admiral has also sent away another company of women and children, and has found another ditch of wheat (*un' altra fossa de formenti*), with which he will be provisioned for two months and a half. By order of the Duke de Nevers 300 harquebusiers went out of Guise escorted by 300 men-at-arms under the command of the Count de Sancerre,* and having forded the lake near St. Quentin, the water being so high that it reached the men's beards, and holding their harquebuses in the air, 280 of them got safe into the town by

* See Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 480.

1557.

night through the same place as that whereby the Constable made the other infantry enter with the boats, so it is considered certain that the town is no longer in want of anything.

Some 4,000 horse and 6,000 foot in the service of the King of Spain, having left the army, came as far as Noyon for the purpose of getting victuals, to convey which they took with them a number of carts (*carrete*), but having found the whole country laid waste, and without victuals or any other convenience, they went back to the army, where for the future (according to report) they will suffer less from lack of provisions than they have done hitherto, both because the crops in Flanders have already been housed, as also because the troops sent to besiege Catelet have secured that road, whereby the greater part of the victuals was conveyed, as before the approach of the said troops constant forays were made from Catelet, very great loss being incurred by those on their way to the army, and besides victuals and ammunition plundered by the foragers, they cut to pieces an escort that was taking two carts to the army, with about 20,000 crowns in reals (*scudi de reali*), which remained in their hands.

By accounts received from the prisoners it is heard that in the army they talk of continuing the siege of St. Quentin, with the hope that in a fortnight, or rather more, they may get it, in the belief that the besieged have not victuals for a longer period; and on the accomplishment of that undertaking it is said that they purpose attempting the capture of Peronne, another important fortress; and that after routing the Constable they did not advance in this direction, both because their whole heart is set on getting possession of those citadels, and on wintering there, as also because they believed the military force in Paris to be greater than they would have found it.

Here they continue providing most actively, and besides the 6,000 infantry raised and sent for the defence of several places, as written by me, the shopkeepers of all the trades, together with such of their servants (*servitori*) as are best able to carry arms, have been commanded, each trade, to raise a military company, with which they are to be reviewed, and troops of this sort are seen in great number, but they are not very well armed, and it is said that in three or four days there will be a general muster. Should the King have need of them in the field the town offers him a part of them, the rest serving for the defence of the city, and for this purpose 20 great cannons have been sent from Amiens.

The Constable being governor of Languedoc, a post of much importance, the King has given its administration to the Cardinal of Lorraine during his Excellency's absence; and that of the Lyonnois and Bourbonnois, held by Marshal St. André [Jacques d'Albon], has not been conferred on anyone, his release being hoped for very soon, it being already in course of negotiation with the Duke of Brunswick, but the like is not expected to take place so easily with regard to the Constable.

Paris, 25th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.
Aug. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1001. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The besiegers at St. Quentin, with their pioneers and batteries, made such a breach that they thought at length they might give the assault, having simultaneously digged some mines underneath the platform, with the intention of exploding them at the moment of the assault when the defenders would be on it. This scheme having been communicated to the Duke de Nevers by his spies in the enemy's army, and the Duke imparting it to the Admiral, the latter, when the assault was made, instead of allowing his troops to show themselves on the platform, made them remain on the trench, and to prevent the enemy from mounting the breach, he placed a good number of harquebusiers in the casemates, and other artillery on the flanks fronting the fosse, and when, on St. Bartholomew's day [24th August] the enemy gave the assault in several quarters, according to their project, and not seeing anyone appear for the defence, they commenced mounting the breach; but as the harquebusiers in the casemates and the artillerymen on the flanks did their duty, a constant fire being also kept up by the town, the defence was such that after six hours toil the besiegers were compelled to retire with the loss of about 1,000 men, and on their retreat the garrison sallied forth and killed a few others who were more slow to escape. This news was brought to the King yesterday, and has confirmed and increased the hopes of his Majesty and of everybody else, that the town will be kept; and although it is heard that they are again about to make another more formidable assault, it is nevertheless hoped that through the heart taken by the besieged owing to this feat they will maintain it manfully. The Duke de Nevers continues at Laon, and has about 10,000 infantry and 6,000 horse, besides another 6,000 foot soldiers, who have been distributed in several fortresses; and it having been ascertained that Noyon could not be kept, it has been abandoned, both by the soldiery and by the town's people themselves, part of whom have retired to Compiègne, and part to other places more in the interior.

Here in Paris the trades-bands continue to muster, but the day for their general review is not yet fixed. The 300,000 francs voted by the Parisians is being diligently exacted, each individual who has means paying 30 francs at the least, or 120 francs at the utmost, those who are unable to pay either of the aforesaid sums being exempted, but as many persons have exceeded the contribution demanded of them, it is believed that the sum will be much greater than what was promised; and in order that the clergy likewise may bear their share of the burden the King has imposed on them a new tenth, in addition to the other four disbursed in ordinary.

The Commander of the Fleet has been ordered to go with 10 galleys to meet the Duke de Guise, who is said to be ill. A few days ago letters from the Bishop of Lodève announced the death of Sultan Soliman.*

Paris, 27th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* A false report.

1557.

Aug. 28.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(1st letter.)

1002. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day I wrote my last the Duke of Paliano and Marshal Strozzi departed on their way to the Duke de Guise [at Terni?]. The Florentine Ambassador at the Pope's request is gone to his Duke, the Duke of Alva with the greater part of the army being at "La Colonna," a castle 14 miles from Rome, where he told the Secretary of the Cardinal Camerlengo, that although hitherto he has had nothing but words from the Pope, to whom he has so often declared his will, which was said to be that of his Holiness likewise, he will nevertheless not fail to make peace, provided he content himself with what is fair and reasonable, in which case the Duke of Alva will show that he is authorized to conclude, although it is proclaimed here that he has no such power. This message was delivered to Cardinal Caraffa by the Cardinal Camerlengo, who receiving no answer, and considering the urgency of the matter, is surprised at their leaving the short road of the Duke of Alva, who could settle it in two hours, and that they should take the long one of the Duke of Florence, who at any rate must communicate everything to him in whose hands are both arms and the towns of the Church.

Ormanetto, who was sent hither as commissioner by Cardinal Pole, came to visit me yesterday, and said he had not yet spoken with the Pope, though he saw Cardinal Caraffa, from whom he received a courteous reply, expressing great wish to serve his most illustrious Cardinal Pole; nor did Ormanetto make any other demonstration to him than that of his master's reverence and obedience towards this Holy See, as due from a servant to his lord, and from a son to his father, and that owing to the importance of the matter he is compelled to let his Holiness know the state in which the kingdom of England finds itself, and the disorders which might ensue from his removing himself thence at present.

Rome, 28th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1003. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, whilst waiting for the Pope in the audience hall, together with Sir Edward Carne, the Duke of Paliano and Marshal Strozzi joined us in their boots, and whilst the Duke conversed with the English ambassador, I had a long conference with the Marshal, who told me in secret that they had found the Duke de Guise at Terni, and accompanied him to Narni; that he, M. de Guise, cannot do otherwise than return to France, being thus ordered by the King, and that had he not received this command it would have been his office and duty in this the kingdom's need not to abandon it. He is coming leisurely to Rome in a litter, where he will perhaps remain some days to give greater favour to the affairs of his Holiness, who, finding himself without money, without victuals, and without troops, will be compelled to accept such terms of peace as the Imperialists shall choose to give him. This, M. de Guise has written

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to his Holiness, and will tell it him freely. The Duke of Paliano and Marshal Strozzi, being then sent for by the Pope, when their colloquy ended he came into the audience chamber, and having called the English ambassador to a window against which he was leaning, I heard Sir Edward Carne ask him for the reply to the Queen's demand about Cardinal Pole's legation; to which the Pope replied that his very important affairs and the present events had kept him so occupied that he was unable to despatch this matter in the two last congregations, which, moreover, were not attended by many cardinals whom he wished to consult, that he might form a better resolve to the honour of God, and for the salvation of England, for whose welfare he was as desirous as of that of the See Apostolic. That her Majesty should pardon him this delay (*che li perdonasse di questa dilatione*), and lay the blame of it, for the most part, on the ministers of King Philip, who kept him in constant trouble, and without any cause, most especially after being sure of his Holiness' willingness to accept King Philip for his good son, as he wrote to him by the brief in common with the Queen (as sent by me to your Serenity),* in reply to which, and owing to the letters of the cardinals, informing him of his Holiness' goodwill, the King wrote to them, showing himself better disposed than ever, notwithstanding which the Duke of Alva now did worse than before; that previously he could say, "the Pope is my King's enemy, and fails to make terms with him," and thus give a certain colour to the evil they were doing, but at present when deprived even of this excuse, they came under these walls the night before last to plunder and destroy this city, which is the seat of the Vicar of Christ, the domicile of the most blessed Peter and Paul, and the house of the omnipotent Lord God. That it was the ambassador's office to let the Queen know this, that she might induce the King her husband (*che facesse ufficio co'l Re suo marito*) to carry into effect what he says by word of mouth, about wishing to be the obedient son of the See Apostolic, and that now being victorious he should do so, more than ever, to demonstrate his acknowledgment to God for the good received from Him, as by doing otherwise His Majesty might turn His face from him, and make him lose in like manner as He has made him conquer. That he would show him a letter written lately by the Duke of Alva to the Cardinal "Camerlengo," that he might know better the arrogance of this Spaniard and his determination to do him every possible injury (*ogni male*), and so he read him a letter about which I write hereunder. Carne rejoined that he would not omit to write what the Pope commanded him, and on his alluding again to the legation, his Holiness said that he would perhaps despatch it at the next "congregation."

The ambassador then requested the Pope to be pleased to give audience to Ormanetto, who was sent by Cardinal Pole; to which his Holiness replied that he would do so willingly, and give orders to the Cardinal of Naples [Alfonso Caraffa] to have Ormanetto in-

* See the Pope's brief to Philip and Mary in Navagero's despatch dated 6th July 1557.

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roduced to him. With this the Pope dismissed Carne, and called me to audience.

In reply to my congratulations on his good health he thanked me, and said that by the grace of God he was well, adding, "We have little to tell you, as you know all that has taken place, and the impiety of those Imperialists (*di costoro*), who have been even at these gates, from which the most illustrious Signory will be able to comprehend that what we have so often told you is perfectly true, that there is nothing good in them but words. When in the Serenity's name you announced to us King Philip's goodwill to make terms, we indeed told you that his Sublimity should not pledge his word for a thing about which he might remain duped; do you now see whether he has been deceived? We are sure that the Signory would not have written what they wrote, had they not believed in the existence of goodwill on the part of Philip, but we know not how these writings of the King's about his goodwill agree with his servants doing the worst they can. And that you may know what the Duke of Alva's will is, and what may be hoped from it, we will show you (leaving with you also its copy) a letter written by him lately to the Cardinal 'Camerlengo,' who is mediating for the peace." He then read it to me, after which he gave it to me to send to your Serenity, as I do, and it is the one which he read first to the English ambassador. He gave me besides the enclosed printed copy of the bull made by him for the jubilee, telling me not to mind its being neither signed nor sealed, as receiving it at his hands was more than if it had been authenticated by a thousand prelates,* adding that he conceded the same indulgence throughout your territory, and that you were to have it proclaimed as usual, and to pray the Lord God for the peace and quiet of Christendom.

Having thanked him for this, when I was about to take leave, he said to me, "Magnifico Ambassador, there having occurred what has taken place in France, it would seem to us to wrong the love we bear the Signory, and to fail in our office and duty, were we not to remind you to write that as the Lord God has made you free, you should open your eyes to remain so, and not be the slave of the French nor the Spaniards; *and that should you allow this State of the Church which is in peril to be occupied, you will see, besides getting no honour, that you will subsequently do penance for it, as you will then be compelled to follow us, and put your neck under the yoke likewise.*" I replied that according to my duty I would write to your Serenity what he had told me, and I then took leave.

Rome, 28th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1004. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The sole object of this letter is to give the news of the capture of St. Quentin by storm, which took place yesterday at the vesper

* The Duke of Alva's letter and the bull do not exist in the Navagero Letter Book.

1557.

hour, and the advice arrived this night. The Admiral was taken prisoner, nor does it seem that this side has suffered much loss, but I will write the particulars in my next despatch.

Advices have been received from England that the English troops on the borders of Scotland, under the command of Lord Percy, lately created Earl of Northumberland,* have routed the Scots and their commander the Bastard of Scotland; they went into the interior, taking and burning several towns, and making very great booty of men and cattle; so that in every quarter the affairs of the French, which a short time ago caused so much apprehension, are on the decline, and King Philip's successes increase the repute and confidence of his subjects.

Brussels, 28th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1005. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote to your Serenity yesterday, announcing the capture of St. Quentin, and now send the duplicate of my letter.† Besides confirmation of my last letter the advices now received add that there being a dispute about pillage between the Spaniards and the Germans, some deaths took place on both sides, and the town being fired, and great part of it in flames, the Duke of Savoy sent a great number of pioneers to cleave (*de tagliare*) the burning houses, by which remedy such part of St. Quentin as remains standing was saved. Immense plunder was made, both because the town's people were very rich, and also as owing to the present alarm the majority of the principal and wealthiest gentry had taken refuge there, with their women, children, and effects. The Admiral (as written by me), being slightly wounded, was taken prisoner, and is so commended here universally that greater praise could not be expected by the most honourable commander in the world.

The army of the King of England has not yet moved, nor has it been discovered what resolve it will form, but to say the truth the general opinion is that King Philip's forces are at liberty to do what they please, as they will find no obstacle in any quarter capable of offering much impediment to their victorious course; and should they choose to march towards this city they could come by the straight road without finding any fortress to detain them for long, though they might find a scarcity of provisions, all of which have been withdrawn into the interior, the territory as far as Noyon being deserted. Should they on the contrary choose to turn towards Guise (as believed) rather than elsewhere, they will find that fortress very well provided and garrisoned, though it is not so strong as would be required, and if taken

* Sir Thomas Percy, knight, created Earl of Northumberland on the 30th April 1557. (See Collins, vol. 2, p. 315. Ed. London 1812.)

† Neither the original nor the duplicate can be found in the Venetian Archives. St. Quentin was stormed and taken on the 27th of August 1557. (See *Histoire de France* par le Père G. Daniel, de la Compagnie de Jesus; vol. 9, p. 838. Ed Paris 1755.)

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it would be no less profitable a conquest than St. Quentin. Many persons are of opinion that before the army determines on any other grand expedition (altra impresa reale) it will choose to take Ham, la Fere, and le Catelet, all which places are near St. Quentin, and their capture would cause very great apprehension to Peronne, a most important fortress, and which is said to be very well guarded.

The majority of this city's inhabitants are in the utmost terror, and send out, most especially towards Orleans, a great quantity of effects and of women, besides which an immense number of people, especially foreigners, are departing; and the King sent to St. Denis to remove the jewels and other royal ornaments kept in the church there, and they have arrived here, and it is said that they will be sent towards Orleans. *A report is also in circulation that his Majesty likewise, with the Court, on the first news of the enemy's advancing hitherwards, would also move in that direction.*

This morning a very solemn procession was made, his Majesty and the whole Court, and we Ambassadors likewise accompanying it, the King having gone in person to remove the relics from the "Sainte Chapelle" to the Cathedral Church of "Notre Dame," where the mass of the "Corpus Domini" was sung, all the ladies being clad in black sackcloth (*burato negro*) without any ornaments. Last night the King's guard in ordinary was much increased, all of them being in corslets, and to-morrow 400 archers will be here to reinforce the usual body-guard of his Majesty, whose countenance and language indicate such great grief as may credibly be attributed to so noble a mind as his, unaccustomed ever to have felt until now any calamity resembling this present one; nor does he abstain in private from saying that he now sees that those who ought to have executed his orders failed to do so, and that for the future he does not choose his affairs to be regulated in any other way than that with which it shall please God to inspire him. I have also to mention that the Cardinal of Lorraine is now sole prime minister, and many persons doubt his ability to bear so heavy a burden; in addition to which, these Parisians by abusive words, and by placards at the corners of the streets (*sopra li cantoni*) revile him incessantly as the author of this war, calling to mind that he was the person who went to Rome to conclude the League with the Pope, and that subsequently he and the whole of the Guise family performed every office for the prosecution of this war. The name of the Constable suffers in like manner for his not having chosen to hold in account the preparation made by the enemy, so that he neglected to victual and garrison the fortresses sufficiently; and that without pondering the state of this kingdom he has ruined the army and himself, together with so many other great personages, by choosing to place troops in St. Quentin, into which the enemy entered like a flood (*a guazzo*) without any impediment.

Paris, 30th August 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.
Aug. 30.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1006. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

I wrote in my last that on Saturday Marshal Strozzi had audience of the Pope in his boots, and he then told his Holiness of the order given by the most Christian King to M. de Guise to return to France with the greatest part of the army possible, as narrated to my secretary, by the person who heretofore communicated to him the Marshal's affairs; *Strozzi adding that Rome would remain in bad plight (resterà in mal termine).*

Strozzi then went to the Pope's nephews demonstrating to them the necessity for making peace, and that to bring his Holiness to that point he must be told that here he would neither have troops, money, victuals, nor ammunition, either for defence or attack; and that if they would not tell him this, he, Strozzi, would perform the office, and that lest the Pope impute the greater part of these disorders in the government to their most illustrious Lordships he would do his best to apologize for them. The nephews consented to the Marshal's performing this office, so yesterday he went to his Holiness and narrated to him the want of everything required for war, the necessary departure of the Duke de Guise with the prime (co'l nervo) of the army, thus leaving this state at the mercy of the Imperialists, for which there was no other remedy than peace; he proved to him that his nephews, who were present, had made every provision possible according to human prudence, which they having confirmed, the Pope, after remaining for a short time undetermined, then said, "If it does not please God that war be made, counsel how we are to make the peace."

The Marshal then said, "Holy Father, the past events have shown me that the cause of this war was the suspicion had by the Imperialists about the kingdom of Naples, for the defence of which, and in order not to be anticipated, they commenced the war, so that if freed from this suspicion they have no longer just nor apparent title for continuing hostilities against your Holiness; so I should believe it to be well for you to let it be understood that you choose to make peace, and to be neutral, and the common father, that you will dismiss the French, that you will disarm and raze the fortresses on the Neapolitan frontiers, and that in return your Holiness requires the due obedience from King Philip, and that he should not interfere with your subjects. The important general matters being agreed to, all the remaining affairs will adjust themselves."

The Pope replied that he was content, and ordered Cardinal Caraffa to tell the Cardinal "Camerlengo" to send instantly to propose all these things to Duke of Alva.

My secretary on hearing this went to ascertain the truth of it from the Cardinal "Camerlengo," who told him that last Saturday evening Cardinal Caraffa made him send back Placido to the Duke of Alva with an agreement to the effect that the places of the Church were to be restored, fortified as they are, that Paliano was to remain to the Duke, that neither King Philip nor his ministers were to interfere with his Holiness' subjects; which has served to irritate the Duke of Alva rather than not. The Duke

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sent him back last evening, saying that these demands were out of reason; and when Placido asked him of his own accord whether his Excellency would be content to make an agreement on the terms stipulated heretofore on the island, amongst which was one purporting that a trustee* (*un confidente*) was to be placed in Paliano until compensation were made to the Duke [of Paliano]—he replied, “I do not know; perhaps yes.” The Cardinal “Camerlengo” sent this reply to Cardinal Caraffa, who conferred with him last evening, remaining till midnight, discussing the articles one by one, and they agreed about everything except the matter of Paliano, which Cardinal Caraffa wished should remain to the Duke freely; the Cardinal “Camerlengo” replying, that this the Duke of Alva will not do, and that it is also doubtful whether he will now consent to a trustee’s being placed there; and that if his Lordship do not come to fairer terms about Paliano, it seemed to him vain to send again to the Duke of Alva; adding that he thought no difficulty should be raised with regard to placing a trustee there, as on the island his Lordship consented to it.

Cardinal Caraffa rejoined, “It is true, but I was offered Sienna;” to which the Cardinal Camerlengo replied, that they could not complain of the Duke of Alva if the promise about Sienna was not performed, as they themselves would not listen to Don Francisco Pacheco, nor to others, and in lieu of making terms sent their army into the Neapolitan territory, so everything was altered. Finally Cardinal Caraffa said he would confer with his brothers and with the Pope, and announce their decision to him. The “Camerlengo” [Guido Ascanio Sforza] also said that the whole army, with the Duke of Alva in person, was at “la Colonna,” where Don Garcia had arrived, and that he was expecting the Count di Popolo with 3,000 Germans and 4,000 Italians who had remained at the Tronto, and that the artillery also was near at hand.

Rome, 30th August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1007. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went this morning to Cardinal Caraffa, who confirmed the approach of the enemy to Rome, and said the Duke de Guise would be here this evening. In reply to my congratulations on what he did on this occasion for the defence of Rome, he embraced me, but avoided any allusion to the proposals sent to the Duke of Alva. I said nothing on that subject, knowing that last evening Placido went back to the Duke of Alva after the “Camerlengo” and Cardinal Vitelli had been for a long while with his Lordship.

To ascertain the last proposals taken by Placido to the Duke of Alva, I sent my secretary to the “Camerlengo,” who told him that

* As will be seen in subsequent despatches, dated Rome, 18th September 1557, and 13th March 1558, this “trustee” was the Pope’s nephew, a soldier, by name Giovanni Bernardino Carbon. Cardinal Caraffa and the Duke of Alva agreed to appoint him warder of the citadel of Paliano, till the 14th March 1558, when he was to consign it to King Philip’s nominees, provided compensation had been made for it to Giovanni Caraffa, to whom this Colonna castle had been transferred by Paul IV.

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Cardinal Caraffa sent for him yesterday afternoon, and after much debate told him to send Placido to the Duke of Alva to let him know that as to the restitution of the towns of the Church, either as they are, or dismantled, no difficulty will be made, and that for this matter they will refer themselves to the said "Camerlengo," but that respecting Paliano they request him to leave it to the Duke as it stands, for the honour of the Pope, and as a sort of satisfaction for the French; but should the Duke of Alva refuse this, let him make three or four proposals about Paliano, to which they will reply, and possibly one of them might be accepted.

The Duke de Guise arrived here this evening at 6 p.m., and went to lodge at Monte Cavallo in the house and vineyard (*nella casa, e vigna*) of the Cardinal of Ferrara.

Rome, 31st August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1008. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the night after the capture of St. Quentin, M. de Bourdillon went out of La Fère, and whilst the enemy were enjoying their victory, he and his cavalry attacked their tents, which had no guard, burning many of them and making much booty, and returned safe to his garrison.

The affray between the Spaniards and the Germans in St. Quentin was much more serious than at first represented, it being said that the Duke of Brunswick is greatly exasperated.

The Parisians continue decamping, regardless of the cost of conveyance, by land or water, of their families and effects, but they have offered the King 5,000 of their men armed at their own cost, one third cavalry and two thirds infantry, this force remaining in his service during his stay here, as likewise with the rest of the army, should he take the field, and their equipment still continues. They are also preparing quarters for the fresh troops who are expected in the neighbourhood of Paris, especially at Montmartre, where they are making trenches, and such other provision as necessary, his Majesty intending to muster here the whole body of the fresh levies expected from every quarter. The last raised Switzers were to arrive to-day at Chalon, where they will embark on the Marne. M. de Termes is also expected here in four days with M. de Damville the Constable's son; they are coming post-wise, but M. de Termes being old and indisposed, their daily journey does not exceed five posts.

Paris, 31st August 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1009. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The greater part of St. Quentin having been burned, and the fortress destroyed by the batteries, the King of Spain has determined to diminish it, and is having four bulwarks raised in haste, and is intent on victualling and garrisoning the citadel; having also sent a reinforcement of troops to Le Catelet, which is completely sur-

1557.

rounded, and although the place is very strong, yet being very small, it is much feared that it will follow St. Quentin.

The King is informed that considerable bodies of troops are being raised near the Franche Comté with the intention of passing into the county of Bresse, and perhaps advance towards Lyons; so his Majesty has sent to raise 8,000 Switzers for that quarter, nor does he doubt having them, as the confederate cantons gave him to understand that in this his need he was to make use of as many of their troops as required by him; but this fresh stir is kept as secret as possible to avoid causing greater alarm to this population. The King continues raising money, and there being 17 accountants-general in this kingdom, he has determined to appoint as many more, they dividing the charge with the others, he giving them the same profit (*utilità*), each of which offices will be sold for 25,000 francs; and he will also appoint a "keeper of the seal" for each Parliament, which will be sold for the same price, his Majesty thus obtaining upwards of 600,000 francs. He has accepted 300,000 francs from the merchants of Lyons, with the usual interest of 16 per cent., and four per cent. on restitution of the capital. *Thus it seems confirmed from every quarter that his most Christian Majesty purposes continuing the war even during the winter, though from the nature of the territory (qualità del paese) it is a very difficult undertaking.*

The Germans are marching, and will number 10,000 [foot], and 1,500 blacksmiths (*feraroli*).

Paris, 1st September 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. 2.

MS., St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. XXIV.,
Cl. X., p. 187,
recto.

1010. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Of this fortunate event conceded by our Lord God to your Majesty through the capture of St. Quentin, I congratulated myself chiefly from having heard the account from the Earl of Worcester [William Somerset, eighth Earl of Worcester], of the good and holy orders given and enforced by your Majesty; whereby I showed (*per li quali ho mostrato*) how a clement Prince should wage war, which will deservedly gain for you great grace and favour with God and man. Thus may it please His Divine Majesty to continue favouring you for the speedy attainment of that good and permanent peace which is desired for the restoration of Christendom [now] so sorely harassed, as I am certain has been your Majesty's chief object in this war. The most Serene Queen has also evinced great gladness at this, principally from the testimony offered by your Majesty on this occasion of your piety, to the glory of God and to His true honour, especially because it took place with so little loss of life, which grace she always prays His Divine Majesty to grant you in all your victories. Here we are anxiously expecting news of some good agreement with his Holiness, which may our Lord God deign to grant and ever have your Majesty in His keeping, and for His service favour your Majesty, whose hand I humbly kiss.

London, 2nd September 1557.

[Italian.]

1557.

Sept. 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(1st letter.)

1011. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, at 9 p.m., Placido, on his return from the camp, came to me, by order of the Cardinal "Camerlengo," to give me account of what he had done. He said he found the army under Paliano, that he understood the Duke of Alva meant to storm it, and although, from the preceding negotiation, he knew him to be greatly irritated, as he considers himself to have been duped and offended in it by the Pope and his nephews (*da questi Signori*), they not having chosen to execute what was put into writing by Cardinal Caraffa on the island, having subsequently sent by Placido another very different one,* having first of all not chosen to hear Don Francisco Pacheco, who had been despatched by the Duke to King Philip with what was said on the island, and returned with the decision; the said Duke having also heard that the Pope and his nephews (*questi Signori*) published many things about his ill-will, and had also endeavoured to make this negotiation pass through other hands, causing it to be reported that he had no authority, and that it was well he had not, by reason of his ill-will; all which things the said Placido had stated plainly to Cardinal Caraffa; but that nevertheless, having been commanded, he went, and that after presenting the letter from the Cardinal "Camerlengo" to the Duke of Alva, he told him besides that well nigh all the difficulties being reduced to Paliano, and it having been said heretofore that should the peace be made it might be deposited in the hands of a confidential person, the Cardinal Caraffa and these lords believed that no more trustworthy person could be found than his brother the Duke of Paliano; to which the Duke of Alva replied that they deceived themselves, as he should always place greater trust in Marc' Antonio Colonna, who had never taken up arms against the King his lord, whereas the Count of Montorio,† as general of the Papal forces, had turned them against him. Placido, seeing his Excellency determined on this point, having used many arguments to prove that so small a difficulty ought not to deprive the world of so great a benefit as peace, requested the Duke to state what he required by proposing fair terms, because, knowing the goodwill of the Pope and his nephews (*e di questi altri*), he chose to hope that the affair might be settled.

The Duke having taken time to consider, the 'next morning, being rather indisposed, he sent for Placido to his bedside, and had a letter consigned to him addressed to the Cardinal "Camerlengo," the contents of which, he said, were that to remove all cause for rancour he had considered that no good nor sincere peace could be made without granting a general pardon to all persons on both sides, and without restoring what had been taken from them (*la robbia*), and releasing the prisoners; which having been heard by Placido, he told me that he said to the Duke that this was tantamount to breaking the whole negotiation, as it implied

* See before, 20th July 1557.

† The title of Giovanni Caraffa before the Pope invested him with the Duchy of Paliano.

1557.

a demand for restoring his whole state to Marc' Antonio Colonna, and for pardoning Ascanio dalla Cornia, and giving him back his property, concessions which the Pope will never make, and the more as whenever peace was talked of, his Holiness left himself at liberty to punish his vassals and rebels. Placido also told me that in reply to this the Duke of Alva said that his intention was that Marc' Antonio Colonna and Ascanio dalla Cornia, as persons (*come quelli*) who had committed no offence against the Pope (*sic*), should be abandoned in this peace, and that if heretofore he the Duke had consented to this [their exclusion?], he no longer considered himself bound, as the Pope and his nephews (*questi de qui*) had been the first to retract what had been put into writing by Cardinal Caraffa. To this, Placido, from the wish that his great exertions for the peace might bear fruit, and because, should the war continue, he foresees the inevitable ruin of Italy, did not fail to rejoin boldly that his Excellency was losing a great opportunity for preserving that good name which he had enjoyed hitherto from his wish to be the author of the peace, and that he would cause every one to believe that he had perhaps been of another mind; that he, Placido, from what little he could see, was of opinion that the welfare of his King, and the individual glory of his Excellency, required them, the more they sought advantage, the more to evince a wish to grant ample conditions of peace to a Vicar of Christ who is the head of our religion, with whom, and with the other Princes, he who makes concessions gains greatly; but that having already found the Duke determined and obstinate about what he had read to him of the letter's contents, he came back quite confused, as he saw the matter brought to such a pass that there was little to hope about it. I said to Placido, in reply, that my sole hope of this peace was in the Duke of Florence, for which purpose his ambassador was said to have gone to him. He rejoined, "This hope is small, for the Duke of Alva will choose to show that everything depends on him."

Then this morning, having allowed a day to intervene for the visits, I went to the Duke de Guise, who, although I found him with Cardinal Dandino, who had arrived shortly before me, the moment he saw me, dismissed him, saying, "Wait, as I wish to be with Monsignor the ambassador of Venice." I congratulated him on his convalescence, saying it would please your Serenity to hear that he was well and cheerful. He thanked me lovingly, and said, "You will have heard of what happened to the Constable." I replied, "Yes, I heard it with regret, because I know that any disaster of the most Christian King disturbs my most illustrious Signory;" and he continued, "It cannot be otherwise, as I know the King's goodwill towards that most illustrious Republic, and was commissioned by his Majesty to go and pay my respects to them, but being unable to do so I shall send one of my attendants to ask them for the pass for my men-at-arms and the Switzers who wish to return, not doubting that, if every convenience was given to King Philip, the like will be done to a King of France who is so much your friend," which I thought it fit to confirm to him, knowing your Serenity's custom. He then continued, "To speak frankly, I shall depart

1557.

for France with a number of gentlemen, and 10 galleys will be in readiness, as besides the six, viz., two of Marshal Strozzi's, two of my brother's,* and two of the Pope's, four others have arrived. I am sorry to leave the Pope in this his need, but the shirt is nearer to the skin than to the doublet (*ma tocca più la camiscia, ch' el giubbone*). I was with his Holiness yesterday, and shall return to him this evening. Should the affairs of the world adjust themselves, I hope that the Pope will acknowledge our goodwill, and that those most illustrious noblemen of yours will also in like manner not fail to assist the Church. I believe that the Cardinal of Ferrara will go to Venice; and by three sets of advices from France I hear that the hostile army has halted under St. Quentin, which has pleased me greatly, for had the enemy advanced they might have done mischief. I hope that the King will rally and soon raise a more powerful army than the one he had." This conversation having lasted a long while, and as Cardinal Dandino and other personages were still waiting, I then took leave.

On returning home I found Cardinal Caraffa's chief private secretary, who told me his master wished to speak to me in the course of two hours, and that if the time inconvenienced me I was to send the secretary. I replied that after my dinner, which was then on table, I would very willingly go to him, and that neither now nor at any moment would it inconvenience me to do so for his service.

Rome, 2nd September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1012. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On going to Cardinal Caraffa immediately after dinner, I found him talking at the window with Cardinal St. Angelo [Ranuccio Farnese], evincing great anger, and until the colloquy between the two Cardinals ended I conversed with the Right Reverend Vitelli about ordinary topics, Marquis Montebello telling my secretary in the meanwhile that he saw things going to final ruin, as the French were departing, and to stay them great things were required, such as the consignment of cities, &c., whilst the Duke of Alva demanded unfair terms according to Placido's last report; nor here in Rome were there any means for continuing the war, so the Pope would be compelled to make peace to his indignity (which he will never do), or else *escape from hence to Avignon or to Venice, and because at Avignon he would be amongst barbarians, who bear him scanty friendship* (*sarà trà barbari pochi suoi amici*), *he believes he will choose Venice.*

At the close of this conversation Cardinal Caraffa dismissed Cardinal St. Angelo, and called me to the window, saying, "I would fain speak to you at liberty, and that these rascals" (*per dir la parola sua, queste canaglie*) (to use his own words, certain gentlemen and

* René de Lorraine, General of the Galleys of France. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.)

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soldiers being in the chamber,) "were not here," and he then looked so fiercely on the persons in the chamber that they went out of it; whereupon he said to me, "I have no good news to tell you, for the affairs of Italy are in so sorry a plight that never was the like. We are reduced to putting the crown of this province on the head of King Philip. You will have seen me angry with Cardinal St. Angelo, because he told me that if his brother Duke Octavio had not yet accepted the command of the expedition against Ferrara, he was about to accept it; so I was compelled to show my teeth, and to tell him that this is their recompense to the Pope for having saved them from ruin on the passage of the Duke de Guise, who would have taken Parma had I not been upon the spot (*quale volea fare quella impresa che se non era Io*). I assured him that this resolve will be their ruin, and the devil will take them (*et il Diavolo se li porterà*), as they are making for themselves too many enemies, and principally the See Apostolic, of which the Duke is feudatory, and me amongst the rest, not only as the Pope's nephew, but as cardinal, nor will I ever be their friend; and in conclusion I told him that I am at this moment sending a courier to his brothers* that they may not do anything so unbecoming (*che non caschino in simile inconveniente*); but I think it will be fruitless, although I told him that they might delay this demonstration of their hatred for the Duke of Ferrara until another time. Besides this resolve of the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Florence has leagued with King Philip for the affairs of Sienna, and is already armed; whilst in this other quarter the Duke of Alva is upon us (*n' è addosso*), so that we cannot resist him, and he has now discovered his poison by the reply sent by him through the Cavalier Placido to the Cardinal 'Camerlengo,' of which I will give you a copy, that you may send it to the Signory. You will see what an extravagant demand it was. I have not yet shown it to the Pope, thinking that Placido had something else to say by word of mouth in mitigation of the writing, but seeing that he has nothing farther I cannot conceal it from my Prince; and that you may know everything I will also give you the articles which I sent to propose to the Duke of Alva, they being five in number, and as the difficulty seemed to reduce itself to two, viz., the one about restoring the towns of the Church as they stand, I at length consented that they should be restored as they were when the enemy occupied them; the other about Paliano required it to be left to the Duke my brother as it stands, and in this matter likewise I should not have made much difficulty about consigning the castle to a trustee; but now everything is cut short (*si taglia ogni cosa*) by this writing of the Duke of Alva, and his demands are so strange that would I could fight rather than negotiate, as I should hope in the goodness of God to give me strength and valour, not only against one, but against a thousand, because I should be on the side of reason. Pardon me if I speak angrily, as I cannot do otherwise when I see how those Imperialists (*costoro*) are proceeding, for they know not how to conduct themselves in the field, and still less in council, though they might believe that were they to agree with the

* The Duke of Parma and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.

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Pope, and render him neutral, they might march with their forces in any direction they pleased; but the fact is that they could not conceal their ill-will on perceiving that this side was closing in earnest (*che da questa parte si veniva a stringer la cosa da vero*).

"I am writing to the Duke of Ferrara, as you will see by the copy of my letter which I am sending you for transmission to the Signory, whose son I am, and I wish them to know what is passing, that they may provide for accidents, and for this wretched Italy, for when a soldier I used to say that the only thing which could induce me to quit the service of the Prince to whom I had engaged myself, would be a war waged on the Signory of Venice, whose service I (with 25 young men, for I could have disposed of that amount if not of a greater number) would have entered without any stipend, because I should have served a true Italian Prince, as all the others are either of little importance, or else of the French or Imperial faction like the Popes, but the Republic of Venice is always Italian. And that you may be enabled to write to-day without losing any time in what state we find ourselves, I will tell you confidentially, as I always have done, that the Pope is in despair (*ch' el Papa si truova disperato*), as he has neither money nor troops, nor the other necessary supplies for war, and to make peace is impossible for him, because having expressed his willingness to do so, with some little loss of dignity, not to say worse, these Imperialists (*questi*) have become so elate that they make the extravagant demands notified to you. The Duke de Guise will depart with the principal commanders, which, however, would give me little annoyance, but he will take away a great part of the army, unless means be found to stop it by giving them all that they demanded, as I told you heretofore, and this the Pope will do, so as not to remain in the hands of devils; it is better to cut off one's arm than to lose the rest of the body for the sake of saving it.

"I tell you that he will give them Civitavecchia, Rome, and whatever they choose, and his Holiness will retire to Venice or into France, and leave the defence here to others. In short I confirm to you the fact that never was the final ruin of Italy more imminent than it is at present, and both these and those (French and Imperialists—*e questi e quelli*) are, in conclusion, barbarians, and were it in my power I would not have any of them (*non vorrei alcuno di loro*); and I have therefore sent a reinforcement of 100 harquebusiers to Civitavecchia lest the French play me some trick (*non mi facessero una burla*) when going to and fro.

"I have not written these particulars to Cardinal Trivulzi from fear of their being divulged, and request those most excellent lords my fathers to keep them to themselves, if they wish for other news from me, as to tell you the truth everything is soon known at Venice, and of this I receive notice, as would be the case on the present occasion; so request those most illustrious lords in a matter of such great importance to use for the love of God their customary prudence and secrecy."

Rome, 2nd September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1013. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening the provost of Amiens came to the court and informed his Majesty that the inhabitants were advised of an intended attack on their city by the army of the King of Spain. In the name of the entire population he entreated his most Christian Majesty to provide them with many things required for their defence, and principally with troops, because when the present disturbances commenced, more than 2,000 of their own townspeople went to the war as foot soldiers for the King's service; so although they are bound to defend themselves with their own forces, yet at the present moment they had not the requisite number of troops in the town for their defence, and needed a reinforcement of at least 3,000 infantry.

I wrote to your Serenity heretofore that King Henry had sent troops to Scotland, and had also written to the Queen Regent of that kingdom [Marie de Lorraine], to arrange with those Lords to raise troops in case of need. Advices have now been received that they had mustered 20,000 men, including horse and foot, with which they entered England and took Berwick, and were fortifying it,* wherefore the Queen of England was raising troops. Advices have also been received that certain French vessels captured four ships bound from Flanders to England, said to be worth 150,000 crowns, and amongst other things the captors found 4,000 corslets, which are held in more account than all the rest, owing to the scarcity of armour here, besides the advantage of having taken it out of the enemy's hands.

It is impossible to calm the fear of the people in this city, who continue to fly from it more than ever; and Soissons, Compiègne, and other neighbouring places are quite void of inhabitants and effects. The suburbs of Compiègne are being destroyed by the soldiers there, to secure the town as well as they can; and here in like manner they are making trenches beyond the walls in which to lodge the troops who are expected, the town itself having given them 8,000 sappers for this purpose.

Paris, 2nd September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1014. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

M. de la Vigne, his most Christian Majesty's ambassador to Sultan Soliman, arrived here yesterday, having come by that Sovereign's order, so as to return within a stated period; and from what I have been able to elicit he reports that at the commencement of his embassy, when he arrived at Constantinople, he found the Sultan very ill disposed towards the King, complaining that at the very time when he had him asked for his fleet last year, he stipulated a truce with the Emperor without his participation; and that in like manner this year, when La Vigne again asked it of him, advices arrived that the Pope was negotiating the peace,

* A French canard. See Lingard's History of England, vol. 5, p. 253, ed. London, 1854; and Père Daniel, vol. 9, pp. 858 to 860.

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so that the Sultan enraged did not choose to send it ; but that subsequently the ambassador having soothed him, Sultan Soliman consented to offer his most Christian Majesty his very powerful fleet for next year, when he himself in person with an immense army will move towards Hungary on his march to Germany, provided King Henry assure him that he will neither make peace nor truce with his enemies next year ; and he sent him a present of a vase more than a span high (*più alto di una spana*), full of balsam, and a very valuable gold jewelled cup. This was not heard here until uttered by the ambassador's own lips, he having announced his departure from Constantinople to the King, by merely writing that he was coming for the purpose of rendering his most Christian Majesty a great service ; nor have I as yet been able to elicit what reply the King intends to make to this proposal, though I have indeed been told that these present troubles may easily compel him to accept the bargain (*il partito*).

A report prevails that the troops in Le Catelet have surrendered to the King of Spain, they being free to depart with their effects and artillery.

Paris, 3rd September 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 3.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1015. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day between 4 and 5 p.m., the time appointed me by the Pope, I found the Cardinals Pacheco and Spoleti in the audience chamber, his Holiness being above in his own chamber with the Cardinal of Naples,* and his councillors. After going to sleep he came down at sunset, and Cardinal Pacheco having approached him he desired the other Cardinals and the Duke of Paliano to keep me company. Shortly afterwards rising from his seat the Pope called me, saying he did not choose me to be inconvenienced, and that Cardinal Pacheco was content that my audience should precede his, and notwithstanding my remonstrances, his Holiness commenced saying, "We are much obliged to the Signory for the many good offices they have performed and are performing for the peace and quiet of Christendom, and especially of Italy and ours (*e nostro*). We have heard what they did lately in this matter with the Ambassador Vargas, and also what they wrote to their ambassador with King Philip, so we have cause to thank and to be extremely obliged to them, and we pray you to perform this office in our name. The providence of God has in truth conferred on that State their present grandeur, and He will preserve it to them, and make them greater, to support the liberty of Italy, as a medium (*un mezo*) for quiet and universal welfare ; may His Majesty grant that His work and the prayers of the Christian commonwealth, and ours, may effect the desired result, as if affairs here quiet themselves, a general peace may be reasonably hoped for, seeing that the King of France, being humbled by the rout in

* Alfonso Caraffa, the Pope's great nephew, and son of Marquis Montebello.

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Picardy, will not refuse it, whilst King Philip, who until then had been rather beaten than otherwise, might to his honour attend to the general quiet.

"The event has been an important one, and not without the will of God, who, although He proceeds *lento gradu* to destroy his own (*ad uccider li sui*), has now been but too speedy; you know the profane operation of the Constable with regard to cancelling a marriage, the difficulty of which was pending before us, after very many congregations of cardinals, theologians, and canonists had given their votes about it. We pondering them with much discretion and assiduity, so as to do dispassionately what was for the glory of God, the Constable thought fit to recall his son, and by that scandalous and ridiculous device of theirs to cancel of their own accord one marriage, and to make another, to which the King consented because it could not be done without his approval (*perchè senza non si poteva fare*). Hence comes it that the Lord God has punished them, but we nevertheless shall not fail on this account to have the question decided, and it will perhaps be the cause of a determination ensuing, we do not say about this particular one, but with regard to similar cases in general. And to return to the first topic, we tell you that the King of France being humbled we may reasonably hope for universal peace should the agreement between us and Philip be effected.

"We certainly regretted the disaster of our son the King of France, for we are obliged to him, as he indeed rendered us assistance, though perhaps for his own designs, but it answered us in our need, in which we implored the assistance of everyone, yours, repeatedly, and you also know how earnestly; and it would have been lawful and indeed praiseworthy for us to call the Turks, Moors, and Jews, for our defence, being invaded by those Imperialists (*da costoro*) without any cause, save because we did not choose, by trusting them, to render ourselves their prey (*perchè non ci l'eramo voluti dare in preda*), remembering what they did 30 years ago to Clement, who confided in them, and we were present at the sack of this city.

"We understand that to effect this peace the Signory is sending a secretary,* than which nothing could be more agreeable to us; wherefore in like manner as we thank his Sublimity heartily, so do we also pray him not to desist *nisi re perfectâ*, as should this peace be effected through his medium it will reflect greater glory on him than any other operation performed by the State during the last hundred years."

I replied, "Holy Father, the Signory never has failed, nor ever will fail, seeking the common weal of Christendom, and from the wish to see your Holiness in quiet and your territory tranquil they have hitherto performed many offices, and are now doing what your Holiness has heard, being convinced by so many of my letters, and by their experience of your goodness, prudence, and piety, that on fair terms you will embrace this quiet."

* The mission of Marc' Antonio Franceschi to the Duke of Alva, and its result, is recorded in Andrea Morosini's Venetian History, vol. 2, pp. 289-293. (Ed. Venezia, 1782.)

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"Please God," said the Pope, "that the desired fruit may be obtained, and that these Imperialists (*questi*) may choose to accept fair terms, and not contrary to our dignity, because knowing the place in which we find ourselves, and whose vicar we are, we will never fail in our duty in the least, and rather than do anything unworthy of the grade we hold, we would die a thousand deaths." I added, "Holy Father, I choose to hope, and indeed consider it certain, and assure the Signory, that with the assistance of the Lord God, and of your Holiness' prudence, a stop will be put to these calamities, this benefit being thus conferred on the world, which will expect a yet greater one (*il qual maggiore aspettare*), (sic), and that you may be enabled with your mind more at ease to attend to 'the Reform' (*alla Riforma*), which I know your Holiness to have so much at heart, that in the midst of these troubles you did not fail giving a great pledge to that effect to Christendom." The Pope rejoined, "Should God grant us the grace which we have always desired, as you know, to relieve us from the war, we promise to devote all the hours of our life to the service of His Divine Majesty, and to perform such acts as will satisfy and comfort the world, for we shall commence with ourselves and our household (*e da casa nostra*), and then reform the others."

I then said that I would read to him the proposal made by your Serenity to the ambassador Vargas,* that he might see how warmly and how earnestly the Signory had performed this office; so having had the aforesaid proposal read, according to my commission, His Holiness listened to it attentively, nor could he refrain from tears, so that he was compelled to wipe them with his handkerchief; † and he then said, "This was an office truly worthy of the grandeur of that Signory; may the Lord God remunerate them, by preserving and augmenting their State, nor will we fail to contribute our efforts and assistance." I then had read to him the news letters from Constantinople and from Corfu about the [Turkish] fleet, and subsequently presented to him your Serenity's letter in reply to His Holiness' brief about the election of the Reverend Contarini to the Bishopric of Paphos, in such terms as seemed fitting to me, to thank him for this nomination, and to demonstrate to him the satisfaction thus given to the whole of that illustrious city, owing to the goodness, virtue, and nobility of the reverend personage elected. The Pope then desired the Duke of Paliano to give him the knife of his sword, ‡ (telling him that he and all his family were bound to engrave in their inmost hearts the many obligations conferred on them by your Serenity), and commanded my Secretary to open it, choosing to read it himself, after which he expressed great contentment at having satisfied your Serenity, according to his wish to do whatever else was in his power.

Rome, 3rd September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* After the recall of Peter Vannes, Don Francisco de Vargas was ambassador from Philip and Mary to the Republic of Venice.

† There was nothing pathetic in the letter, which merely announced the intention of the Signory to send a secretary to the Duke of Alva.

‡ Il coltello della spada; probably the sharp edge of his sword, as a knife.

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Sept 3.
Original
Letter-Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1016. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On leaving the Pope, I went to Cardinal Caraffa, whom I found in bed with a slight cold and headache, although he said it was nothing of importance. I communicated to him what I had notified to the Pope, and he replied that the coming of the Secretary could not but be very much to the purpose, as by means of your Serenity's authority the Duke of Alva might perhaps be brought to fairer terms, as assuredly the demands made by him in this his last letter evinced slight good-will; the which letter he had not chosen to show the Pope, to avoid irritating him, being willing to hope the Duke would repent and modify the unfairness of his demands; that last night at midnight he sent Placido to let him know that it was useless to speak again about what had been settled heretofore, but to await the execution of what had been concluded on the island; and that, indeed, if he wished to negotiate them again, he should either send one of his agents hither to treat them, or that some one should be sent to him from hence to that effect, in order to spur him to the conclusion, and also these agents who are negotiating, to their duty. He let him know that his messenger came to Rome the night before last, and the attendants (*gli huomini*) of the "Camerlengo" having been with him immediately, this gave cause for unjust suspicion of that Cardinal [*Guido Ascanio Sforza*], and according to State policy (*per ragione di Stato*) his (the Duke of Alva's) emissaries, viz. Placido and Messer Constantio, might have been examined about this coming of the army to Rome. Cardinal Caraffa added, "As one cannot make them act properly in any other way recourse must be had to similar sorts of stratagems," and that the Cardinal "Camerlengo" likewise had written in good form. He then continued, "We shall wait to see what he will reply. I also sent him a despatch from the Duke of Florence received at 5 a.m. this morning, of which I was unable to give your Magnificence notice, being then half distracted by a violent headache, and subsequently knowing that you were to be at the palace for audience, I expected to see you as has happened. I will now show you the identical letters of the Duke of Florence, but must tell you first of all that some days ago being urged by his ambassador (as the said Duke was expecting authority to conclude the agreement) to let him know on what terms the Pope would make it, it did not seem fit to me to tell him any particulars, until I heard that the 'power' (*il mandato*) had reached him. In order not to reveal the will of my Sovereign to a person who, after all, might be without authority, I now gave him the articles treated heretofore with the Duke of Alva, the difficulty resting upon two of them, the one about restoring the towns, either as they now are, or as they stood when taken, the other about this blessed Paliano, which being the head of the quarrel, it would be more than fair for them to leave it to the Pope, rather than the Pope to them. The ambassador went off with this, and subsequently to the hostile army's having come under these walls, I sent a courier after him to tell him of this fact, and that the Duke of Alva chose to enter

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Rome by another way than that which was fitting and ordinary, praying the Duke of Florence, as an Italian Prince desirous of the welfare of this Holy See, and having, as he gave me to understand, authority, to conclude, and thus put an end to the business speedily, removing the inconveniences which might arise through delay, and that they must not detain me with words (*che non mi tenessero in parole*), but by discovering their mind give me convenience (*comodità*) to provide for our affairs, arranging as well as we can with the French.

“The Duke replies to every particular, as you will see by the letters;” and he then drew two letters from under his pillow, the one addressed to the Pope, the other to his Lordship, both dated Florence the 1st of this month. In the one for the Pope, the Duke says he has received his Holiness’ brief, and has heard Ricasoli’s statement about the agreement, promising to use all assiduity and faithfulness (*fede*) to effect it, knowing that he will thus serve his Holiness and King Philip, to whom he is obliged, and satisfy himself, as he desires nothing more cordially than this, without any personal design of his own; that in order the more easily to accomplish this negotiation, it was requisite for those who treat in his Holiness’ name to speak freely and without reserve, as he likewise would do; that for the future, to avoid troubling his Holiness, he would address everything to Cardinal Caraffa, to whom in the other letter he wrote as above, with this in addition, that he should hasten to give particulars, to gain time, it being necessary to discuss and digest the matter with those in command of the army, and that the lack of these details hitherto was not his fault; that the said Duke of Florence must be enabled to write freely and obtain a reply from the Duke of Alva, and also to have safe conducts, should it be necessary to send to and fro, as by the accompanying despatch he was writing to the Duke of Alva to be pleased to send him some one well informed about the things relating to this agreement; saying besides that he gave his word not to negotiate with the Duke of Alva, through this channel, any matter unconnected with the peace; that six days ago he wrote to the ambassador Vargas at Venice, who has many and ample commissions about these affairs, to come to Florence, where he would have been by this time had he not received letters from the King telling him that his Majesty had received advice that at Rome the negotiation for the agreement had been altogether excluded, and that therefore he was not to move until he received farther commission from the Duke of Florence; the letter ending thus, that in this affair he would not fail in such fidelity, diligence, and obsequiousness, as he knows is due to the Pope, and opportune for the benefit of Italy.

Cardinal Caraffa then said, “Thus are we situated with the Imperialists (*con questi*); to the others, namely to the French, we give good words and hopes, in order not to be abandoned. Yesterday evening the Duke de Guise made an important proposal, that although what was heard had taken place in France, and that he had an express order from the King to return,

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yet nevertheless, perceiving his Holiness' need, not only will he not depart, but that had he been in France he would have come hither to assist him; that it was true that being accompanied by a great number of the nobility, he considered it fair for them to have a city for their refuge in case of need, and ports to enable them to depart when he could do so at the pleasure of this State; and here he repeated the demands made on former occasions for the consignment to him of fortresses and ports. He was answered courteously that by similar demands they show little trust in us, as they may rest assured that so long as they shall be allied with the Pope, the Papal cities and harbours will be for their defence, and that even were the Pope by peace to become neutral they would in like manner have the same convenience which was promised them in either case, whether as confederates, or as the sons of a common father. This seemed to pacify him, and he will remain here for a few days; and it is certain that had these French troops delayed their coming into these parts, the Duke of Alva on that night when he showed himself under the walls of Rome would either have stormed the city or encamped here."

Rome, 3rd September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1017. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary Extraordinary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At 9 a.m. on Thursday, I, secretary, left Venice, and although from Urbino hither the post horses were either jaded, or engaged for the passage of the French army, I nevertheless got here at 9 this morning. The troops had ravaged the country in many places, and to make up for lost time from lack of post-horses by day, I journeyed by night likewise, and on my way I met a good number of French cavalry destined for Ferrara.

I, ambassador, knowing the value of speed in this business, sent immediately to ask audience of his Holiness, although I knew he wished to remain in privacy, as he purposes celebrating to-morrow, to take the most holy Jubilee. He appointed for 4.30 p.m., and suspecting that I might go even later, I thought it well to confer first with Cardinal Caraffa, and so on going to his most illustrious Lordship we found him still in bed with a cold. I, secretary, stated to him what I had in commission from your Serenity to do with the Duke of Alva, and endeavoured to tell him, for the most part, the very prudent words in my commission, and then in your Serenity's name prayed him, that if the terms proposed by the Duke were fair, to the dignity of the Pope, that he would be pleased to favour and assist the affair with his great authority, so that the desired result of peace might be obtained, which was so necessary for this afflicted Italy, and from which universal quiet might subsequently be expected to the especial benefit of all Christendom. The Cardinal replied, returning thanks to your Serenity for this office, and promising to aid so holy a work, as he always had done, although many persons perhaps believed the con-

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trary, adding, "If the said individuals choose to believe that I have the slightest knowledge of politics (*che in me sia punto di cognitione di stato*) (I also having had my share in them), they will comprehend that I could not have done otherwise than seek peace always, because it profited the See Apostolic, the Pope, and our family, more than war, as besides the Pope's having no forces of his own, and that being allied with others he is necessarily compelled to depend on them for the war, I can gain nothing whatever by it, as even were the kingdom of Naples to be obtained, it would not benefit me who have not any claim on it; but from peace, besides moral and physical quiet, I derived advantage, were it solely the money expended for military purposes, which would be turned to the profit (*in utile*) of my house, thus leaving to our descendants wherewithal to live. May it please God that the Duke of Alva also content himself with what is fair in like manner as I shall prove to the world the Pope's goodwill and mine, and that of my brothers, with regard to peace, as from the beginning the Duke offered, in the presence of many persons, and even in the College of Cardinals, that whenever it was desirable for the See Apostolic, he would renounce the State of Paliano to the Pope to do what he pleased with it, but not indeed that he would leave it to the Duke of Alva, nor to King Philip. This I say, because the matter is reduced to two articles, as I told you ambassador yesterday, one that the towns be restored as they stood, about which we shall be agreed, and also concerning the other about Paliano, provided there be no question of restoring it to Marc' Antonio Colonna, in which case means will be found to relieve the Imperialists from any suspicion about that fortress.

The Cardinal then commenced justifying his proceedings from the beginning when he went to France, speaking of the commencement of the war during his absence, of the conference on the island at Porto, of the coming of the French army as caused by the Duke of Alva, who at that interview not choosing to conclude the agreement, he the Cardinal protested that he would make the French advance, and moreover endeavour to form fresh friendships. Concerning Don Francisco Pacheco, he said he never explained the proposals brought by him from the Court of King Philip; that when Placido di Sanguini passed through Rome under pretence of going to the Court, and gave him the letter of the Duke of Alva, about what took place at Porto, he replied that had the Duke stipulated the agreement then, the French would not have come forward, so that the fault was his. He then mentioned the going (*l'andare*) of Cavalier Placido to the Tronto, the unfair demands of the Duke of Alva, and other things written by me ambassador from time to time; coming to the conclusion that at present damages and interest were not demanded, neither was there any punctilio about who should propose, as he the Cardinal himself had proposed such terms that the Duke of Alva must accept them, both as a Christian averse to the ruin of the See Apostolic, and as a statesman, whose interest it is to quiet matters, that he may turn his forces elsewhere, thus rendering greater service to his King; for, in conclusion he will be unable so easily to occupy the Papal States, as they comprise fortresses which will

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hold out for years and years, nor will the Princes of Christendom choose to witness either the destruction of the Pope's territory or the supreme dominion of King Philip in Italy.

From Cardinal Caraffa we went to the Pope, whose foot I secretary kissed, and he said immediately that he wished me to have a good hand in this negotiation, which was a very difficult one, on account of the Duke of Alva, who was not a good minister for the making of this peace, as besides his pride and haughtiness, he was an interested party by reason of consanguinity, he being the cousin of Don Garcia de Toledo, the brother-in-law of Marc' Antonio Colonna, who being unmarried and childless, Don Garcia hoped to inherit his property, so that the Duke was serving a private individual rather than his master, who showed himself well disposed to make peace with his Holiness, the Duke doing the contrary, adding fresh insults daily, thinking, through their successes, to make him do what was unworthy of his grade, but that rather than offer an injury to Christ, *cujus vicem gerebat*, he would renounce life; that he had punished his rebels justly, and here he narrated the acts of the Colonna family since many years, down to the present day, the death of the Lady Livia,* and things said heretofore as written by me ambassador, saying that by depriving and expelling them, he did as done by all other Popes who had heart, such as Alexander VI., and Paul III.; that the Imperialists (*costoro*) had taken them under their protection without any cause, and made war on the See Apostolic; justifying himself by saying that the first troops he raised were on account of the Turkish fleet which came into these seas; that the French complained of this, the Emperor's ambassador here, Marquis de Sarria, thanking him for it. That he subsequently increased his forces from having discovered the treacherous proceedings of the Imperialists (*d'Imperiali*), narrating the affair of Garcilasso and other prisoners; that the partition made by them of the Papal States deserved a thousand deaths, and that none of his predecessors would have spared their lives, and that so impious had been their proceedings that he himself had occasionally remorse of conscience, and believed he had offended God by his clemency; adding the things about poisons and other treacherous acts written heretofore by me ambassador, and which I do not repeat to avoid wearying your Serenity.

In conclusion, the Pope said he had not entered into these details to frighten me secretary, so that I might not execute my commission, but to give me a little information about the business, as he knew that the Duke of Alva would represent the circumstances in a false and contrary light, so that having heard both sides, the secretary would be able to make a true statement to your Serenity.

I then explained my commission as represented by me to Cardinal Caraffa, requesting his Holiness in your Serenity's name, if the terms of agreement were admissible, to accept them, that as

* See before, date 12th October 1556, and Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 184.

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common father he might treat the universal peace. He replied that from the negotiation I should be able to comprehend who had failed to make the peace, about which it was superfluous to remind him as he had never wished for war, but to obey the Lord God, who recommends peace : "*Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis, non quomodo mundus dat ego do vobis ;*" and that if he has been at war, it was compulsory, and that if he called the French he was forced to do so for defence, for which it would even have been lawful to call every sort of infidel, and not only Christians. The more he said these things the more inflamed did he become, like a person who did not choose to be suspected of having wished for the war ; so I, ambassador, endeavoured to soothe him, by saying that the secretary's chief commission as stated to his Holiness, was to seek peace, to his dignity, as with regard to the Pope's wish for peace, your Serenity had been informed about it, by so many of my letters, and by his Holiness' nature, which rendered you very certain of the fact, because through peace he would be enabled to attend to his magnanimous designs concerning the Reform. The Pope being quite pacified by this, replied, "Were there no other reason, these Imperialists (*questi*) on that account alone would deserve every evil, for having during two consecutive years impeded the most holy Reform, so that we could not continue it, as commenced by us, for assuredly, ambassador, but little would have remained to do ; and had we held the Council, it would have been a guarantee in confirmation of the things done for the general satisfaction, rather than for anything else ; but we tell you in conclusion that although one who is our vassal has persecuted us with so much impiety, that it would have sufficed for a Julian the Apostate, and not for a King who professes to be Catholic, and although he has done such damage to the Papal States that three millions of gold could not repair it, yet should they repent and do what they ought, we will open the arms of our mercy to them, and forgive them every past injury." I, ambassador, said I considered it certain that this would come to pass, knowing, as I did, the good-will of his Holiness, and choosing to hope that King Philip would cause his ministers to carry into effect what he had always announced ; and that with the Pope's good leave the secretary would go to the Duke of Alva immediately on the receipt of his reply. His Holiness answered, "Let him go in God's name, and the sooner the better," and that he would not now thank your Serenity for this office, worthy indeed of so great a Republic as that of Venice, founded by the Lord God, and maintained for the universal benefit of Christendom, as he chose his obligation, and the return of thanks to be coeval with his existence ; and with this we took leave.

I, secretary, immediately on the return of the courier with the Duke of Alva's reply, will go to his Excellency to execute the rest of your Excellency's commission, and then give respectful account of the result.

Rome, 4th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

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Sept. 4.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1018. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Thursday, in the congregation of the Inquisition, the Pope could not refrain from complaining of the Duke of Alva in such words as usually uttered by him.

His Holiness had intended to speak about the affairs of the Legation of England, as all the Cardinals were present, but some of them told him that there was an agent (*un huomo*) here from Cardinal Pole, to whom it would be well to give audience before any decision. The Pope replied that he did not care to have audience. But late this evening, the Pope received the agent. With regard to the affairs of England, when Cardinal Morone requested permission to take the jubilee, it was denied him.

Rome, 4th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.
Original
Despatch
Venetian
Archives.

1019. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Part of the army has proceeded to Le Catelet, the King remaining at St. Quentin with the rest to repair the ruins of the fortress caused by the batteries, and those of the town owing to the sack and the fire; the army will not depart from those confines until after the capture of Le Catelet, so that there may be no impediment in their rear. Catelet is on the road between Cambrai and St. Quentin; it is a small citadel (*è una Roccha picciola*), but strong and well defended, having been built in the modern fashion and well flanked, and it has a more than sufficient garrison, and amongst its chief commanders there is said to be one Lapo an Italian; all the besieged evincing confidence and courage, of which they have much need should they mean to hold out against so strong a force and without any hope of assistance. Some pieces of heavy artillery have already been sent to the spot, and the battering commenced on 1st instant, and still continues; but it is believed that although the defenders waited for the battering, they will not do the like by the assault.

After despatching the affair of Le Catelet, the army will follow up the victory, but it is not yet known for certain what road they will take, decisions of this sort being manifested solely by results, but the general opinion is that they will either besiege Peronne, which is also on the Somme a few leagues below St. Quentin, or else La Fère, which is more in the interior of France. Both those places are strong and important, and should the march be towards La Fère it will show that King Philip taking fortune at the flood (*con questo corso di fortuna*), purposes making way in France (*penetrar nella Francia*), as said by the Spaniards, who *elate with victory according to their custom*, during these two months whilst they can keep the field, design spoiling and laying waste the whole of France. If they move in the direction of Peronne, it will be a sign that his Majesty intends to make himself master of the river Somme, which was heretofore the ancient frontier of these provinces (*di questi paesi*), and strengthen himself in this

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part, so as to be able subsequently with more time and with greater security to advance further. But let them make what expedition they please, the general and reasonable opinion is that in both places they will find difficulties, Peronne being considered very strong, nor do they hope to find it unprepared like St. Quentin; it is also said that La Fère is strong, and being more inward they will find greater obstacles, and most especially as the King of France is said to be at no great distance from that place, and that in that neighbourhood he has an army corps which increases daily. But were King Philip to accomplish no other expedition this year than what he has effected hitherto, it is so great a one that when he departed hence for the army there was no one who dared desire so great a victory.

Whether his Majesty will accompany the army or remain at Cambrai or St. Quentin, as some persons think, is not yet settled; but should his Majesty remove to a greater distance without giving me farther notice I shall be much embarrassed, unless in the meanwhile I hear from your Serenity what you wish me to do, as without your command I dare not disobey the King's order.

Brussels, 4th September 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1020. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral, who was taken prisoner at St. Quentin, has been sent to a castle near Bruges, and the prisoners of less account are scattered about, some here, some there, in several places, in such wise that there is not a town in these provinces but has its share of them, which whether done by design or accident affords universal proof of King Philip's victory and of his adversary's defeat.

The prisoners who have no money to spend will be sent to the galleys, except the Germans, who have been dismissed, under oath not to serve the King of France again during a certain period; and those who can pay ransom will pay it heavily (*la pagaranno aspra*), for the Spaniards, the "Blacksmiths," and the Flemings do not yield one to the other in cupidity for gain; but M. D'Anelot was fortunate, for being the prisoner of the Spanish captain, Navaretto, he was given in custody to two Spanish soldiers, who being suborned by his words and promises escaped with him to France; so that the time passed by him in prison in the Castle of Milan was profitably employed, he having learnt there the Spanish tongue and Spanish artifice (*la lingua Spagnuola et la industria*).

The camp suffers from great scarcity of provisions, and has many other inconveniences in ordinary, but above all from the insolence of the "Blacksmiths," who consider it lawful (*quali si fanno lecito*) to offend both friends and foes, doing whatever they please, and obeying no one, nor is it possible to curb them. Being the sinew of this army they are therefore universally respected, and

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should it come to pass that they do not receive their pay when due, as is possible, they would be capable of some great and signal mutiny (*grande et segnalato disordine*). Thus in war the losers suffer detriment from their enemies, and the victors have to remain at the mercy of their friends; and blessed are those sovereigns to whom the Lord God has given the grace to know how to remain at peace.

The taking of St. Quentin, which is considered of such great importance, will prove but little to the honour of King Philip, unless Catelet and some other neighbouring places be obtained, as otherwise they will have to raze St. Quentin, or let it return into the hands of the French, that place being surrounded in every direction by very strong fortresses, connected one with the other. Of late daily consultations have been held, but they have not yet come to any decision, for there is not time to fortify St. Quentin so as to render it tenable, and it would be too expensive; and to take the other places of importance is considered difficult if not impossible, as besides their being all strong, it cannot be expected to find them unprovided. My intelligencer is of opinion that were the French inclined to make peace on suitable terms, they would not find much difficulty on this side; and yesterday an express from Lorraine passed through this place on his way to the Duchess at Ghent, and he may perhaps be the bearer of something about peace, in which case I hope to hear it, and will give your Serenity immediate advice of everything, though I am much troubled because, owing to the negligence and bad faith of these post office officials, I am compelled to send all my letters at a venture.

Brussels, 5th September 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept 5.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1021. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Placido having returned last night, I, ambassador, sent my secretary to the Cardinal "Camerlengo," who told him that the said Placido arrived at 4h. 40m. a.m., bringing him a long letter from the Duke of Alva, giving account of all that had taken place about this agreement, from the commencement of the war until now, because the "Camerlengo" had reproached him with not having that good will to make terms which he had endeavoured to demonstrate hitherto; so in this letter he recapitulated all that had taken place, showing that he had always been of the same mind, seeking solely to be certified of the Pope's will, as was the case also at present, it seeming to him that to lay aside all rancour, and to make a durable peace, and not a suspension of hostilities under the name of peace, they ought to pardon all subjects on one side and the other, because those who were excluded never being pacified, and the Colonnas choosing to recover their State, whilst those in possession insist on defending it, the fire would thus be kindled on the confines of the kingdom of Naples



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which his King would wish to extinguish if possible, for the entire prevention of any cause for scandal ; but, nevertheless, should this be rejected, let them find some other security whereby to effect a complete and durable peace, as he will not fail to accept it. The Cardinal "Camerlengo" added that some good might be anticipated from a conference, in which promises and secret articles might be made between the parties, for publication hereafter at the fitting moment, which would adjust everything, such as for the Caraffas to promise to give Paliano to any nominee of King Philip's, provided fair compensation be made them ; and even should they disapprove of an interview, that the Duke should at least appoint a confidential person invested with his authority, with whom to negotiate, as he is naturally irresolute, and much more so at present, as he is afraid of doing something that, besides other errors attributed to him by his rivals, might ruin him in his honour ; but were there anyone who could convince him of the glory to be obtained by his King, and himself in particular, by stipulating terms with the Pope at this present time, making him understand by experience that the ordinary garrison of the kingdom of Naples, without other assistance, could advance even to the gates of Rome, the Cardinal "Camerlengo" is of opinion that the Duke would determine to make peace, this side having come to fair conditions.

The Cardinal also remarked that these consultations (questi consigli) could not be held by letters, because they know not how to reply, nor can the Duke of Florence consult with him, not being on the spot, and even were the Duke of Alva to send him anyone he would send him with a limited power, so that much time would be lost ; that the Duke of Alva is surrounded, either by Spaniards, who are ill disposed or interested, like Don Garcia, or else by impassioned Italians, such as Marc' Antonio Colonna, or Ascanio dalla Corgna, whose counsels increase the Duke's constitutional irresolution in such a way that he knows not how to take such steps as every reason would require.

Then to-day we were with Cardinal Caraffa, he having sent for us. He said, Placido having returned with a long letter from the Duke of Alva, he thought fit to communicate it to us, that I, secretary, being informed about everything, might perform better office for this holy peace ; and, saying this, he desired one of his chamberlains to go and tell Cardinal Vitelli to give him the identical letter, as he wished to show it us, and until it was brought he said, "The Duke of Alva, although by a variety of means, is always bent on one and the same purpose, namely, to obtain from the Pope things which are not fair, such as the restoration of their States to his Holiness' rebels, a demand made for the sole purpose of gaining time by prolonging the negotiation, in hopes of the departure of the French, so that he may then come back to Rome, and by force compel us to do what he chooses, but he deceives himself, for the Pope and all the rest of us would prefer death to doing what is unworthy, and to the dishonour of this See and of Christ. This his demand for reciprocal pardon for the rebels on one side and the other is unreasonable, for on the Pope's side there are no rebels of King Philip, and if my brothers and others have served his Holiness in this war,

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they had reason to do so, as before the commencement of hostilities, the Duke [Giovanni Caraffa] was Captain-General, and the Marquis [Antonio Caraffa] Governor of the forces in his absence, both of them being the Pope's stipendiaries, and then serving the Prince of Princes, against one who was his feudatory, and for rebellion forfeited the fief. On the other hand, the like cannot justly be said either of Marc' Antonio or of Ascanio della Cornia, who rebelled with manifest treachery. I have willed to say these few words for the information of the secretary, knowing that these tales (*questi conti*) will be told him by the Duke of Alva."

During this conversation Cardinal Vitelli entered the chamber with the letter, and having given it to Cardinal Caraffa, he then whispered a few words in his ear and withdrew. Cardinal Caraffa then said that Cardinal Vitelli told him in a whisper that he brought the original letter, because he had made some copies, in which certain articles were omitted, that the said copies might be shown to the French without letting them know the continued thread of the agreement, having always kept the original letter in his hand lest they should have cause to complain that from time to time the whole had not been communicated to them; and also that he might show the Pope such part of the letter as might least offend his Holiness, to avoid enraging him; but that to us he would read it all as it stood, both to confide everything to me, ambassador, as he always had done, for communication to your Serenity, as also that I, secretary, might be well informed of the mode of proceeding of the Duke of Alva, who merely touches on what is in his favour, passing over all that can be turned against him; and so Cardinal Caraffa read the letter, which was addressed to the Cardinal "*Camerlengo*," signed by the Duke of Alva, and dated Gensano on the 4th instant.

The Duke writes that he has received the instruction from the Cardinal "*Camerlengo*," and he narrates the cause of his commencing hostilities, which was that he knew of the Pope's hatred to his King, and of the writing of the "*Fiscale*," and of the suit made by him in Consistory; as also of the Pope's arming, and negotiating with all the Christian Powers against his Majesty; that first he had him prayed to desist from this his intention, and to remove the suspicion reasonably entertained about the kingdom of Naples; that after the commencement of hostilities he sent Pirro dell' Offredo about the peace, he being put into the Castle. Here the Cardinal, having stopped reading, said, "You see that the Duke does not allude to the insolence of Marquis Sarria, then ambassador from the Emperor, to the flight of the galleys from Civitavecchia, to the treacherous acts of Garcilasso, and of Giovanni Antonio Tassis, and others who do not deserve to live; nor to the poisons which they wished to have given to us, for already some days ago these two, after having been several months in prison to sift the process, were put to death. He does not tell of the Abbate Brisinga who sent a person to shoot me with a harquebuse; he passes over the Signor Camillo Colonna, who counselled the said Duke to wage the war, and, being subsequently put in the Castle, sent out and received notes from the enemy through his wife, part of which were found

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on four horsemen, whom I had arrested at the gates when they were going out with our cavalry, which we were sending forth on military service, and part in the house of the Lady Vittoria, wife of the aforesaid Signor Camillo, in a ball of thread (in un gemo di filo), according to a hint given by me to one who went to search, I having learnt this secret from the women at the sack of Chieri, when I took a house, in which I saved the honour of some 20 women there, but, like a soldier, I endeavoured to have money, and on frightening an old woman she gave me 100 crowns, which she took out of a ball of thread. (Perchè Io havea imparato questo secreto dalle donne, al sacco di Chieri, c'havendo Io presa una casa nella quale salvai l'honore a forse 20 donne, che v'erano; ma cercai come soldato d'haver danari, e facendo paura ad una vecchia, ella mi diede 100 scudi, i quali cavò d'un gemo di filo).*

After reading the rest of the letter alluding to past events, the Cardinal then said, "He now comes to the last reply received by him from Placido," and recommenced reading, that the Duke of Alba believed that to make a good and durable peace, it would be necessary to pardon the subjects on one side and the other, and that this would especially become his Holiness, as he holds the place of Him who never wearies of pardoning, as he, being in this Holy See, ought to give a good example to the others; that it seemed to him that the best security that could be given would be to replace all persons (ognuno) in the States, and that his Holiness' nephews should receive compensation (mercede) from King Philip; that the Pope should promise not to give passage, nor any other convenience for an attack on the kingdom of Naples; and that he should remain neutral, as otherwise it would be a suspension of hostilities rather than a peace which would be observed until the Pope find himself in better fortune, besides which, the Colonnas finding themselves deprived of their State would seek to recover it, those in possession endeavouring to defend it, so that there would be no quiet; but that should this not be found good, they were to propose some other security, as if a good peace could be hoped thence he will not fail to accept it.

Having finished reading, the Cardinal said, "You see how obstinately the Duke persists in his first demands, and also how he contradicts himself; he chooses the Pope to remain neutral, and before ending his discourse he requires that neither passage nor victuals be given, and that his nephews should become Imperialists by accepting reward (mercede) from King Philip. I do not know what security they demand, but to me it seems much for the Pope to take his King into favour and to pardon him, instead of declaring his fief to be forfeited; that his Holiness is to dismiss the French, to receive the dismantled towns without demanding either damages or interest, and that Paliano is to be razed. I should like

* In the year 1537, Carlo Caraffa, then 21 years old, was in the service of the Emperor, whose commander, Alfonso de Avalos, Marquis del Vasto, then took Chieri, a place in Piedmont, near Turin, which circumstance gives the date of the future Cardinal's exploit then and there, long before his uncle gave him the red hat; and as he himself told the story, its veracity cannot be doubted. For dates, see Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 489, and Cardella, vol. 4, p. 341.

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to know what greater glory this Duke could wish for, no what greater security we could give him; were the Popedom hereditary I should propose hostages, but on the Pope's demise, and on the election of his successor, the hostage here would be released, and the individual of our family over there would be either beheaded or poisoned. If I could speak to this Duke, I would explain all these things to him, as by letters one person writes, and the other writes back whatever he pleases, quoniam epistola non erubescit, but the human face does, and rejoinders produce the desired results."

I, ambassador, then confirmed what his Lordship had said, adding that from his quality, and the good will always evinced by him towards the peace, nothing but the best could be hoped; and I also said that should it seem fit to him for the secretary with a fair opportunity to propose a conference to the Duke of Alva he would do so willingly, which I suggested from having seen that in the proposal made by your Serenity to the ambassador Vargas the chief proposition was the interview. I also considered it certain that no better way could be found for bringing to an end this affair of the peace which is so greatly desired by everybody. He replied yes, very joyfully, as he had the heart to make the Pope consent, and that with regard to himself to treat so holy a work he would go to Naples should the Duke be there, even were he sure to die, as he held life in no account, knowing that 10 years more or less do not much matter;* that if when a soldier he had risked his life for three crowns per day on the demand of temporal Princes, so could he risk it for the service of God, who could give him such remuneration that neither King Philip, nor all the other kings together, could give him the like. "To die! I never feared that, as the Duke of Alva knows, when I was his soldier, besides which, many a time to serve a comrade, or to gratify some sensual appetite of my own, I have hazarded my life, and ought I not now to pledge it for Christ, most especially having the example of so many martyrs who have washed (lavato) Rome and all this neighbourhood with their blood; which I say to assure you, that as for me I would go anywhere to do what becomes his Holiness and the Cardinalate. Let some midway place, of which there are many, be appointed for the interview, with a limited company on both sides to guarantee security, and I will be there, provided they come to a decision speedily, as delay does not suit us, the Pope being brought to such a pass that he must either make terms or give himself up to despair, and do what he has never chosen to do hitherto, to keep the French here, by giving them even Castelsantangelo, if they demand it; it being better to remain at the mercy of those who have shown themselves our friends than of those who, like enemies, have done us all the harm they could, and are continuing the same course, which, in the end, will not profit the Imperialists themselves, for years and years will elapse before they expel the French from the fortresses which will be consigned to them; nor will it perhaps be in the power of his Holiness' successor to get rid of them; but I choose this to be our last resource, and that every-

* On the 4th or 6th March 1561, Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, then 45 years old, was strangled in Castelsantangelo by order of Pope Pius IV.

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thing be attempted previously, so that if compelled we may have some excuse. Should the French depart, the whole of this State would be topsy-turvy, at the mercy of the enemy, who would ravage it entirely, consuming this year's harvest and that of the year to come, because having no army in the field, the only tenable fortresses would be Rome, so long as it is victualled, Nepi, Orvieto, and a few other places, and the rest would be theirs."

When I, ambassador, replied, expressing hopes of the adjustment, the Cardinal rejoined, "God knows how much I desire this peace, for I swear to you by the communion which I took to-day for the jubilee, that I would agree to make it, and then die; but this letter of the Duke of Alva's has not given me any hope, by so much the more as I have not received an answer to the despatch sent by me to the Duke of Florence, nor has the courier who took it yet made his appearance."

Rome, 5th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1022. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At 8h. 30m. p.m. yesterday evening, the courier returned from the Duke of Alva, with the pass for me, secretary; so I, secretary, having gone booted and spurred, to save time, to Cardinal Caraffa, his Lordship told me that the courier who took the letter from the Duke of Florence to the Duke of Alva had returned, bringing with him a letter from his Excellency in reply. This answer purported in substance that his Lordship having written to him of the goodwill of himself and his brothers to be well affected (*d'essere affettionati*) towards the King his lord, it was satisfactory to him to hear it, and that he thanked him, evincing a wish for matters to be adjusted. The Cardinal said that as he had not shown the Duke's former letters to the Pope, because they would have irritated his Holiness, so he sent him this one, which was affable and courteous; and then he went to the Pope, and told him that the Duke having the goodwill demonstrated by him it would be well to hold a conference, from which the conclusion of this holy peace might be hoped for; and that yet more to convince the Duke that he was speaking the truth, he proposed taking with him to the interview the Cardinal "Camerlengo," who, through his influence (*l'autorità*) with his Excellency and with Marc' Antonio, might perform a very good office. The Pope replied, "Go, my son, and take the Camerlengo with you, as we are quite content, and do quickly (*et fate presto*)."

On leaving the Pope Cardinal Caraffa that same night sent Placido to the Duke of Alva with the resolution to hold a conference at Frascati, a place convenient for one side and the other, as it may be said to be equidistant from Rome and Gensano, where the Duke now is. The Cardinal then told me that he hoped the Duke of Alva would consent to what was fair by reason of your Serenity's authority, and urged my instant departure. I said I would go

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immediately the trumpet made his appearance, and report to his right reverend Lordship on my return.

Rome, 6th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1023. MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Venetian Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At 9 a.m. yesterday when the trumpet came to me I departed instantly for Gensano, where I arrived between 4 and 5 p.m.* I was made to dismount at the house of the Duke of Alba's chief secretary, and shortly afterwards he introduced me to his Excellency, to whom having stated my commission he returned thanks to your Serenity for your goodwill and disposition towards his King, and for the honour done to himself by the words uttered in your name. He said that having made so many experiments, as detailed in his letters to the Cardinal Camerlengo, and not knowing what more to do, he determined no longer to evince such great respect for his Holiness, and a few nights ago advanced with the army so near to this city that they placed the scaling ladders, but for a certain reason (*ma per qualche causa*) he abstained from going farther forward; adding, "I choose at length to make this last experiment, to see if in this way, having failed by the other fair means, I could draw his Holiness to the agreement; but leaving aside what has not taken place, be it known that through the Cavalier Placido, who was here lately, I gave it to be understood through him that I am more ready than ever to make peace with the Pope, provided I be secured from the ill-will demonstrated by him against his Majesty, and when convinced of this I wish for nothing but that his Holiness should do what is the fitting office of the Vicar of Christ, viz., pardon those who he pretends have injured him, and that the like be done on our side with regard to such of his Majesty's vassals as have served his Holiness; for otherwise it would seem to me not to be making a peace, but rather a suspension of hostilities, which would last until it suited the Pope to make some other stroke (*tratto*) to the detriment of his Majesty's affairs, as he endeavours to do at present." He continued, "Some months ago his Holiness had so embarrassed me that owing to the scanty supplies I had in the kingdom of Naples, I did not know in what quarter to commence making provision, nor could I decide whether to attend to fortifying the frontiers, or to advance from the Neapolitan territory to meet the enemy, and in short it seemed to me most difficult to form a decision; but our Lord God has at length favoured the cause of my most Serene King, so that I have not only been enabled to provide for the kingdom of Naples and to defend it, but to expel those who wished to attack it; and as known to you, his Majesty has had some successes here likewise, and I assure you that whenever they occurred I always sent to endeavour to obtain this agreement with his Holiness, his Catholic Majesty wishing alway to be that obedient son and protector of

* "*Alle 22.*" On the 7th September the sun sets at 6h. 32m.

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this Holy See, which his father the Emperor's Majesty always was ; nor did he pretend to gain anything in this war, in which, whatever success we obtain, we do nothing but lose because the war is not waged on the state of his Holiness, but on the ecclesiastical state, which must always belong to the Holy See Apostolic ; wherefore, apprehensive as I am of the mind of his Holiness, and of this hatred which he is seen to have kept in his breast for so many years, I cannot but believe that whenever any opportunity presents itself to him he will avail himself of it, as future events can only be judged by the example of those that are past ; so I should wish everybody to be pardoned, and that a firm and durable peace should be made, as I know is the wish of the Signory, who I believe do not require any toil on my part to assure them of the goodwill of my King, and of mine in like manner, as his Majesty's servant and as a Christian, with regard to stipulating an agreement, and going to make such demonstrations of reverence and respect, as due from me, at the feet of his Holiness."

Perceiving that his Excellency limited himself to general expressions, and to justification of his past proceedings in this business, and knowing how much in the proposal made to the Ambassador Vargas your Serenity approves of a conference, as the means for arriving at a speedy conclusion, and as Cardinal Caraffa had given me to understand that this would be the best and quickest way through which some good might be anticipated, I determined to tell his Excellency that the present circumstances required oblivion of past events, and that as the Pope's good disposition towards the agreement was evident he should not let it pass, because at this moment his Excellency could perform no act that would render him greater glory, and perhaps greater service to the Majesty of the King Catholic, than to effect this adjustment, which was desired by your Serenity in such a way as I had already represented to him, so that I requested he would be pleased to confer with Cardinal Caraffa, as I had sure hope that from that interview the desired result would be obtained ; whereas by sending persons to and fro to treat this affair, and by writing from one side to the other, both parties continued justifying their acts, so that difficulties would be raised, instead of facilitating the conclusion of this treaty, which on many important accounts well known to his Excellency's prudence was of very great consequence.

The Duke answered me that he knew not what to hope from the conference, because on one occasion last year when an interview was appointed at Grottaferrata, he was cozened, as these Lords did not go thither ; subsequently at the conference of Porto they did worse, for they availed themselves of the time, and promised that if confirmation came from the King Catholic of what had been granted them at that interview, they would perform what was then mutually agreed to, namely, that in exchange for Paliano his Majesty would give the Duke Sienna, and that the King consented to this to prevent the conflagration which he saw kindling, if the Pope brought the French into these parts. His Majesty sent this resolve by Don Francisco Pacheco ; and here the Duke of Alva narrated how

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Don Francisco was not admitted nor heard by the Caraffas (*da questi Signori*) owing to their hope of turning Italy topsy-turvy through the French whom they had brought thither.

I rejoined that it was no longer that period, and that the matter was now so well disposed as to give hopes of a good result. I again urged the conference, so that after a long conversation and divers difficulties laid before me by his Excellency, he determined that to end demonstrating to the whole world how good his Majesty's will and his own are, and to satisfy your Serenity, he consented to confer with Cardinal Caraffa in the company of the Cardinal "Camerlengo" and Vitelli; for which I thanked his Excellency, saying that from this resolve I anticipated the result so earnestly desired by your Serenity, promising myself that he would propose such fair terms that they would be to the dignity of his Holiness and of this Holy See.

He replied, "I promise you that when convinced that the Pope's mind is quieted (*acquietato*) I shall not desire anything else from his Holiness, and will then go to offer him such submission, and ask him for such pardons (*perdonnanze*) as he shall choose; nor will I fail doing my utmost, so that we may depart satisfied from this conference to be held at Palestrina, from which place I shall remove my soldiers who are now there, so that those Lords may come, and that we may find ourselves commodiously lodged there." His Excellency told me that he would write accordingly by the Cavalier Placido to Cardinal Caraffa and the "Camerlengo," giving them a safe-conduct to come freely to the said place, with orders for their lordships to let his Excellency know the day of the meeting; and then (*a questo passo*) the Duke prayed me also to perform with these Lords* the same good and earnest offices that I had used with him in your Serenity's name, that they might at length consent to make the agreement. I assured him that I would not omit doing whatever could benefit this negotiation, and after thanking him again for this decision about the conference I took leave, having been with him a very long while.

At Gensano, where the Duke is, I was told that the army under Paliano is divided into three parts, which are so sheltered in certain valleys as to be secure from the guns of the fortress, which they do not intend to batter, as the operation would be arduous, and the ascent is so steep that there must always be a difficulty in making an assault upon it. The persons who gave me this information added that a few nights ago, when the army came under the walls of Rome and placed some scaling ladders, the Duke of Alva addressed the army, exhorting them not to sack, and promising the soldiers two rates of pay (*due paghe*), but to this the Germans would not consent; so had not their intention been discovered by some cavalry, when escorting them from Tivoli, there would have been a great affray (*una gran fattione*) in this city; and as these Germans are all Lutherans, a good part of them having served under Marquis

* *Con questi Signori.* The Pope and his nephews?

1557.

Albert of Brandenburg,* they would not have spared anything, nor with them would regard have been had for the quality of any personage whatever, but our Lord God would not permit so dire a catastrophe.

I arrived here at 3 p.m., and the populace seeing me enter with a trumpet, and from towards the Imperial camp, many of them ran to meet him, asking him and the others who were with me if they brought good news, and all with upturned eyes exclaimed, "God grant that we may soon hear good news, for we can no longer remain thus."

Rome, 7th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1024. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Saturday, Ormanetto, who was sent by Cardinal Pole, had audience of the Pope, and although before presenting himself he was seized with a very violent paroxysm of ague, he nevertheless chose to go, lest it might be said that he avoided the audience.

He laid before his Holiness the office performed by the Cardinal with the Queen and the Peers of the realm (*con la Regina e Baroni del Regno*) to obtain permission for the Pope's messenger to cross the Channel with the coif (*berretta*) for Friar William Peto on his election to the Cardinalate; that afterwards, on hearing that his legation was revoked, he had no longer chosen to interfere with it, although the kingdom prayed him to continue in office. Ormanetto then mentioned the great need that England has of a legate, and the danger of her recanting whenever the Queen's death happens, unless there be an English legate of authority in the country; after which he proceeded to relate in discreet language the pious and most christian operations performed by the Cardinal in the matter of religion, and then complained gently and humbly of the Pope's having put so great a note of reproach on him by revoking the legation. He said nothing farther about his coming to Rome, the Cardinal not having received the brief of recall. The Pope commenced answering him, from the military movements of King Philip's ministers, and from the maltreatment of the clergy in Spain, which acts compelled his Holiness to send for all the legates and nuncios in the numerous kingdoms and states of the aforesaid King; and when the Pope was about to continue, Ormanetto's fever increased, so that he was compelled to withdraw, and also had a fainting fit; so his Holiness told him for the present to go and attend to his health, and that another time he would talk to him more at length.

* "Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, after the pacification of Passau in 1552, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman Catholics, and afterwards committed such ravages in the empire that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which, Maurice the Protestant Elector of Saxony was placed, and routed Albert of Brandenburg at the battle of Sivershusen on the 9th July 1553, when the Elector was wounded, and died two days afterwards."

Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg and of Culmbach, died on the 8th January 1557 at the age of 35. (See Mosheim, vol. 2 (English translation, 1838, London, p. 61, footnote; Chiusole's Genealogies, Table 172, p. 340.)

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At these last congregations of the Inquisition, certain friars who sit there as counsellors (*consultori*), proposed to the Pope a very long list of books which they say are heretical, and are to be burned. His Holiness gave orders accordingly, but little by little, so as not to do so much injury to the booksellers all at once. Those which are to be burned now are all the works of Erasmus, Boccaccio, Macchiavelli, Corio's Chronicles, Poggio's "*Facetiae*," and those of the *Piovano* Arlotto. The booksellers are recommended to present a petition in defence of their interests, with a demand for the matter to be referred to two Cardinals, but they have little hope, the intimation to present the said books having been already made to them.

A Cardinal* present at the last congregations of the Inquisition assures me that the Pope came with a brief excommunicating the Duke of Alva, and while the other Cardinals murmured amongst themselves instead of daring to state their opinion, he had the courage and boldness (*esso hebbe animo et ardire*) to say that this was not the moment for such a purpose, and spoke so that, although the Pope said he was determined, he nevertheless did nothing farther.

Rome, 7th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1025. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having gone to Cardinal Caraffa, I, ambassador, told him that the secretary would tell him what he had done with the Duke of Alva, so I, secretary, narrated to him my negotiation with his Excellency as detailed in the accompanying letter. The Cardinal seemed satisfied with the office performed by me, and therefore much obliged to your Serenity, saying that he thanked you infinitely, and that any benefit that may be derived from this conference must be acknowledged to you for your good offices at all times, and for those now performed by yourself, and through your ambassadors and secretaries; adding, that when he heard of the Duke of Alva's inclination he announced it to the Pope, who exhorted him at great length to be very cautious how he went, and to what place, to which he replied that his Holiness might dismiss all apprehension, as besides his not valuing his life when risked for the service of God and of his Holiness, he would go safely and attend chiefly to the Pope's dignity, which being preserved he did not choose the interests of his family to disturb the agreement in any way; to which the Pope said, "You are then determined about Paliano?" to which he replied that some convention (*partito*) would be devised for this, to the Pope's dignity, so that at length his Holiness told him to go in God's name; and that then

* I think it probable that this cardinal was Gianangelo de' Medici, the successor of Paul IV., and who took the title of Pius IV. (See his biography in Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 293-297.) Panvinio (p. 698) alludes to his disapproval of Paul IV.'s character, and also tells of his having ordered the arrest and execution of the ex-duke of Paliano, and of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa.

1557.

to-day, together with the "Camerlengo," they were sending to the Duke of Alva to let him know that they would be at Palestrina to-morrow evening; that he hopes to make the Duke know how wrong he was and is, by confuting the arguments in his letters, and convincing him that the terms he now offers him are very fair, and much more to his advantage than those stipulated at Porto, "because then there was a Sienna, as compensation for Paliano, whereas at present I ask nothing whatever of him; and when in contact with him I will not depart without concluding, as I hope to bring the Pope to what I shall have promised, although it then behove me to go into the castle, provided I confer so great a benefit on Christendom; and even should some difficulty remain, we will settle the rest by referring it to King Philip, even should I have to ride post to Flanders."

I, ambassador, then said that with God's assistance, and through his most illustrious Lordship's very prudent mode of negotiating, I hoped for a good end of the matter, being sure that he will not exasperate the Duke about what is past, but attend to the present affairs, which are nearly adjusted, and that he would conclude them all without losing time by thus going now to King Philip to quiet things, about which there is no longer cause to doubt. The Cardinal rejoined that he hoped to end this conference auspiciously to which I said that this was truly a work worthy of those sacred hands; he embraced me, laughing; and I added, "We will also go to give account to his Holiness of what the secretary has done, but will only tell him that the Duke of Alva evinces willingness (*dimostra volere*) to be the obedient son and servant of his Holiness, and consented to come to the conference at Palestrina, should your most illustrious Lordship approve of this form of speech." The Cardinal replied most prudently, "Because were the Pope to be told that with difficulty does the Duke of Alva betake himself (*si conduce*) to this conference, together with those other particulars narrated to me by the secretary, it might irritate his Holiness." On my asking him when the Duke de Guise would depart, he replied, "He will not depart until he sees the end of the negotiation, because he still hopes that it will not take effect, that he may succeed in his design to have something in hand, and to tell you the truth I cajole him (*l'intertengo*) with fair words, so as not to remain abandoned."

We then went to the Pope, to whom I, ambassador, said that I came to present the secretary on his return from the Duke of Alva. His Holiness said that he was welcome, inquiring whether it was last night, to which I, secretary, replied that I arrived at Gensano, where the Duke is, between 4 and 5 p.m., and went to him that night; and then I told his Holiness of the Duke of Alva's goodwill towards the peace, and his decision about the site of the conference. The Pope replied, "The secretary's statement has been good and brief," and that he could not sufficiently thank your Serenity for these offices; that he was content this interview should take place, and the more willingly than the last time, choosing to hope that some good may come of it, and

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that these Imperialists (*e che questi*) may acknowledge their most grievous error, as there is work to do for everybody, and although they have been victorious in France, that kingdom cannot so easily fear any great hurt, because the King will obtain any amount of money and troops that he may require; and then he is the friend of Sultan Soliman, who, owing to these successes, will have to think of his own affairs, so that these victories will bring the Turk against the Imperialists with so great a power that all of them united could not resist it, still less, being divided, as they are, amongst themselves.

I, ambassador, said, "The best remedy for the calamities of Christendom is the peace, and that your Holiness be at rest here, because then, with God's assistance, you will be enabled to seek the pacification of the others likewise." "For this" (he said) "we consent to the interview, so that every one may know that we fail not to do what we can for the peace, as had we not had regard for the common weal, instead of thinking solely of what it was our duty to do by reason of the place we fill, seeing the impiety and obstinacy of those Imperialists (*di costoro*), we should have fulminated our decrees (*havessamo fulminato le nostre sentenze*), and had we been unable to remain in Rome we should not have lacked a place of security, for wheresoever we find ourselves we are the same. We took patience, in order not to deprive ourself of the means for making the peace."

When I, ambassador, said, "Holy Father, is it not better, as your Holiness knows, when treating peace to forget injuries? for which reason Cicero said (*disse colui*), '*Græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa*' (Athens).^{*} Let your Holiness merely figure to yourself the immortal glory thus obtained for your Beatitude and for your memory by this fact, and the benefit that will be received by the whole of Christendom which is committed to your trust and piety;" he replied, "Ambassador! on these accounts we have tolerated the impiety of those Imperialists (*di costoro*) with some remorse of conscience, *et adhuc non possumus statuere* which would have been best, either the patience we have had, or that we should have made them know their error, for many persons would perhaps have thought of their souls. What? they perhaps destroy my patrimony? They consume that of Christ, which I endeavour to preserve, because His Majesty *illud credidit fidei nostræ*. For this persecution which they inflict on us without any cause, nothing less would be deserved than the 'privation' of the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca and Minorca, England, and Ireland, which we, in compliance with his request, erected into a kingdom, it being a fief of the Church, and to abrogate the privileges which they have in Spain, as conceded by the prodigality of our predecessors, and which yield more than the rest of the kingdom. But, in conclusion, we are content with the conference, because it will make manifest to the world who fails to

^{*} The ambassador was alluding to the Greek word amnesty. (See Cicero's Orations, *Philippic I. in M. Antonium, pars prima*, in *T. Ciceronis Orationum pars IV.*, p. 334 *Patavii*, 1729.)

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effect this peace ; and as despair is a great thing (*perchè poi la disperatione è una gran cosa*), and being rendered secure by it, we might still give them much trouble, as I said above, although this victory has rendered them insolent." I, ambassador, told him that I hoped through the Divine goodness that the negotiation would end well, and that I would give account to your Serenity this evening of what had been done hitherto. He replied, "Do so, and rely on our gratitude to his Serenity." (*Fatelo, e teneteci grato a sua Sullimità.*)

Rome, 7th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1026. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The report of the capture of Le Catelet was untrue. The enemy's army is still at St. Quentin, fortifying the place, which cannot be in a state of defence for six weeks. M. de Lansac,* a Knight of St. Michael, was sent to Amiens with 150 men-at-arms and six ensigns of French infantry, and routed 200 of the enemy's light cavalry who went to reconnoitre Abbeville, and killed many of them. The panic in this city has subsided almost completely, and the inhabitants have ceased to take flight, in part because they see that the enemy does not make progress, and also partly because a muster-general of these train-bands of the trades having been made, they took the field, all in battle array, in three squadrons, numbering upwards of 22,000 infantry, much to the King's satisfaction, as their arms and everything else far exceeded what had been hoped, and they are destined for the safe custody of Paris. The rumour about the German troops mustering on the borders of the Franche Comté seems to have ceased, nor is there any longer assemblage of them, but the King will not fail to have the Diet of the Switzers held, so as to prevent any delay in the march hitherwards of 8,000 of their troops whenever needed. The forces from Piedmont arrived at Lyons on the 3rd, so they will be here in six days at the farthest, and M. de Termes is expected daily ; the Germans likewise being on their march, and having already arrived in Lorraine.

I wrote to your Serenity about the progress made by the Queen [Dowager] of Scotland† with her troops, and having now heard farther particulars, I will not omit to mention them, thus :—When the Queen, who is the sister of the Duke de Guise and of his brother the Cardinal, heard from the most Christian King of the declaration of war made to him by the herald of the Queen of England, she had it proclaimed that all those bound to defend her kingdom were to appear at the muster, there being an ancient Scottish ordinance whereby the people are bound to defend the realm for three months at their own cost ; and 50,000 men having appeared at the muster, she divided them into two parts ; the one

* Louis de St. Gelais. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, Mary.)

† Marie de Lorraine, Queen Dowager and Regent of Scotland,

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she kept to form the army corps, dismissing the other, with orders that on the return of the first corps from their three months' service, the second half was to succeed them; she herself taking the field with 20,000 men, and sending the other 5,000 to harass Ireland. She then commenced her march immediately, took Berwick, and, entering England also took Durich [Wark ?], Nucatel [Newcastle ?], and another small place called Jor [Ford ?], and, according to the last advices, had advanced some 25 leagues into the English territory, burning and laying waste everything on her passage; for which cause, according to report, the Queen of England has recalled her troops from the army of the King of Spain. If this be true, your Serenity may have heard it from the ambassador Surian.

The night before last some 400 Lutherans, according to their frequent custom, assembled at a house in this city, wishing to celebrate (*celebrar*) some marriages there in their own fashion, and the executive being informed of the meeting, sent to take them at 2 a.m., at which hour they found a friar preaching, and half the number were captured, the rest escaping. Amongst the prisoners were about 20 gentlewomen, some of them of great importance by reason of their nobility, but amongst the men there was no person of quality, though some friars, nuns, and other low people formed part of the congregation.*

Paris, 7th September 1557.

P.S.—Sure news has been received of the surrender of Le Catelet, the troops being all allowed to go out safe, colours flying, and with such arms as they could carry.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1027. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The captain† and soldiers who surrendered Le Catelet are accused of not having held out as long as they might have done, from a wish to depart with their rich plunder of many things, including money intercepted by them on its way to the Spanish camp, the preservation of which they preferred to their own honour and to the service of the King, who, it is said, will have the captain beheaded should he fail to justify himself. It is not known whether the Spaniards will go to Han or to Guise, and the French have great fear of losing both places. M. de Lansac, who was destined for Amiens, is gone to Peronne, and M. de Montmorency, the Constable's son and the King's son-in-law, has entered Amiens. The new levies of Germans and Switzers have been ordered to go to Laon to the Duke de Nevers, and the other 5,000 Switzers from Piedmont will come

* This is the first mention I have met with of Lutheran conventicles in Paris. In the late Sir Thomas Hardy's "Report" upon "Documents in the Archives of Venice" (London 1866), p. 11, there is a letter narrating Protestant nocturnal demonstrations and psalmody on "Le Pré aux Clercs," in May 1558, and my firm belief, derived from the contents of that letter is, that the two French words "*Fugue*" and "*Note*" give the etymology of the word "*Huguenote*," which is not known to have been in use before the year 1560 (Nov. 11.) See Mosheim's History of the Reformed Church, English tr., vol. 2, p. 179. (Edition, London, 1838.)

† The captain's name was Solignac. (See Père Daniel, vol. 9, p. 840.)

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hither; and here in Paris fresh troops are being raised, and since the muster many artisans renounce their crafts and follow the drum.

A secretary has arrived from the Duke de Guise, who was to embark [at Civitavecchia] on the 3rd instant with five ensigns of French troops and all the nobility, as also Marshal Strozzi, the Duke having determined to leave his brother M. d'Aumale in Italy, for the greater repute of his Holiness, and here this resolve has apparently given satisfaction, although the King had ordered the Marshal to remain in Italy as commander-in-chief of those troops; but as they have need here of men of long experience, the Marshal's coming is most agreeable, and according to report the Pope likewise remains more satisfied with it, hoping that the King will be less likely to fail sending supplies to the Duke d'Aumale than to Marshal Strozzi.

Paris, 9th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.
Original
Letter Book.
Venetian
Archives.

1028. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday at 8.30 a.m. (*alle xv. hore*), the Cardinals "Camerlengo," Caraffa, and Vitelli, and the Marquis of Montebello, being accompanied beyond the gates by the Duke of Paliano and other personages, departed hence, that they might arrive in the evening at Palestrina, for the conference on the morrow at Cavi with the Duke of Alva. The Duke had shortly before preceded them thither.

They arrived at Palestrina in the evening, and conferred on the morrow at Cavi, where they found the Duke of Alva. On Thursday, in the congregation of the Inquisition, the Pope did nothing but speak about the peace, saying that he had sent his Cardinal to the conference because he knew, amongst other things, that for him to make terms was the greatest benefit he could confer upon the King of France for having shown himself a good and obedient son, as by rendering himself the common father he might endeavour to make peace between the said King and Philip, as the French consent to the agreement provided it be made on fair terms and to the dignity of this Holy See.

Yesterday morning the Secretary Franceschi and my secretary went to the Vatican, where they heard that the Bishop of Pola had arrived from the conference, being sent by Cardinal Caraffa, and that he was upstairs with the Pope. The Duke of Paliano joined them, and after a quarter of an hour came down into the audience chamber, and said to Franceschi, "Would to God that the Imperialists had acted according to their words, as by this time we should have been out of these troubles, but I never deceived myself about the Spaniards, whom I have experienced for 30 years, and know that when uppermost they persist in their demands, and never depart from them. Now, instead of praying the Pope to pardon their King, and the injuries they themselves have done him, they choose to dictate to him in his own home. Yesterday the conference was held for three hours at Cavi. The Duke of Alva persisted in a trustee (*confidente*)*, being put in possession of

* The trustee-warder of the castle of Paliano was to be in the confidence both of King Philip and of the Caraffa family.

1557.

Paliano, who, on compensation being made me, is to consign it to Marc' Antonio Colonna, a thing to which the Pope will not listen, and I told my brother the Cardinal to dismantle it rather than consign it to a trustee, as I will accept neither compensation nor anything else from them, having before my eyes the example of the Duke of Valentino, to whom they gave several states in the kingdom of Naples, but immediately on the death of Pope Alexander they deprived him of everything. The only reason I had for wishing my uncle to become Pope was that I might be free; God having now granted me that grace, I will not again become the subject either of the Spaniards or of others, for I also regret having round my neck the Order of St. Michael, but I knew it was my duty to obey the Pope. I can renounce it whenever I please, as I have done no wrong to the King of France, in like manner as I lay claim not to have wronged King Philip, although they have seized my property; for I took the opinion of gentlemen (*cavalieri*) and jurists (*e dottori*), who all told me that, besides the relationship, I was at liberty to serve the Pope, as master of the direct dominion of the kingdom of Naples, of which King Philip, who wages war on him, is feudatory, in like manner as I am his Majesty's feudatory. My object is to get something durable to have wherewithal to live, and after his Holiness' death not wait to be deprived of the generalship, but resign it to his successor, that he may confer it on his kinsfolk, I betaking myself to live what years remain to me in Venice, amongst those most illustrious Lords, of whom I have made myself a voluntary vassal;" adding, "I shall now go to the Duke de Guise to communicate to him the affair of the interview, and then send back the Bishop of Pola, as to-day there is to be a second conference, and may God grant it to produce the desired effect, that you, secretary, may convey this good news to his Sublimity, or, if not, you will at least explain to him who has failed to make the peace;" and with this the secretaries took their leave.

Subsequently a right reverend Cardinal concerned in this negotiation, and who knows the whole of it, gave me to understand that the Bishop of Pola came hither for two things, the one to announce the opinion about putting a trustee in Paliano as soon as the place is reduced to the state in which it existed when the then Count of Montorio [Giovanni Caraffa] received its investiture, until they send to King Philip to learn whether he chooses it to be left to the Duke or restored to Marc' Antonio; the other, that having seen Cardinal Caraffa's brief, and it not seeming to the Duke sufficient to conclude, he was to ask the Pope for a much more ample one. That the Duke of Paliano and the said Bishop having stated the first difficulty about Paliano, the Pope flew into such a passion that they dared not ask him for the mandate, which his right reverend Lordship considers a most important proceeding, because if Cardinal Caraffa has no greater authority he does not see how any good can be done.

Rome, 11th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

1557.

Sept. 11.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1029. The SAME to the SAME.

A gentleman in whom great trust may be placed, having returned from the site of the conference, has told me that on the day they departed hence, the three Cardinals, with the Marquis of Montebello, passed the night at Palestrina, and before arriving there they were met by the Count of Santa Fiore and by the Signor Paolo, the brothers of the Cardinal "Camerlengo." Early on the morrow they went out hunting, having ordered refreshments to be prepared at a fountain near Palestrina. During the repast some Spanish cavalry appeared announcing the approach of the Duke of Alva; so having mounted on horseback, they found him waiting under a tree near Cavi, with his two sons and the Count di Populo, each side of the road being lined with numerous armed horsemen. The Marquis of Montebello dismounted and kissed the Duke of Alva's hand, the which Marquis is not acknowledged in the Spanish camp by any other title than that of Don Antonio. Cardinal Caraffa on horseback with great civility and respect saluted the Duke, whose countenance and gestures did not evince much reciprocity, but he made a much greater demonstration towards the Cardinal "Camerlengo," embracing and showing him every mark of reverence, and placing him on his right hand and Cardinal Caraffa on his left, the Duke being between, they proceeded to Cavi, a place at an equal distance of two miles from Gensano and from Palestrina. On entering the gate of that place there were two Spanish captains, apparently for its custody, with 400 soldiers, all Spaniards, on each side of the street, all most excellently armed and very well clad. The cavalcade dismounted at a house, in the hall of which under a canopy of crimson velvet was a table covered with the same material, with four chairs for the three Cardinals and for his Excellency, everybody else being dismissed. The conference lasted till nightfall, and on their departure they, including Cardinal Caraffa, did not seem very cheerful. Some of the retinue of the right reverend Cardinals having wished to go and see the camp permission was denied them, the Duke of Alva's command being that no one was to go to the army.

Rome, 11th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(3rd letter.)

1030. The SAME to the SAME.

As I knew that this morning Cardinal Vitelli had been with the Duke of Paliano in the church of Santa Croce in Hierusalem, I sent my secretary to his Excellency, who, the moment he saw him, said, "The Duke of Alva still abides by his perfidy (*sta pur nella sua perfidia*) about Paliano, as I told you yesterday, and Cardinal Vitelli has come to let me know it. He chooses a trustee to be placed in Paliano, nor do we object to it, but one cannot be found because the Italian Princes, and those out of Italy, are the partisans of one side or the other. To speak of those of Italy, the Duke of Florence is with the Imperialists, and may be said to be leagued with them by reason of the affairs of Sienna; the Duke of Mantua depends on them; the Duke of Ferrara depends on the Pope and on the French. There remains the Signory of Venice, in

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whose hands I would place the duchy and my life, and the Pope would consign to them the whole of the Papal States, but does not know what they would say to this; so we proposed to raze Paliano." The secretary replied, "This would be more expeditious, because the other way is tedious and has difficulties." The Duke rejoined, "Granted, but they do not choose it to be levelled to the ground, they insist on its being put in the state in which it was before the commencement of hostilities; with this in addition, that when they shall give me compensation it be consigned to King Philip to dispose of at his pleasure. This the Pope will not do, nor will I accept their compensations; and this morning when I told him the whole he calmly (*senza alteratione*) desired me to write to my brother the Cardinal not to break off the negotiation, and that he was to let the Duke of Alva know that this demand of his is unreasonable, and that if he persists he will convince the world that his goodwill is not such as he always proclaimed it to be, and that it is untrue that he commenced hostilities for the defence of the kingdom of Naples, but that he did so for private interest; that his Holiness will give account of this to all the crowned heads, and will hope, as he always has done, in God that He will assist His cause." The Duke added that he had written accordingly; and then drawing the secretary aside, he said, "There is another matter discovered lately, that the Duke of Alva chooses to exclude the Colonna family entirely, and to give the state when free to Don Garcia;"* and saying this he was called to go in to the Pope, as they were in his Holiness' antechamber.

At an early hour this morning a courier arrived from Venice with letters for Cardinal Pacheco, announcing that St. Quentin was taken on the 28th ult., and as he went to the Pope in the afternoon I sent my secretary to hear whether he knew anything about the peace. He answered that he had been to give notice of the capture of St. Quentin to his Holiness, who seemed not to know of it (*la quale mostrò non la sapeva*), and said to him that this was greater news than that of the rout of the army, and that God had willed to punish them for having chosen to interfere in important religious matters, such as marriage.

The Cardinal having then asked him what there was about the peace, the Pope replied that as yet there was no decision, but that he expected it shortly, and that he prayed God it might be according to the general wish; that he chose to hope for the best, having heard through so many channels of King Philip's goodwill, most especially by his letters addressed to Cardinal Pacheco after the first victory; but that the Duke of Alva must not think of making him do anything contrary to his dignity, because he would rather suffer death. The Cardinal says he wrote copiously about this to the King, and also to the Duke of Alva, showing both one and the other of them that this Pope will not do anything from fear, because he is a man to allow Rome to be destroyed, and to suffer death rather than do anything against his dignity, so that it would be well to make

* Query, Don Garcia de Toledo. (*See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 315, and Index.*)

1557.

terms with the Pope at any rate, as it will be profitable and honourable, whilst to wage war on the Church cannot but cause him loss and dishonour, it being unlawful under any pretence either to hold or lay waste what belongs to Christ.

The secretary thanked his reverend Lordship for this confidential communication, and after praising him for these good offices, and requesting him to persevere in them as becoming a Christian prince and cardinal, he took leave.

Marc' Antonio Colonna is very grievously ill of fever at Genzano, and has sent hither to ask for the excellent physicians, Mastro Giustinian Finetti and Mastro Auricola, who have gone to him with the permission of the Pope and his nephews (*con licenza di questi Signori*).¹

Whilst writing this the French Ambassador's secretary came to ask me in his master's name whether a courier had been sent to me with the news of the capture of St. Quentin. I said no, and when he asked me if I knew anything about it, I replied that I knew what was publicly reported, but that I neither credited nor asserted news, unless it came to me from your Serenity

Rome, 11th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1031. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Cardinal Vitelli having seen my secretary in the Duke of Paliano's chamber, had him told to go to his apartments before he went away, as the Cardinal wished to speak to him, and having gone accordingly, he said to him, "I wish the most serene Signory to have me for that affectionate servant which I am to them, so I will tell you a secret about this agreement, relying on his Serenity's keeping the whole very secret, as it is a thing which these Lords will communicate to his Serenity when it shall please and profit them. The matter is that, discussing the article about the compensation for the Duchy of Paliano, in which the whole difficulty consisted, they agreed to this, that on the compensation being proposed, should any question arise about its being or not being fit (buono) and equivalent, both parties agreed to abide by the judgment of that most serene Dominion, which his Serenity might pronounce without any inconvenience to himself. I have willed to let the ambassador know this, that he may write it, but to such a place that I may not have to fear its publication, which would be my ruin." The secretary, after thanking Cardinal Vitelli for the communication, and assuring him that it would be kept a very close secret, took leave.

Rome, 12th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1032. The SAME to the SAME.

Heard late this evening that peace had been concluded, and Cardinal Vitelli having arrived at 8 p.m. I sent my secretary to the Duke of Paliano to congratulate him on this fortunate event, and to

1557.

hear particulars ; he gave me the copy of the articles.* This stipulation was signed to-day.

Rome, 12th September 1557, midnight.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1033. BERNARDO NAVAGERO Ambassador, and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Went to the Pope to-day at 3 p.m., whom we found with some 12 cardinals, and the chamberlains told us that the English ambassador having gone for audience he had him dismissed, informing him that for that day he could not see him ; but when his Holiness was informed that we were in the antechamber, he replied that we were to wait, as he would hear us ; and then the Duke of Paliano came in, accompanied by M. de Guise and Marshal Strozzi, that they might take leave of the Pope before their embarkation to-morrow on board the galleys at Civitavecchia, in number 21, including the 11 of the Baron de la Garde. When the Duke de Guise entered the antechamber, I, ambassador, having saluted him, he approached me, saying, " Well (*horsù*), at any rate an end has been put to the disturbances here ;" and he made me sit down near him. Shortly afterwards the cardinals having departed, on his entering the Pope's chamber and approaching his chair, his Holiness rose, and moving towards a window sent for me, telling the Duke that I had preceded him, and that he would despatch me, and subsequently hold a long conference with his Excellency, the Duke of Paliano in the meanwhile keeping him company.

Having kissed the Pope's foot, I, secretary, doing the like, I [ambassador] then congratulated his Holiness on this peace. The Pope replied that I, secretary, had had a good hand in this negotiation, and that it pleased him that by the authority of your Serenity I should have had the honour to advance it to such a good end ; saying to us besides, " Should this agreement not be to the entire satisfaction of these princes, yet nevertheless when they shall have known our mind more to the core (*più a dentro*) than they have done hitherto they will be satisfied with it, and King Philip will repent him of having so long delayed returning to his father and to his mother, and living like a Christian, and by the works that we shall do about the holy reform he will perceive of how much evil he has been the cause, through the troubles to which he subjected us. From our desire for the general quiet we have accommodated ourselves to this agreement, consenting to something not quite in accordance perhaps with our dignity, not choosing to make too hard a bargain, but knife in hand to sever every difficulty, to show also to the Signory of Venice how much we esteem the good counsels which they have given through your medium ; it comforts us greatly that the whole world should know that this holy work has been brought to the desired end through the assistance and exertions of your State. This Holy See has doubtless been occupied by pontiffs who loved the Venetian Signory, but none of them hitherto

* Not found.

1557.

have borne the Republic such great affection as we ; and should it please the Divine goodness to enable us to effect a universal peace, for which end we will spare no toil, regardless of our years, and of any inconvenience, and at the cost even of our life ; and were this our goodwill to be realised, and we could do what we wish for the Signory, should any one express surprise at it we might say to them, 'Do you know how much we are obliged to them ?' If the Almighty gave us hope of a good result, we would go in person to confer with these two kings (the like having been done by our predecessors) at the risk of expiring on the journey, as on such an occasion life would be very well spent and we should die happy. Had we here a part of the workmen of your arsenal we would build a long boat, and man it well with expert seamen, so that we might go with all speed wheresoever we pleased, for we heard those good old men of ours greatly commend boats of that sort as fast and safe, because one can land from them anywhere and lodge on shore, and in the centre a cover (*un coperto*) might be made for the convenience of those who cannot stand exposure to weather (*per comodità di chi non si può star sub divo*)."

I, ambassador, then said that his Holiness' love for Venice could not be doubted, as he remembered even the long boats. The Pope replied, "We make no difference between Venice and our own country, and should God grant us to make the universal peace we would do such a deed for the Signory as to make them know clearly what we have so often said by word of mouth about our wish to do them some signal service."

To this I said, "Holy Father, the Signory is assured (*certissima*) of the favours hitherto received from your Holiness, remaining under very great obligation for them, and expecting yet greater ones for the future, by reason of your extreme goodness, and of your especial care for the State of Venice, which has never failed to perform such offices as becoming for this agreement, not only from its natural wish for the peace, but also for your Holiness' individual quiet."

The Pope rejoined, "This we acknowledge, and thank the Signory for it, and we in this agreement have made a sacrifice (*habbiamo lasciato del nostro*) to please the Signory and to prevent the impending ruin of this province." I then told him that this was the seal of his greatness and glory, as having rendered himself the common father, there might be expected from his consummate goodness, prudence, and piety, the universal peace, and also the magnanimous projects entertained by him about the reform. The Pope replied, "God grant that Christendom may witness the desired day of a general peace, for the Christian forces are not so depressed as to be unable, were they united, to accomplish some grand undertaking against that potent dragon" [Sultan Soliman]; and then with his eyes fixed upon me, ambassador, the Pope said, "Do you not believe that some good might be done ?"

I replied, "Holy Father, in like manner as it seems to me that the united forces of Christendom would deprive the Turk of any hope of making farther progress, so by reason of his great power

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and owing to the difficulty of providing victuals, &c., I should fear that any power meditating the invasion of his territory would not have great success; *sed quod nunc instat agamus*, concerning the peace of Christendom."

The Pope rejoined, "You speak the truth; we will attend to disposing these princes in such a way as to facilitate the peace, for which reason we never chose to accept King Philip, and turn our back upon that other one [Henry II.], on whom precisely in this his distress we will to lavish every caress and service in our power. In the meanwhile my illustrious Signory of Venice will have had (*haverà voluto*) *primitias animi nostri*, through this particular peace made by us here."

Perceiving that the Duke de Guise was waiting, after commending his Holiness for having put an end to these troubles, and thanking him for the love he evinced towards your Serenity, I took leave.

Rome, 13th September. 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1034. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Ambassador, and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having heard that the Duke de Guise was on the eve of departure, we went to visit him this morning, and found that he was already booted and spurred, expecting Cardinal Caraffa at 2 p.m. (*circa le 20 hore*). I, ambassador, told his Excellency that I wished him a good journey, by reason of your observance towards the most Christian King, and for the great ability and valour of his Excellency, who asked me if I had news of the loss of St. Quentin. I said no, and that I knew no more about it than was reported over Rome. He added that he had letters from Lyons down to the last of August, which merely said that an assault had been made and that the enemy were repulsed; that he was surprised that M. de Lodève, who is with your Serenity, had not written anything to him, but that bad news is transmitted unwillingly. He then proceeded to tell me that there having come to pass what his King desired, viz., to see the Pope and this Holy See in quiet, to which end his army had been sent hither, remaining until now, as it was no longer wanted he should take to France on board the fleet about 2,000 men, that another division would go to Montalcino, and a third to the Duke of Ferrara; that he had 21 galleys, and would be met by others; that he regretted being unable to visit your Serenity according to his own wish and that of the King his master, but that he would send M. de St. Vitale, who went to Venice on a former occasion, and would depart to-morrow. He told me that he thought your Serenity would disapprove of war being waged on the Duke of Ferrara, and that he could not believe you would tolerate a conflagration so near your own dwelling. Then turning to me, secretary, whom he said he had known in France, he told me to recommend him to your Serenity; and that as to me, ambassador, he would give account to the King of the courtesy I had shown him when he came hither heretofore, and also at present.

1557.

We then took leave and went to the Duke of Paliano, whom we found booted for the purpose, he said, of going to meet the Cardinal his brother, and to accompany the Duke de Guise beyond the gates. I, ambassador, congratulated his Excellency on this peace, for which he returned thanks, saying that it was in great part the work of your Serenity, to whom, besides so many other causes, he remained under perpetual obligation, and with very great wish to hazard his life for the increase of your State, because he had elected it for his country, and hoped to end his days there in tranquillity, as he knew not in what other direction to turn himself. I said that the agreement had been stipulated at a time when infinitely needed, as his Holiness found himself without money, victuals, troops, and that his friends were compelled to abandon him and depart. I inquired how the French army would be distributed, and he replied that the Duke would take the greater part with the fleet to France; that 11 regiments (*bandiere*) will go to Corneto and the neighbouring places on the coast, and that the galleys would be sent back for them, as they are veterans; a part will be given to the Duke of Ferrara, and part will go to the fortresses held by the French in Tuscany, which will soon fall without a sword-stroke. As I knew that nothing could please him better than that I should commence discoursing about the little Marquis (*il Marchesino*) his son, I said that with this opportunity he might return from France more speedily than his Excellency had hoped. He replied that it was necessary, since the Pope was to remain the common father (*respose ch' era necessario poi che 'l Papa era per restare padre comune*). I rejoined that it would be the comfort of the Lady Duchess [Violante Garlonia], he being of such a rare disposition as he is, showing that he will be worthy of his parents, and displaying as he does at this early age so much goodness and intelligence. The Duke, being moved even to tears by this, said that it was true, and that his mother could have no greater comfort in the world than this; that that lad at the age of 10 years had amazed the Court of France by succeeding so well; adding many other things in praise of the said youth.

He (the Duke of Paliano) proceeded to say that he would give me account of many things, thus: "My sole object was to keep the Pope neutral, knowing that war does not become this State, nor do priests know how to wield weapons; but I could do no more. God forgive those who have been the cause of it, though their errors do not deserve pardon, because of the overmuch detriment thus done, both to the common and to the private weal, to which witness is borne by the roguish advice given by the impassioned Giovanni dalla Casa, and by that drunkard Aldobrandini, about whom I caused the Pope to be fully informed, but the Cardinal still believes them.* To me, who urged them to make peace, they did all the harm they could, the real state of the case was not communicated to me, and they considered me an

* I tristi consigli di Giovanni della Casa appassionato, che ne rende conto, e di quel imbrocio dell' Aldobrandini, del quale Io ho fatto che 'l Papa s'è chiarito, ma il Cardinale ancora li crede.

1557.

Imperialist. That most foolish treaty of the league made in France would perhaps not have been stipulated, or at least not so disadvantageously for the Pope, had I known of it. Here our promises have been fulfilled, whilst from the French nothing whatever has been obtained; they promised the fortresses in the Siennese, and forthwith evacuated them; to me they assigned a pension of 5,000 crowns, but all I have received from them is this" (showing me the Order of St. Michael). "Subsequently, when the Imperialists commenced hostilities, I prepared to serve the Pope, and place my life at his disposal, but in the whole course of this war not one good move was made; and amongst the other mistakes was that of the Duke de Guise, when he sent those troops to the Duke of Ferrara, to which I objected, anticipating what took place, viz., that the Duke of Alva, who until then had not dared to dismiss a single soldier, availing himself of an opportunity, sent part of his troops into this Campagna of Rome, causing the devastation known to everybody; nor did the Duke of Ferrara avail himself of those troops save to his own detriment, for to say the truth his Excellency has not much military experience, nor has he commanders of importance (*huomini da capo d'importanza*). They chose to succour Paliano unseasonably, which caused the loss of those poor troops, and of repute. But to return to the affairs of last year; at the conference on the island, Sienna was promised; King Philip sent the decision to give it, by Don Francisco Pacheco; he wrote it to my brother the Cardinal, and I never knew anything about it; and when in this last letter written by the Duke of Alva to the Cardinal 'Camerlengo,' I saw it stated that Sienna might have been had, the Duke quoting the King's letter, I complained of this to the Cardinal, who replied that it was true that he had the letter, and moreover showed it to the Pope, and I said to him in reply that great wrong had been done me by this concealment, but the fact is I have been betrayed and made to lose so honourable an opportunity. Had not this peace been effected our family would have been irrecoverably ruined; at present, should God grant the Pope life, we may hope for something for our maintenance, but that which before the war could have been done easily and speedily will now require time, and being unable to make a long gown it must be made scanty, as well as possible, and the Pope will attend to things more befitting him, for in truth it broke my heart to witness these hostilities in the time of a most holy Pontiff such as this one, and of irreproachable life, who has never seen a sword. I am indeed sorry that the turmoil should be turned towards Ferrara, especially as the Imperial army is said to be ready to take the troops they had here, either into Piedmont or against that Duke, for whom everything was done to include him in this agreement; but the Duke of Alva cut short the road with a single word, saying he had no commission whatever about this, but the Pope will not omit performing an office to assist him." I said that this benefit and yet greater ones might be expected from his Holiness, he having become the common father, because he would have authority with both those kings; and then after thanking his Excellency for what he had communicated to me,

1557.

and for the treaty which he gave my secretary on that night, for transmission to your Serenity, we took our leave.

Rome, 14th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1035. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the surrender of Le Catelet advice was received here that a great supply of biscuit and other victuals was being made to supply the army during a march of several days, and simultaneously his most Christian Majesty heard that they intended going to Amiens, so although M. de Montmorency had already entered that city, 3,000 infantry were immediately sent thither, with a number of noblemen, but subsequently the Spanish troops went to Han, and when on the point of storming it the citadel surrendered. The foreign troops have not yet arrived from any quarter, but are expected daily, and four days ago his Majesty sent in advance of these first Germans who are coming to give them a month's pay; and those on their march from Piedmont have halted, waiting for 2,000 of their comrades from Switzerland to fill up their ranks, which have been much thinned, so they cannot be here for 10 days. M. de Termes arrived yesterday evening, and M. de Nevers, when the Spanish troops pushed on towards Han, quartered himself at Compiègne with 2,000 horse and 3,000 foot, leaving the rest of the cavalry at Laon, and distributing all the rest of his infantry between Corbie, Peronne, Amiens, Abbeville, and other places requiring garrisons; more French recruits, raised in various places, also arriving in those parts. Nothing whatever is heard of M. de Guise, which greatly astonishes everybody, his arrival at Marseilles being most anxiously expected, *nor until he comes will M. de la Vigne be sent back to Sultan Soliman.*

The Duke of Ferrara has informed his most Christian Majesty that the King of Spain is forming a close agreement with the Duke of Parma, offering him, should he declare himself in his service entirely, the castle of Piacenza, and the generalship of the expedition against the said Duke of Ferrara; but the King of Spain requires him to place in the hands of his ministers a very strong fortress in the Parmesan territory called Pui (*sic*). This agreement may be considered settled; and it is said that in a few days the Duke of Parma will return the Order of St. Michael to the King of France, and that the Duke of Florence is raising troops for this same expedition. *The Duke of Ferrara has therefore laid his necessities before the King of France, requesting his assistance, but the only hope given him is, that should the Pope make terms with Spain, as believed here, his Excellency may take the troops under M. d'Aumale into his service, provided he pay for them; the King promising to reimburse him at his greater convenience as usual; and I understand that this order has been already despatched, as otherwise his Majesty would have made the said troops cross the Alps one after another (alla sfillata).*

1557.

I mentioned the report that troops were being raised in Germany to pass into the county of la Bresse, and perhaps proceed towards Lyons; this report cooled subsequently, but is now revived, and although at Lyons there is some suspicion of their going thither, it is nevertheless thought that they will more probably march upon Metz.

Paris, 14th September 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 17.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1036. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

At 6 p.m. on 14th instant, Cardinal Caraffa and his brother the Marquis, with the Cardinals "Camerlengo" and Vitelli, arrived from the conference, and were met by almost the whole Court and the Roman nobility, who thanked Cardinal Caraffa for the peace. I also sent my secretary to perform this office of congratulation. On entering Rome the people flocked to see those who had concluded so salutary and necessary a termination of the miseries of this city; and when passing Castle St. Angelo they were saluted with many discharges of artillery.

The three Cardinals went booted to kiss the Pope's foot, Caraffa and Vitelli greatly commending their colleague Guido Ascanio Sforza. Orders were given to call consistory for the next morning to proclaim this peace, and at 9 p.m. the cursitors summoned the meeting (*landavano intimando*), but it could not take place, the joy for the peace also remaining incomplete, for during that night and on the following day the Tiber rose to the same height as in 1530, in the time of Clement.* It was horrible to see that river overflowing its banks everywhere, carrying away the effects of innumerable poor persons, and in Rome flooding not only the cellars and lower chambers, where wine, grain, wood, and many other necessities are usually stored, destroying everything, but rising even to the upper floors, keeping everybody in fear for their lives, particularly myself and my household, for my windows look upon the river. In the vineyards near Castle St. Angelo many houses, whose inhabitants had mounted on the roofs, were carried away by the torrent with the human beings upon them, as also many earthworks raised lately in that direction; the garden of the late Cardinal Fiesco, which was now the delight of Cardinal Caraffa, is submerged (*è affondato*); many bridge piles (*sussi di ponte*) have been rent by the sheer force of the torrent; and the streets of Rome, which were hitherto passable for coaches and horses, are now canals, more than six feet deep (*d'altezza più d'una picca*);† and what is worse this inundation or rush of waters (*uscio*) was so sudden and unexpected that no one had time to save anything. With very great difficulty I saved my horses, sending them to the vineyard of the Patriarch

* Compare this account of the inundation of the Tiber with Carne's, in *Foreign Calendar*, "Mary," p. 334.

† Carne uses the same term thus: "The height of a morrispike."

1557.

Grimani.* My corn, grain, wine, and all other things of that sort were destroyed.

On Wednesday [15th September], at midnight, the ebb tide commenced, and then the disasters of this afflicted population were made manifest. Many persons were found drowned in their own houses, and many dead animals. Everybody has displayed the drenched remains of their furniture destroyed by the Tiber, and many houses have suffered, so that however firm they were, many are expected to fall; and to-day the whole of the front of Cardinal Sermoneta's palace towards the Tiber has already fallen. This catastrophe is scarcely less disastrous than if Rome had been sacked, and owing to this loss of provisions there is great fear of increasing scarcity, or rather of famine. It being my custom here to have baker's bread, and having lost all my wine, I and my whole household would have died of hunger had I not hired a boat at the cost of 20 crowns per day, by which means I maintained my establishment insufficiently, but in such a way as usual during a siege, and at incredible cost, and such small amount of bread and wine as could be got was purchased sword in hand.

Rome, 17th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1037. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE' FRANCESCHI, Secretary Extraordinary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Although the devastation caused by this river rendered our ride difficult, we nevertheless went this morning to congratulate Cardinal Caraffa on the peace, and he being with the Pope, we, whilst waiting for him in his chamber, conversed with the Duke of Paliano, who, lamenting the calamities of Rome, and this deluge, said that had not the peace taken place, the additional misery of the inundation would have rendered this population so desperate that some extraordinary commotion might have been expected. He then told us that the Duke de Guise and Marshal Strozzi departed last night, and that after they set sail a letter arrived from the King of France, expressing his wish for the Pope to arrange his affairs on the best terms he could, which greatly pleased his Holiness, who was sending Cardinal Triultio to France, and Cardinal Caraffa to Brussels, as legates for the negotiation of a general peace; and that it had been proposed to send nuncios to all the Christian powers, and to Poland also, for the better maintenance of that nation in its devotion to the holy Roman Catholic Church. The Cardinal, after the usual compliments and congratulations, said that the chief difficulty had been about Paliano, which at any rate was to be dismantled; that possibly he should go to King Philip to negotiate the general peace; but that after dinner, under pretence of going out hunting, he should certainly go to Gensano to the Duke of Alva, to ratify the article about placing in Paliano a trustee,

* Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. 5, p. 329, footnote.)

557.

who will be the Pope's nephew Gio. Bernardino Carbon; and that he hoped to induce the Duke of Alva to "give the obedience" (*a dar l'obedienza*) and make the due submission to the Pope.

We then went to the Cardinal "Camerlengo," whose address and authority with the Duke of Alva have done much for this negotiation. He said, "I did what I could, and although I often saw matters in a state to give me little hope, I nevertheless told the Duke of Alva, who places great trust in me, that it was necessary for him on any terms to make peace with the Pope; and although he told me that he had known him to be always ill disposed, and that he did not see by what means he could make sure that this word peace should not be converted into a truce or suspension of hostilities for a few days, I demonstrated to him that the world was not of that opinion, and that the Pope disarming, and having once renounced the friendship of his allies, nothing more could be feared from him; and therefore, in the article about compensation, *most of which is in private writings between themselves, there was a difficulty raised by the Duke of Alva, who did not wish the compensation to signify territory in the Papal States to be given to his Holiness; but whatever sort of compensation King Philip might intend to make him, and this the Duke did, so that acknowledging what they had from His Majesty, they might depend on him alone, he also perceiving that the Duke of Paliano had the Order of St. Michael, and the son he so dearly loved being still in France. These facts gave him just cause to suspect that the affairs of the Caraffa family were still too much incorporated with the French Crown, and he therefore then offered the Cardinal the terms of treatment (partiti di intrattenimento)* requested by him, the Duke of Alva showing that in this particular likewise he had most ample authority.*" The Cardinal "Camerlengo" added, that although at the conference on the island, Cardinal Caraffa chose to exclude the whole Colonna family from Paliano, he had nevertheless retracted (*che però s'era remesso*), giving hope that in the course of time Marc' Antonio Colonna might recover it, as, after his receiving compensation, that State was to be consigned to the Catholic King's nominee.

Four nights ago Cardinal S. Giacomo [of Compostella] died † in great repute for goodness and religion; he was a Spaniard of the Toledo family, and brother of the Duke of Alva's father.

I enclose the copy ‡ of the treaty which has been sent hither to the vineyard by Cardinal Vitelli. It is almost identical with the one transmitted by me when announcing the peace; but it also expressly excepts Marc' Antonio Colonna and Ascanio della Cornia, and contains the Pope's brief of authority in favour of Cardinal Caraffa and King Philip's mandate to the Duke of Alva.

Rome, 18th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

* At the conference on the island of Porto the Duke of Alva offered Sienna in exchange for Paliano. See paragraph in letter (No. 1), dated 7th September 1557.

† "On the night of the 14th, the Cardinal of Compostella died here." (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, p. 335.)

‡ Not found.

1557.

Sept. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1038. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE' FRANCESCHI, Secretary Extraordinary, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Besides what we write in the public letter, Cardinal Caraffa told us what I, ambassador, wrote in my last had been communicated to my secretary with great secrecy, that in case of any disagreement arising about the compensation to be given to the Duke his brother, many Princes had been named as arbitrators to decide whether it was an equivalent, and that he, Cardinal Caraffa, said, "I will propose a Prince whose authority and good faith will silence all of them," and he then proposed your Serenity as the arbitrator of this disagreement in case of its occurrence, to which the Duke of Alva immediately assented, and that this particular was unknown to the Pope, as he had deceived him in this matter (*che in ciò lo haveva ingannato*) for the sake of not losing time in making this agreement, praying that it might be kept secret, as due, and that of this article they had made a separate writing. The like was confirmed to us by the Cardinal "Camerlengo," who also said that he hoped there would not be any difficulty, because King Philip, by every sort of office, even beyond what the Caraffas could hope or expect, would entertain (*tratteneria*) and render them his adherents.

Rome, 18th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1039. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE' FRANCESCHI, Secretary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 18th Cardinal Caraffa, under pretence of hunting, went to the Duke of Alva, and late on that day Don Fadrique, son of the aforesaid Duke, arrived in this city, being sent by his Excellency to make the due submission to the Pope. He lodged in the house of Cardinal Pacheco. He demanded audience of the Pope, who appointed it for the morrow, but subsequently on hearing that the Duke his father was coming in person, Don Fadrique sent to apologize to his Holiness, saying that if he did not go, it was from his wish to leave this charge to his father, as he was coming.

The Duke of Alva entered* Rome at about 8 p.m., and I ambassador having sent my secretary to meet him, his Excellency replied very graciously that he would see me willingly. He was accompanied by Cardinal Caraffa, Paliano, and Montebello, with several Roman Lords. There were many Neapolitan Barons, the Count of Santa Fior, his brother Sigr. Paolo, the Lord Vespasian Gonzaga, and other commanders of the army. On passing the Castle he was saluted by the artillery, and went straight to the Pope, who was in the audience chamber with 21 Cardinals; he kissed his foot and hand, and then his Holiness embraced and kissed him. His Excellency said a few words to him on his knees, and then the Pope

* Navagero does not give any date, but in "Foreign Calendar, Mary," p. 336, it is seen that the Duke of Alva made his entry into Rome by torchlight on the evening of the 19th September 1557.

1557.

made him rise, although the Duke made great resistance, and they continued talking for nearly half an hour. Their conversation, from what little was audible, was almost all ceremonious (*quasi tutto cerimonia*), and a long apology on one side and the other for the past events (*e lunga escusatione da una parte e l'altra pelli successi passati*). During the whole of the discourse, the Duke remained standing, the Cardinals doing the like, they having risen when his Excellency entered. At the close of the discourse, the Duke turned to the Cardinals, saluting them one by one, and in the meanwhile those personages who had come with him kissed the Pope's foot; and they then went to Cardinal Caraffa's apartments, where supper had been prepared, and the Duke's sleeping room (*e da dormire per il Sigr. Duca*).

Early yesterday morning we went to his Excellency, who saw and embraced us with great demonstration of love; we rejoiced with him on the conclusion of the peace, and I, ambassador, told him that he had much increased his repute for goodness and piety by this holy result, and that all Italy remained under obligation to him for this blessed quiet. He replied that I had reason to rejoice at this peace, as your Serenity had been not a little the cause of it, having, indeed, greatly contributed to it. I thanked him, saying he would always be reciprocated. He said he believed it, because the King his Lord wished his victories to promote this end, thinking he could in no way show greater gratitude for so many recent benefits received from His Divine Majesty, than by giving peace and quiet to all; and that, whenever requested, King Philip will show himself very ready, and that he, the Duke, likewise would perform such offices as in his power. Cardinal Montelpulciano then entered the chamber, and his Excellency, after greeting him, having returned to where I was, I asked him when he would depart; he replied, "To-morrow or next day, and I shall go to Naples, and then into Lombardy; I shall take the infantry on galley board, leaving the cavalry in the kingdom of Naples." I then condoled with him on the death of his uncle the Cardinal San Giacomo, and took leave.

Yesterday, in Consistory, the Pope gave account of the peace; he said that he was obliged to the King of France for his promptitude in defending him, wherefore his exertions to retain him as his very dear son would be no less earnest than those he had used to gain King Philip. He proposed two Legates, Cardinal Caraffa to the King Catholic, and Cardinal Trivulzi to the most Christian King, who were to go to their Majesties for the purpose of making peace between them, and giving account of his reasons for sending his nephew to King Philip; he said he did so because that King might, perhaps, have some doubt about his sentiments, and he therefore sent the person most dear to him, *tanquam obsidem voluntatis suæ*, and that it was necessary to dispatch them speedily, lest the course of King Philip's victories not continuing should render him more distrustful of this negotiation. Cardinal Bellai, as "*Decano*," was the first to give his vote; he commended the peace, his Holiness who had embraced it, and both one and the other of the two Kings likewise; he said that it was well done to send the Legates, and to do so speedily;

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and, when about to continue speaking, the Pope commenced tapping on the throne, and told him to hold his tongue, as there being no time for prolixity he must let others have their share, and that he told him this once for all, because he was for ever tedious: "*non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris hirudo*."* The Cardinal, although naturally choleric and vehement, thanked his Holiness for the hint, and ceased speaking.

Yesterday the prisoners, King Philip's subjects, were released, and, to-day, the Lord Camillo Colonna, his wife, his brother, the Archbishop, and the Signor Giuliano Cesarino, their pardon having been asked as a favour by the Duke of Alva; and they all went to pay their respects to Cardinal Caraffa.

I, ambassador, sent my secretary to congratulate Don Garcilasso de la Vega on his release, which compliment pleased him, and he replied that he is infinitely obliged to your Serenity for the many offices performed by you for the peace.

A chapel service was performed to-day to thank the Almighty for the peace, a jubilee also being proclaimed. The Duke of Alva attended the ceremony, and was seated after all the Cardinals above the Duke of Paliano, and as the Duke of Alva's son, Don Fadrique, had not been given any place, the Pope seeing him desired the master of the ceremonies to call him to his Holiness, who made him stand at the foot of the throne above the Marquis of Montebello. After the chapel service, which was not attended by the ambassadors,—nor do I know why they absented themselves, though I very well know that a paroxysm of fever which I had in the past night prevented me from being there,—the Pope gave a dinner to the Cardinals and to the aforesaid Duke, to whom a place was given beyond the table (*fuor della tavola*) opposite the Cardinal "Decano." After dinner the Duke of Alva kissed his Holiness' foot, who said many things in praise of him, and he took leave to depart to-morrow morning.

Yesterday evening rejoicings were made in the city with illuminations and bonfires, and in the Castle by discharges of artillery and fireworks.

Rome, 21st September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1040. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday I received your Serenity's letters of the 30th ultimo, desiring me to condole with the King on the rout of his army, and transmitting the news-letters from Constantinople; so at noon to-day I went to his Majesty, who, in reply to the office performed by me, said you had reason to lament his adversities, as he reciprocated your affection, adding that he thanked you for the satisfaction derived by you from the measures he is now taking. After giving some account of his forces, he said he had sent M. de Termes to Compiègne to inspect that place and to give orders for the accommoda-

* Horace, "*Epistola ad Pisones*," last verse.

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tion of the troops there, and that the enemy's cavalry had made a foray for victuals in that neighbourhood, but did no other damage; and that since the surrender of Han, they were fortifying it with four bulwarks, one of which was the citadel, the King of Spain being also there; they are in like manner fortifying St. Quentin, but it will be a work of time. I inquired what amount of troops the enemy had; his Majesty said, "They have 12,000 cavalry; I do not tell you they are paid, but that they are in being; the infantry on the other hand are much fewer than reported, besides which many are dead, and many have also disbanded, some of their cavalry likewise having come over to me, 70 in one company having passed a few days ago; and the Duke Henry of Brunswick, whom I believe you know, for he is the one who was heretofore in Venice, and then came hither,* has departed with 400 horse, taking with him to Germany the Marshal de St. André and the Count Rhinegrave." His Majesty then added, "I depart to-morrow for St. Germain, and shall stop two or three days on the road, the air in this town being so bad (*essendo in questa Terra tanto mal aere*) that everybody is ill, and I also have had my share of it; the Queen, my daughters, my sisters, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the whole court are indisposed; the Queen must be purged, nor do I choose her by any means to purge herself here." I said that his Majesty would be very glad to depart hence, and that I hoped the Queen and all the rest would soon recover, this being so general a catarrhal indisposition that it has troubled almost all Christendom, I also now suffering from my share of it.

I then asked how the affairs of the Queen of Scotland were proceeding, and his Majesty replied, laughing,† "The Queen is in the field with about 40,000 troops, and has 1,500 Frenchmen who are always in the foremost ranks, and lead (*guidano*) the others, but I have sent them another 2,000 most capital soldiers. Yesterday an individual arrived here from those parts, and his ship being chased he threw the letters addressed to me into the sea, but tells me by word of mouth that the Queen had not taken Berwick (*Barvich*), though she is besieging it, and so closely that the place had been compelled to capitulate if not succoured before the 16th instant; she has indeed taken three or four other places, and was building a fortress near Berwick (*Barvich*), and 11 (*sic*) Englishmen who endeavoured to go in that direction (*a quella parte*) were cut to pieces by the Scots. The Queen of England has sent

* A contemporary portrait of this Duke of Brunswick in armour is still visible in the Loredano Palace (S. Marcuola) in Venice, of which magnificent structure he was the proprietor in the first half of the 16th century, and in my time the building was purchased from the Vendramino family by the late Duchess of Berri.

† Soranzo's despatches from the Court of France illustrate what Brantome wrote about Venetian Ambassadors thus:—"Et c'est pourquoi on louë grandement la naïfveté de ces Gens de Bien, ambassadeurs Vénitiens, lesquels après avoir entretenu le Roi le plus brièvement qu'ils pouvoient de la principale urgence de leurs affaires, ils se mettoient à causer et deviser avec luy fort privement, luy demandant naïfvement comment il se portoit, ce qu'il faisoit, à quoy il passoit le temps, quelquefois luy parloient des Dames; à quoy le Roy (Henri III.) prenoit tous les plaisirs du monde, veu leur naïfveté si douce et debonnaireté si gentile." (*See Œuvres de Brantome*, vol. 6, 1ère partie. Edition à La Haye, 1740.)

1557.

Lord Talbot* into the field with 20,000 men, but they tell me that when things come to a close (*che come le cose si stringano*), it is not known who will have the greater part of those troops, whether it will be the said Queen of England, or rather her of Scotland (*o pur quella di Scotia*), who by sea has done the English so much injury that it is incredible, and I repeat to you incredible (*incredibile*)."

After thanking the King for these communications, I said it was understood that the Pope had made terms, and his Majesty replied, "Last night Signor Giulio Brancatio arrived, having been sent by the Duke de Guise; he left Rome on the 9th, and brings me word that it only remained to make the stipulation; and it seems to me that the Pope has derived fair advantage from it, the treaty containing four articles. That the King of Spain is to restore to his Holiness all the places occupied by him in the States of the Church; that Paliano is to remain to the Duke, but to be dismantled; that the Pope's prisoners in the Castle are to be treated according to law (*ne facci quello vuol la giustizia*), and that towards Papal subjects the Pope is to act as he shall think fit."

I said in reply that this news seemed to me very good on several accounts, but principally because with this commencement it might be hoped that a way would be opened for a general peace, and that I made sure that his Majesty being armed like the King of Spain, that same pious and Christian wish for peace which he had so often and so largely condescended to tell me was entertained by him would revive. To which he said with an open countenance (*con larga ciera*), "When I also shall be armed, and my affairs take a better turn, this matter may be discussed according to opportunity."

I inquired what the stir was on the confines of the Franche Comté, in the county of Ferette. His Majesty said "It is a German (*sic*)† (of the same nature as Marquis Albert was), who has mustered some 6,000 infantry, and from what I can hear, principally for the purpose of plundering and robbing, and I suspect that he will withdraw towards the territory of Metz, and as that see is held by the Cardinal of Lorraine, this may injure him." I asked if he would join the troops of the King of Spain. His Majesty replied, "This I cannot say for certain, but I have indeed received advice that the moneys of the King of Spain have supplied them with one month's pay."‡ I then communicated to his Majesty the contents of the Turkish news-letters, and after thanking him for his usual confidential intelligence I took leave.

The French army will muster at Compiegne, and not here as originally intended, this change being made by the advice of M. de Termes,§ it being much more opportune to keep it at a distance hence, rather than in the rear (*alle spalle*) of this town (*terra*); so

* Francis Talbot, fifth earl of Shrewsbury. See Lodge's "Illustrations of British History" in Collins' Peerage, vol. 3, p. 22.

† Père Daniel (vol. 9, p. 844), says Baron Nicolas de Polvilliers was the subject of the Duke of Savoy.

‡ For the history of this plot, see the despatch of Michiel Surian, dated Brussels 28th November 1557.

§ By name Paul de la Barthe, "Maréchal of France." (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

1557.

orders have been given for all the forces both foreign and native to march in that direction, and on their arrival his Majesty likewise will go thither, though I cannot yet say whether he will take the field or remain in some place near at hand.

The only additional news about M. de Guise is that he was to embark on the 10th, and he is very anxiously expected.

Nothing more than was written in my last has been heard about M. de la Vigne.

This feverish catarrhal indisposition is so general in Paris, that almost everybody is now ill of it, or has already had it; and although very troublesome, few persons die of it as they did when it raged here formerly in 1510; and then, as now, they called it "the hooping cough or chin-cough disease" (*il male della coccolucchia*).^{*} My secretary likewise has had it for the last fortnight, being seriously indisposed, as he still is, but rather better.

Paris, 21st September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1041. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and MARC' ANTONIO DE'FRANCESCHI, Secretary Extraordinary, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday the Duke of Alva supped with Cardinal Pacheco, amongst whose other guests were the Cardinals St. Angelo, "Camerlengo," and Cornaro. His Excellency said much in praise of your Serenity, and that in this peace the King his lord had deferred greatly to your Sublimity's counsels and intercessions. Yesterday morning he dined in like manner with Cardinal Pacheco, and went into the Castle to visit Cardinal Morone, and at 2 p.m. departed hence for Gensano, accompanied beyond the gate by the Cardinals Gadi and Vitelli, and by the Duke of Paliano, the Marquis Montebello, and others.

Rome, 24th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1042. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, the DOGE and SENATE.

The injury done by the inundation of the Tiber becomes daily more manifest, as almost all the houses on its banks are in ruins, or in such a state that unless underpinned (*senza pontelli*) they cannot remain standing. The bridge of Santa Maria, repaired by Julius II., has fallen down; the Island Licaonia, where stood the temple of Esculapius, now of St. Bartholomew, is uninhabited, owing to the destruction of the greater part of the houses, and half of the church likewise has fallen; so the Pope caused there to be carried thither in solemn procession the body of that most holy apostle, and other relics which were in St. Peter's; part of the corridor leading from the palace to the Vatican has fallen, and it is piteous to see the drowned corpses discovered from day to day, the

^{*} "Hooping cough," or *Coqueluche*, in Paris in 1510 and 1557, not then merely "*a juvenile malady*," as commonly supposed.

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property which is understood to have been lost, and the want of all the necessaries of life. Lately Greek wine has been sold for 100 gold crowns the butt.

The Duke of Alva spoke very earnestly (*con molta istanza*) about Cardinal Pole's legation, and concerning the affairs of Cardinal Morone. With regard to the first, his Holiness replied that in due time he will answer the Queen of England; and the English ambassador when talking with me said, "I have nothing from the Pope; during a whole week I wait for audience, and always return home without having it. I seek nothing from his Holiness except that he should answer and declare his mind (*et scuopra l'animo*); this matter might produce greater scandal than is supposed; I know the humours of that kingdom." Then with regard to the second recommendation in favour of Cardinal Morone, the Pope said that his Excellency might well imagine that a great personage, such as a cardinal, is not arrested unless for things of very great importance, as is that of religion, and that he will show the Duke the process drawn up against him.

Rome, 25th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1043. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope having appointed 2 p.m. to-day for my audience, and there being in the audience chamber six cardinals and the English ambassador, I determined first of all to visit the Duke of Paliano, whom I congratulated in your Serenity's name on the conclusion of the peace, saying that from this the general peace might be expected. He replied, thanking your Serenity for this compliment, and saying that the Almighty knew, and that men of the world (*e gli huomini del mondo*) could bear witness, how much he had always sought this peace, and how from the beginning he disapproved of the war and gave advice to the contrary; and that when he heard the Pope—who, had he not undertaken war would have been tremendous (*saria stato tremendo*), as he might have said, *quis arguet me de peccato?*—at table after dinner, utter those invectives against the Imperialists, and speak as he did in public, it broke his heart, but he could do nothing more in the matter. He then commenced blaming the league made in France by his brother, Cardinal Caraffa, saying that the articles were so foolish (*così sciocchi*) that were they shown me I should laugh at them. He blamed the office performed with your Serenity by Cardinal Caraffa, saying it was unworthy either of a Pope or of a Cardinal, as it was unbecoming for either of them to kindle the flame in Italy. He said it was blameable for the Duke de Guise on his arrival here to invade the neighbouring territory, instead of recovering in the first place the States of the Church; adding how impolitic it was to send the Marquis his son to France, when he Paliano returned from the Duke de Guise, after persuading him to remain, although recalled by the most Christian King; and that he had stayed the despatch of his son the Marquis to France, because although he was not sent as a hostage, the King

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nevertheless might perhaps not let him return until he first saw how things were proceeding, although the Pope demanded him, and that he should be accompanied by the son of Marquis Montebello; and the galleys had gone to fetch him, as the King on many accounts entertained suspicion, which will increase when he hears of the appointment to Flanders of Cardinal Caraffa, the Pope having said yesterday that he chose the Marquis his brother to go with him, which thing the Duke of Paliano dissuaded them from, by saying that should his Holiness choose to remain neutral he must not give cause for suspicion to the King of France; that if King Philip wished to give employment to the Marquis, he did not see how the Pope could consent to it without showing himself partial; to which his Holiness merely replied, that he had not anticipated such advice from him, and that he chose the Marquis by all means to go, and fell into a rage (*e s'alterò*); so the Duke of Paliano merely replied that his Holiness was to do as he pleased, but that from him he would always hear his true opinion, whereupon he quitted the Pope's chamber, nor has he ever returned thither; adding, that for himself, although he had received nothing from the King of France but the Order of St. Michael, and that the promises made to him about donatives and pensions lacked performance, yet, nevertheless, so long as he wore that collar round his neck he would never do any disservice to the said King, and that on the contrary, were he not bound to the Pope he would go and serve him in this his need, so that were the opportunity to present itself for remaining free, he should wish to be able to return that collar to his Majesty quite unsullied, as it is not a perpetuity, but at the option of him who gives it, and of him who receives it, as besides the obligation of the Order, although he accepted it against his own wish, to obey the Pope, it seemed to him that he was bound to serve the King in this necessity, for his having willed to assist his Holiness; coming to the conclusion that he had chosen to tell me these things that I might know his mind, and impart it to your Serenity, in such form as not to be divulged, his honour and his interests demanding secrecy.

Having thanked the Duke for this communication, assuring him that your Serenity would keep it secret, I then went to the Pope, who had not yet entered the audience chamber, where the six Cardinals (amongst whom was Cardinal Pacheco) and the English ambassador had remained waiting for him. Cardinal Pacheco was the first to have audience, which was very long, for he also introduced Don Garcilasso to kiss his Holiness' foot. After them Sir Edward Carne approached his Holiness, and urged him for his decision about the legation for Cardinal Pole. The Pope replied that the very important business transacted during the last few days had been the cause of this delay, but that he would give him a final reply (*l'espedirìa*) as soon as possible. The ambassador rejoined, and the Pope answered desiring him to have patience, as care for the universal Church took precedence of the individual care to be had for that of one kingdom. (*Et il Papa respose c'havesse pazienza, perchè la cura della Chiesa universale, andava avanti la particular d'un Regno.*) The ambassador said that the Queen marvelled at such long delay, to which his Holiness answered angrily (*con alteratione*),

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"*Nos multo magis miramur de istâ festinatione importundâ,* as we choose to have before our eyes the honour of God, and the integrity (*l'integrità*) of the Catholic faith. In due time the determination will be made, and the state of the case announced to you, as we said, and we will give advice to the Queen. As for our wish, we should have replied on the first day, but the matter being important we choose to form the resolution with the counsel of our brothers the Cardinals;" and with this he dismissed the ambassadors and called me. I told him with how much satisfaction your Serenity had heard the news of the peace, and how earnestly you desired me to congratulate him on it in your name. The Pope said, "The Signory rejoices at the fruit of her own works and of yours," and I rejoined that your Serenity hoped that from this would proceed the universal peace, to the immortal glory of his Holiness. He replied that never within the last 50 years had there been so much hope of this blessing as at present; that his Holiness would not fail to further it, even at personal risk, aged and infirm as he was, adding, 'We have therefore appointed the Legates, our nephew to the one, and your Cardinal (meaning Trivulzi) to the other;' and then, after commending his Holiness, I took leave.

Rome, 25th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(3rd letter.)

1044. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Besides what is written in the public letters, Cardinal Sforza told my secretary that the Duke of Alba has much at heart the expedition against the Duke of Ferrara, because he knows that all the trouble he had in this war proceeded from him, and he brands him with great ingratitude (et li da nota di molto ingrato) towards the Emperor and King Philip, who at all times have conferred divers favours and benefits on him; and, continuing this topic, he in like manner said to my secretary that no one knew better than Marquis Montebello how much blame attached itself to the Duke of Ferrara for this war, because at the commencement of these disturbances, when the Pope sent the Marquis to Ferrara, and whilst he was with that Duke, news arrived of the truce between France and Spain, and the Duke said to him that it was to be feared the Imperialists would turn against his Holiness or against his Excellency, and that as the league with France was not signed, they would remain without assistance, and thus, at the persuasion of the Duke of Ferrara, Cardinal Caraffa went to France. My secretary also having said to Montebello, "Now that his Holiness has become the common father, their most illustrious Lordships will adjust their family affairs," was answered that this could not be done until the arrival at King Philip's court of his brother the Cardinal.

Don Garcilasso [de la Vega], in talking with me, even after the conclusion of the peace, evinced dissatisfaction with the Caraffas (mala satisfation di questi signori), and that sheer necessity induced them to make it. He narrated to me much maltreatment experienced by him during his imprisonment, and that in all his examinations

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their sole aim was that his words might enable them to arrest Cardinal Pacheco, and some other person (et qualche altro),* whom they supposed to be a favourer of the Imperial party; adding, "You also know how many good offices Pacheco performed, and how he had been good cause of effecting the peace (et come è stato bona causa di condur la pace a fine); and that the Duke of Alva, who is so grave and discreet, could not but marvel at Cardinal Caraffa's mode of proceeding, so contrary throughout to what becomes a negotiation of such great importance."

The Duke of Urbino's ambassador told me that he heard on very good authority, though he would not mention any name, that when the Pope was talking with the Duke of Alva in favour of the Duke of Ferrara, his Excellency said to his Holiness that he should remember he was speaking in favour of one who possessed two cities to which this see had greater right than he has, which silenced the Pope, nor did he proceed any farther.

It is my duty to inform your most excellent Lordships of all I hear and from whom, so I will add that the Duke of Ferrara's ambassador, in a conversation I had with him, said, "The Pope and these kinsfolk of his also, wish us to believe that they have performed warm offices for us, and I know, through a good channel, that they spoke very coldly, which I have in like manner given my master to understand."

Rome, 25th September 1557.

[Italian.]

Sept. 25.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(4th letter.)

1045. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Besides what I write by the public letters, the Duke of Paliano said that his brother the Cardinal had made a writing with the Duke of Alva, whereby it was declared that the trustee (che il confidente)† was to remain six months in Paliano, during which interval compensation in the kingdom of Naples was to be proposed for Paliano, about which should there be any dispute as to whether it was equivalent, your Sublimity was to be the arbitrator; that on the expiration of the six months the said Carbone (esso Carbone) was to dismantle and go out of it; that of this writing the Pope knew nothing whatever, and that, therefore, he (Paliano) was not agreed (d'accordo) with the Cardinal, and had not consented to it, nor would he make a letter of attorney (far procura) although the Cardinal sent to ask him for it by Cardinal Vitelli when he went to speak to him in Santa Croce in Hierusalem, because it did not seem fit to him to dispose, without the knowledge and consent of the Pope and of the College of Cardinals, of a state received by him from his Holiness, and from their right reverend and most illustrious Lordships, as it would be a more treasonable act than that of Marc' Antonio Colonna; that he had, indeed, rejoiced at the peace, to obtain which he would have given the State of Paliano and his own life, but not that they

* Pietro Bertano, Cardinal of Fano? (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," pp. 329, 330, date August 21, 1557.)

† It has been seen, date 18th September (p. 1317), that this trustee was Gio. Bernardo Carbone.

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should make him do unworthy acts, and to the prejudice of his honour, and, therefore, to the Cardinal his brother, who even yesterday had asked him for a letter of attorney to ratify the agreement, he denied it him, and gave him clearly to understand that if the Pope and the College of Cardinals were not of his opinion, and consented to deprive him of Paliano, he would never agree to it; that with regard to your Serenity's determining the compensation, he was quite content, because in your hands he would place the State, his children, and his life, but that he knew not how they could depute your Serenity as arbitrator, without your having given your consent, nor accepting the charge. To this I replied that such was the truth, as none of your ministers either knew of such an office, nor had they sought it; and that everybody knowing how his Excellency had always solicited the peace, I hoped that no difficulty would be raised by him about so signal a benefit.

He rejoined that the desire for this peace had kept him silent, but that he did not see how he could assent to the Cardinal's opinion, unless the Pope knew it; adding that he wished the State of Paliano to be given to the See Apostolic; and that he himself should receive for compensation, although it was greatly inferior, the Duchy of Camerino, because he would then make a matrimonial relationship with the Duke of Urbino, his daughter marrying his Excellency's son, the State of Camerino being thus established in his (Paliano's) family; he knowing that the Church never deprives anyone of their property without a cause, and that therefore one single stone in the Papal States was held in greater account than a house in the kingdom of Naples, for which reason he declined any compensation that could be given him there as an equivalent, adding, "Lord Ambassador, I will moreover tell you that in like manner as you have seen the Pope from the French point of view (*dalla punta Francese*) so will you see him Imperialist, and that he will hold the former his enemies, and these others but little his friends (*per poco amici*), for I see well what road they are taking; changes do not please me, I never made them in my youth, still less should I choose to do so now when I am some years beyond my fortieth." He then said to me concerning the Marquis [Montebello] his brother that he was resolute and valiant, but indiscreet, and that it did not suffice to knock one's head against the wall, as even madmen do that; that the Marquis being under control might succeed, but would do no good if left to himself, because he was pugnacious with the saints as well as with the devils; adding that he had chosen to tell me these things that I might warn your Serenity of them, so that at any rate being thus informed, you might better know how to regulate yourself.

Rome, 25th September 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1046. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Nevers is at Compiègne with 10,000 French infantry, some 5,000 cavalry, and 6,000 Switzers, the regiment

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of Germans being expected in three or four days, as also the 4,000 Switzers from Piedmont; but the 8,000 others who have commenced their march cannot be there so speedily, and the cavalry will be reinforced so as to form a total of 7,000 horse. Besides these troops, so many have been distributed in the fortresses that they are all said to be safe; and amongst the others, the 3,000 Germans who saved themselves at the rout of St. Quentin are now defending Amiens.

Nothing is heard about the enemy except that they are continuing the fortifications commenced by them, and that they make frequent incursions; 300 Burgundian horse having a few days ago entered Noyon with the white crosses, and finding about 150 French cavalry in the place, they routed and brought them away prisoners.

M. de Guise arrived at Marseilles on the 20th, so he is expected here from hour to hour; *and his Excellency's arrival being apparently too long delayed, they were already intent on despatching M. de la Vigne, but it is now said that he might await the Duke's coming before he departs.*

I wrote the proposal made by the King to the Duke of Ferrara, about the French infantry in Italy, under the Duke d'Aumale; and subsequently his Majesty consented to the stay there of the cavalry likewise, the cost of which he promised to pay the Duke of Ferrara in ready money; and for the reimbursement of the cost of the infantry he offered him assignments (*assegnamenti*) in any part of France he pleased. *The language which the Duke had used (l'à fatto usare) to the King on this subject was very strong, and from what I hear he even dropped some hint of inclination towards an agreement with the King of England, which agreement many persons believe would easily be accepted by his Excellency, could he obtain fair terms.*

I have written several times about the stir on the confines of the Franche Comté, and I have now heard that the most Christian King sent to all the cantons, and especially to Zurich and Berne, which have no alliance with him, to know how they could permit hostilities in that territory (*paese*) contrary to that county's treaty with their cantons; and they replied that they were ready to resist any stir (*moto*) by force of arms; and had it intimated to the governors of the Franche Comté, that unless they desisted from hostilities, the cantons would consider their treaty with them broken, and that they also would arm: so certain Savoyard gentlemen who were the chiefs of the stir,* and had an understanding with other troops in the county of Ferette, a muster being made there also, were dismissed the territory; and the aforesaid troops of the county of Ferette turned towards Germany, and according to report have crossed the Rhine on their march towards Metz.

The King will be at St. Germain to-morrow evening, and I shall follow him as usual though not very strong, my secretary being less

* See Surian, Brussels, date 28th November 1557 (2nd letter).

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so, as he is still rather fevered, and therefore I write this letter with my own hand.

Paris, 26th September 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1047. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In my former letters I announced the coming of M. de la Vigne, who was sent hither by Sultan Soliman to offer his most Christian Majesty his fleet for next year, and a very efficient army by land for the invasion of Hungary, with the intention of entering Germany; and that in return he merely wished King Henry to promise him not to make any agreement with the King of England. I then wrote in like manner that at such an important conjuncture these offers had proved most agreeable; and that as a very great secret, I had been warned that King Henry considering that the expedition against Hungary and Germany did not do much harm to the King of England, he not being charged with the defence of the Empire as his father the Emperor was; and that besides this, his most Christian Majesty having much at heart that Germany should not remain dissatisfied with him, for the causes which I then wrote; consultations were held about proposing another expedition to the Sultan, which being performed by naval and military forces might cause more trouble and detriment to the King of England, and that therefore King Henry inclined towards the Naples expedition with a mind to exhort the Sultan to send the army as far as "La Valona"† and to have it ferried thence by his fleet to the kingdom of Naples. I also wrote that his most Christian Majesty wished to be accommodated by the Sultan with a considerable loan of money,‡ to continue the war, as being a loser, he found his kingdom exhausted. I also wrote in like manner, that the reason for delaying this, was the King's wish for the arrival here of the Duke de Guise; but he having got to Marseilles indisposed, and being therefore unable to come on immediately, his Majesty has not chosen any longer to delay the despatch of the said M. de la Vigne, who took leave of the King yesterday and will depart to-morrow. From what I have been able to elicit, he is to thank the Sultan for his offers, and to propose to him to send his fleet for the Naples expedition; and as King Henry wishes to send a powerful army of his own likewise into Italy for this purpose, and finds his Treasury much exhausted (et si trova molto esausta di denari), he prays the Lord Turk (il Signor Turco) to accommodate him with as large a sum of money as he shall please, that they may be able together to attend briskly (gagliardamente) to this undertaking, on which terms (con il che) King Henry promises not to come to any agreement with King Philip; but with regard to the loan principally, the ambas-*

* Letter not found.

† Avlona, or Valona, on the gulf of that name, in Rumelia.

‡ Letter not found.

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sador is commissioned to use all diligence to obtain it. Through another channel I hear that his most Christian Majesty also exhorts the Sultan to send an army overland (da terra) into Italy; but for this I cannot vouch. I also understand that should the ambassador be unable to obtain what is aforesaid, he is to accept what he can get, it being thought that to make Sultan Soliman take the field cannot but prove very advantageous for King Henry, whether he continue the war or negotiate an agreement; but being armed, it seems to me that the most prudent persons (che li più prudenti) expect him to adhere to the expedition; and although I am certain that your Serenity will keep all this secret as becoming, I nevertheless with all respect beseech you so to do.

Paris, 27th December 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. 29.
Secreti Senato.
Register,
vol. 70.
p. 122 tergo.

1048. MOTION made in the SENATE for a Letter to the Venetian Ambassador resident with the most Serene King Catholic.

By letters from our ambassador at Rome, dated the 12th instant, we were advised of the conclusion of the peace between the Pope and his Catholic Majesty, which has brought us very great comfort; wherefore we, with the Senate, charge you to proceed to his Majesty and congratulate him in our name on this felicitous and desired result, from which we trust that universal peace will ensue. You will then rejoice at the acquisition of St. Quentin, and of those other places taken by his Majesty, assuring him that from all his successes we feel such pleasure and contentment as becoming our friendship.

Ayes, 210. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 3.

[Italian.]

Sept. 30.
Original
Despatch
Venetian
Archives.

1049. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having received your Serenity's letters of the 18th, with the advices from Constantinople, I went yesterday to the King, after the dinner given by him as usual to the Knights of St. Michael; and having made the communication to the Cardinal of Lorraine, he introduced me to the King, to whom I repeated it. His Majesty told me that he had but little news, as the King of Spain had not left Han, and continued fortifying the place with four bulwarks, but that they did not work as diligently as they might, the fortifications hitherto being but little above ground, nor had they made any preparation for digging the moats. That Don Ruy Gomez had arrived with the report of bringing a great sum of gold, but his Majesty was assured it did not exceed 600,000 crowns, though he had indeed brought very many lords and gentlemen; and that there was doubtless a great scarcity of money in the army, the soldiers not receiving their pay, so the Germans were greatly exasperated, many of them departing. That the English had left, except a few cavalry, their Queen being much harassed by her of Scotland (da quella de Scotia), who on the 2nd of next month was to cross

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the river with 40,000 men and enter England; that Berwick was not taken, but that the Queen of Scotland was building a fortress which would greatly hamper it (*che lo teneria molto stretto*); and that her troops had had several skirmishes with the English and always defeated them. I asked what number of troops the Queen of England had, and his Majesty said: "She does her utmost to get together the greatest amount she can, but encounters many difficulties, and on this account has chosen her troops to return thither."

Then continuing the conversation, his Majesty said: "At Verberie, a place two leagues from Compiègne, where my army is mustering, 5,000 Germans have arrived, and the 6,000 Switzers are a short way off waiting for the review, which will be made in two or three days, and they will then join together; and in the meanwhile the 4,000 on their march from Piedmont will arrive, I having sent to hasten them, and also the other 7,000 who were raised lately, though these last must be a little later, but they nevertheless will come at the fitting season." His Majesty then added: "That individual, by name Birboghier [Polvilliers?], who, as I told you, raised those 6,000 German infantry in the State of Ferette, has arrived in the territory of Metz, and does much damage (*molt ; danni*) most especially to the priests; he has some cannons with him, but not very large ones, and 400 cavalry, although he hoped to have 1,000, but after he had raised 600, a German captain, by name Cosmo Hans, would not follow him against me; and I will tell you that this person was a prisoner here in France, and hearing that he was a captain of good quality, with many followers, but poor, I chose to pay his ransom of 500 crowns, and sent him away free, mindful of which he has willed to return the courtesy I showed him by not choosing to come with his troops to ravage my territory. This soldiery, however, will be unable to do anything, for I have garrisoned the fortresses in that quarter with the 2,000 Germans who were coming, so everything is secured; but this man is a Lutheran thirsting for rapine, and will do much mischief to the priests and the churches, though he will not care to attempt any fortified town."

Having replied to this becomingly, I asked when the Duke de Guise would be here. His Majesty said, "He is to arrive at Lyons to-day, and is very well, and will embark on the Loire and then perform his short remaining journey postwise, so that we may expect him in eight days." When I commended his Excellency greatly for the prudence and ability which it was the general opinion he had exhibited in Italy, the King seemed much pleased with my discourse, and said that it was impossible to praise him enough, he having conducted his negotiations so well as he had done, notwithstanding the numerous impediments and vexations to which he had been subjected, and that to have overcome them all was no small matter." His Majesty dilating much upon this subject, said, "*If we had had to do with a King, or with a Republic, experienced in affairs of State, matters would be situated otherwise than they are; but it is a vast undertaking to commence state rule in decrepitude, with so much disunion amongst all the ministers, who, on account of their own personal interests and differences, never let the*

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*Pope know how anything stood; and so as not to tell you old stories I will only mention this one, that the loss of Anagni was not known to the Pope until eight days after it happened; nor yet the condition in which Paliano found itself; my ambassador being the person who told him the whole. There is no occasion to tell you the rest as I suppose you are very well acquainted with it; they even wished to cut each other's throats."**

The King then talked about the devastation caused by the Tiber, and the bad condition of everything in Rome, so that it must be admitted that the Pope has made a very good agreement; his Majesty thus ending the conversation. Seeing him attired in his flowing mantle of the order of St. Michael, thinking it might tire him, I said I thought it was time for him to unrobe, and that therefore I would no longer weary him; so returning the usual thanks in your Serenity's name I took leave.

His Majesty despatched a courier yesterday to M. d'Aumale with an especial order, in case the Duke of Ferrara had need of troops to leave him ten ensigns of Frenchmen, five of Switzers, and the company of 100 men-at-arms of the Prince of Ferrara, his son, and even more should his Excellency have need of a greater number for his defence; but it is again confirmed to me that the Duke of Ferrara must pay the infantry, the King remaining his debtor for their cost, and M. d'Aumale will come to the court postwise. The rest of the forces, horse and foot, not required for the Ferrarese will return, as his Majesty does not choose them to be broken, but that they do come as soon as possible to join the army, which, as written by me long ago, will number from 36 to 40 thousand infantry, and some 7,000 cavalry; but nothing will be decided about their operations until the arrival of the Duke de Guise, when the King will push on to Senlis, where he will be at a distance of six leagues from the army. He will not go thither, but give it in charge to M. de Guise; neither is it expected to be in marching order before the middle of October.

Poissy, 30th September 1557.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Sept. ?†

1050. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

MS., St. Mark's
Library, p. 222,
verso;
no date.
Printed in
Vol. 5, pp. 25-26.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli," &c.,
without any date.

By so much the more did Pole rejoice to hear of the peace made between the Pope and the Catholic King, as he saw that by so calamitous a war the Christian commonwealth and the Church were daily threatened with greater dangers; and in like manner as he prayed God for it incessantly, so did he never cease exhorting everybody, including the King himself, not only to accept any tolerable terms offered him, but to endeavour by all means to effect it, as on whatever conditions peace were made with such a father, it would

* "Si hanno voluto sino ammazzare uno con l'altro." This alludes to a violent scene in the Caraffa-garden in Trastevere, when Cardinal Caraffa flew at the throat of the Duke of Paliano, the two brothers being separated by Marshal Strozzi, as recorded by me in a letter of Navagero's dated 5th August 1557.

† The peace between Paul IV. and King Philip was stipulated on the 12th September 1557. (See Andrea Morosini, vol. 2, p. 293.)

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be honourable to himself and before man, and always acceptable to God. The King's words, however, proceeding always from a pious and sincere mind, showed that he had no need of exhortation from Pole or others, as sufficiently proclaimed by the peace now made. Pole was especially grieved by this war, because God had permitted the peace-maker appointed by him for all wars to be one of the belligerents, thus threatening an irreconcilable war without hope of peace; he who might have mediated being alienated (*abalienato*) and drawn into the war, than which there could be no greater proof of God's wrath against us. That was the chief cause of sorrow and dread to pious Christians; but as the mediator for peace is now reconciled and restored to us by divine mercy, this is the chief cause of our rejoicing, and we give thanks to the divine mercy and to your Holiness, and congratulate the entire Christian republic. Although so long as war continues between King Philip and France, Christendom cannot enjoy the full fruit, yet the present peace between the Pope and King Philip may be hoped, like the vine, to throw its shoots far and wide, and to embrace the whole Christian world. Pole is led to hope this, as he sees that the Pope is now most holily meditating and carrying it into effect by appointing legates to both Kings, and as the most Christian King was so united with the Pope in war, it is not hopeless that he should share his Holiness's pacific counsels. The Pope has experience of King Philip's inclination towards this peace, about which, when sending news of it to the Queen, he wrote that of all the recent great and prosperous events which God had granted him in this war, from none had he derived so much pleasure as from the peace made with the Pope, all which he attributed in the first place to the Queen's pious prayers, than which nothing could better indicate her piety and her mind, which were entirely devoted to counsels of peace. If ever at any time, the present necessities of the Christian commonwealth, now in such affliction, and most especially their own piety, invite both Kings to make peace. Pole prays God to grant the Pope this triumph, and very long to preserve him for similar victories.

[Lambeth, September 1557?]

[*Latin.*]

Oct. 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1051. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

For the cause written in my last, Cardinal Caraffa and Paliano have during the last few days been very angry with each other, strange words passing between them, each party drawing up writings to be shown to the Pope, whereby the one revealed the other's defects; notwithstanding which, on the day before yesterday, the Duke told my secretary that he (Paliano) had by reason (con ragion) convinced the Cardinal his brother, saying to him, "Either you have been empowered to promise (ð voi havete potuto prometter) what you have promised about Paliano or not; and I either am or am not bound to confirm it, or rather to express myself better, either I can or cannot consent to it, to my honour and profit.

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Let us have cognizance of the matter taken by two auditors di Rota (faciamo che lo conoscano dui auditori di Rota), one of whom to be Antonio Augustini who has such high repute in this [juridical] profession, and is Spanish (et è Spagnuolo); the other to be Fantuccio. Should they say that I can and ought to ratify what you have promised, I will do so; should they indeed determine contrariwise, we will give it to be understood to the Duke of Alva, sending him the identical deliberation of the auditors, and letting him know that to do otherwise would be our ruin, as the Pope would be the man to punish us without any respect; nor for this reason would he do any good to the person to whom Paliano might be given, the renunciation not being made in due form, as known to me by experience, for a feudatory of my State of Montorio having disposed of the fief without my knowledge I deprived him of it, and then being compelled by a person who had influence with me to pardon him, I was nevertheless forced to give him a good investiture as to a person who by right had lapsed from it (come à persona che di region ne era ricaduta); and the like would befall me were I to decide anything about the State of Paliano without the knowledge of the Pope and of the College of Cardinals who gave it me;" adding that it was credible the Duke of Alva would be content with these reasons, especially when told that some other provision will be made, so that all parties will have their intent. He said that to this the Cardinal assented, and answered him that would they had spoken together in this form at the beginning, as there would not have been so many disputes (tanti rumori) between them.

Rome, 2nd October 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1052. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since my last of the 26th ulto.* nothing else of importance has happened save that the fortification of Han† is being continued with very great diligence, and towards the middle of the month will be in a state of defence, and inexpugnable from its position and structure.

The King has not chosen to depart thence lest his absence slacken the works, which whilst he is on the spot proceed most diligently, many of the soldiers working at the fortifications, following the example of their chiefs, who not only urge and command them, but do many things with their own hands. When the place is in a state of defence his Majesty will return hither, where they are already preparing apartments and other necessities for the Court, which is much more numerous than usual, so many personages having come from several quarters for this undertaking, and his Majesty is expected here on the 20th instant.

* Not found.

† Ham, in Père Daniel (vol. 9, p. 843), but in "Foreign Calendar, Mary," p. 335, there is a letter dated "Camp, Han-sur-Somme," 19th September 1557, so perhaps the name was spelt both ways.

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The greater part of the army is round Han, but does not cease making forays daily, not only in the neighbouring places but also at a distance, so that they obtain immense booty, all the passes being open, and not meeting with impediment anywhere; the French being thus disheartened by defeat, though no important expedition is undertaken; but a few days ago it being heard that the French had re-entered Noyon with six ensigns of infantry, two standards of cavalry, and some pieces of artillery, and that they had captured and killed a few Spaniards who were there, the Duke of Savoy moved in that direction with part of the camp infantry and almost all the cavalry, so that here news of some skirmish was expected, because Noyon not being able to hold out, it was supposed that the French who returned thither had forces in their rear; but news came this morning that on hearing of the Duke's march they did not wait for him, and abandoned the place, so that his Excellency returned to Han with all the troops.

As to attempting a fresh expedition this year, no one either believes or talks of it, but his Majesty will attend solely to the defence of the places gained, guarding Han, St. Quentin, and Catelet, he having so extended his frontiers, and advanced so far into the enemy's territory, that he cannot be considered to have done but little. *The report of his Majesty's going to Spain in the spring still continues.*

Brussels, 2nd October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 2.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1053. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Besides the caresses bestowed here by the Pope on the Duke of Alva, he sent the Rose to the Lady Duchess, his consort, and its bearer, the Signor Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, departed hence on Tuesday.

Yesterday, in consistory, the Pope said that the war had been waged owing to misinformation (*mala informatione*) received by him about King Philip and the Duke of Alva, both of whom he, in truth, subsequently knew to be his obedient sons and excellently disposed towards him, dilating much in praise of them. His Holiness then continued that these hostilities had subjected Rome to such distress and peril as were but too well known universally, and that they and the recent inundation of the Tiber were admonitions from the Almighty for the correction and emendation of the errors of all men, and that therefore thanking His Divine Majesty for having chosen to admonish, and not to punish utterly, it was necessary in acknowledgment for this mercy, not to be deaf to His voice; so his Holiness exhorted such of their right reverend Lordships as lived becomingly to continue thus to do, and counselled the others, who sinned like human beings, to mend their ways, saying that he would be the first to commence and reform himself; to which effect he intended (*havea in animo*) to elect six of their number to investigate whether what had been ordained hitherto for the reform was suitable (*stavano bene*), and that together with him they might provide for what re-

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mained to be done, they being authorised to change the amendments hitherto made should it seem fit to them.

After this the Pope was about to confirm the appointment of the Archbishop of Cologne, who is usually elected by the Chapter, but when his letter was opened in consistory with the signature "Elect of Cologne, Elector of the Empire," his Holiness became so enraged that he would not even allow the letter to be read.

Rome, 2nd October 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1054. MICHAEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The advices of peace with the Pope have arrived, and King Philip is extremely glad, he having always deprecated war with his Holiness. *I am assured that King Philip sent lately an express order to the Duke of Alva to do his utmost to induce his Holiness to make peace, and not to regard his Majesty's advantage in the least, nor to stand on punctilio (nè si curasse di star sull' honorevole), but to humour the Pope in everything. Now that the affair is settled so much to the honour and advantage of this side (perhaps because that order did not arrive in time), it may be credited that the satisfaction has been much greater, his Majesty's repute augmenting so extraordinarily, to the detriment of his enemies, most especially through the coming of Cardinal Caraffa, who is expected here soon.*

King Philip has given the archbishopric of Toledo to the reverend Dominican friar the Spaniard Bartolomè de Caranza, a man of low birth, but very learned, good, and honest.* He was heretofore the confessor of the Count de Feria, who, through his authority with the King, gave him precedence over everybody, *including his Majesty's own confessor, who had reason to hope for it more than any one else, but is not in favour with the Count, because he openly blamed the cession of Sienna to the Duke of Florence, of which Count Feria was the principal author*; so Miranda has become the richest prelate in Christendom.

The King has also given Count de Feria a commandery yielding 14,000 crowns, and an adelantadoship (*un adelantado*) in Spain, of equal or greater value, to Don Ruy Gomez.

Brussels, 3rd October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1055. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King's chief project is to harass the King of England with the greatest possible number of forces, in as many quarters as may be in his power, with the hope that King Philip being compelled

* Bartolomè Carranza de Miranda. In the 5th volume of the Brescian edition of Cardinal Pole's Letters (pp. 67, 68), there is one dated London, 28th September 1557, in which he congratulates Miranda on this appointment. See note, 17th November 1557, *post*.

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to divide his forces, will be inferior to his enemy everywhere, and in Picardy the King will quarter the army in great force, believing that King Philip will keep the greater part of his forces in these parts. He also intends to harass the kingdom of England by means of the Queen of Scotland [Marie de Lorraine], it seeming to him that great progress may be made in that quarter, both from the disunion of the English, as also from the weakness of the kingdom, and especially at this moment, when King Philip being occupied in so many directions for the protection and defence of his own states, Queen Mary cannot hope that much succour will be sent her by her consort; so his most Christian Majesty will not fail to aid the Scottish invasion with additional men and money, and he will also send fresh troops to Piedmont, and make such progress in the Milanese as practicable. I understand that the Ambassador Vigna will represent all these things to Sultan Soliman, praying him most especially to accommodate the King with as large a sum of money as shall please him (de quella maggior somma de denari che gli piacerà), because this kingdom having continued the war for so long a time in so many quarters, and the King now again, wishing to execute what is aforesaid, requires chiefly pecuniary assistance. He will also request the Sultan to send his fleet towards Italy, with such a number of troops for a landing as shall seem fit to him, not only for the purpose of harassing the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and the whole coast of the Mediterranean, but Spain likewise, thus compelling the King of England to garrison all the aforesaid seashore, and to scatter his forces in such a way as to give King Henry greater hope of effecting some important enterprise. I, nevertheless, have no authentic assurance that the King intends to send a fresh army into Italy at present, as reported lately, when it was said that he would thus take advantage of the Turkish fleet, but as aforesaid will merely add to his forces in Piedmont. The Sultan's reply is doubtful, but I hear for certain that Vigna has very large orders to satisfy him to the utmost, provided he lend a considerable sum of money, as with regard to the putting to sea of the fleet, they seem sure of that, not only from the offers brought by Vigna, but also owing to the rout of the Constable, which took place after his departure from Constantinople, and when known to Sultan Soliman, it is believed that he will be by so much the more inclined to assist King Henry.*

The troops of the King of Spain are continuing as usual the fortifications commenced by them, and according to report here, it seems that they are commencing a retreat, having already sent the heavy artillery to Cambrai, and a certain number of troops have departed; but what increases the belief in their intention to retire,

* When this demand for a loan of two millions of gold arrived at Constantinople, the Bashaw Rusten said to the Venetian "Bailo," Barbarigo, "Lookye, these people want to make war, and have no money, and although they have not paid what they owe for the cost of the fleet, they moreover ask us for two millions of gold." Whereupon the "Bailo" remarked that Sultan Soliman loved and esteemed the French so far as it suited his own convenience. (See "Le Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti edite da Eugenio Alberi," series 3, vol. 3, pp. 158, 159.)

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is that they have burned Noyon, and laid waste the whole territory as far as that place, which they had hitherto always abstained from doing.

On this side the 6,000 Switzers have arrived at Compiègne, where there are already 18,000 infantry, including French and Germans, with a good number of . . . * [horse?]. Fresh troops still continue to arrive, and the provisions for the artillery, victuals, and every other requisite are already almost in order, and on the coming of the Duke de Guise, which will take place in three or four days, the King is expected to go to Senlis, where such resolve will be formed about the march of the army as shall seem most expedient. The 4,000 Switzers who came from Piedmont are also a short way off, and in a few days will join the other troops.

From what I hear the Queen [Regent] of Scotland has asked his most Christian Majesty for 10,000 infantry and a certain number of horse, so it was determined to send her eight ensigns and 150 light cavalry, the captains having been despatched, and orders sent to Brittany to form the companies. I have heard that on the arrival of these troops in Scotland, which cannot take place for two months, the King will send a fresh reinforcement of at least equal amount, for, the winter season being near at hand, they would be of little use in that cold climate. There was also a talk of sending M. de Termes on that expedition, he having been there heretofore, when he made himself popular with the Scots, and now is considered very fit to rule them; but it seems that at present the discourse has cooled, though towards the spring he likewise might be sent thither.

Poissy, 4th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 6? 1056. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.†

MS. St. Mark's
Library, Cod.
XXIV. Cl. X.
p. 187 recto
e verso.

With all due reverence I kiss your Majesty's hand on such good and auspicious news (*et infelice* (sic) *nova*), as communicated to me at this hour in your name by the Regent Figueroa, to the effect that the agreement has been concluded between your Majesty and the Pope's Holiness, for which not Italy alone, but all Christendom have such great cause to congratulate themselves, and return thanks to God. I have received therefrom still more complete consolation and gladness, from hearing through your own letter written to the Regent, the great satisfaction felt by your Majesty, preferring it to all the other auspicious events which God has conceded you, as in addition to the other testimonials, it may serve as a very great one of the piety and excellent disposition of your Majesty, who, to say the truth, without this agreement, could not with

* Blank in MS.

† Letter without any date of time or place, but I derive both from Machyn, in whose Diary, p. 154, is the following entry:—

"1557. The vi day of october cam a comondement in-to London that evere parryche shuld make bon-fyers and ryngyng that the pope and the emperowr be fryndes and louers, and the ware [war] endyd be-twyn them."

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reason fully enjoy any other success. Immediately on hearing this news, the most serene Queen chose it to be announced to all the bishops of the kingdom, that in like manner as they prayed, and had prayers made to our Lord God for this, so should they return due thanks for the Divine goodness; praying which to content, favour, and prosper your Majesty, for the benefit and quiet of Christendom, I humbly kiss your hand.

[London, 6th October 1557.]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1057. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday, in consistory, the cross was given to Cardinal Caraffa for his legation, the election of the Archbishop of Cologne being also confirmed, it having been explained to the Pope that the titles which the Archbishop elect gave himself of Elector of the Empire, &c., were titles which depended (*che dependevano*) on his being Archbishop of Cologne. As the "despatch" of that See amounts in all to about 21,000 treasury ducats (*ducati di camera*), Cardinal Caraffa having to pass through that Archbishop's territory, and being of as much importance as an Elector of the Empire (*et importando tanto quanto importa un elettor dell' Imperio*), he asked as a favour that one third part of the tax might be assigned him (*li fusse remesso*), which was granted; and Cardinal Pacheco, who "proposed" the Archbishop, made Cardinal Caraffa a present of one third part of his fees for making the "proposal." Having heard that Cardinal Caraffa was to depart immediately, or would remain here in retirement, I went to wish him a good journey, and success in his negotiations for the general peace. He answered me that he never undertook any mission more willingly than this one, because, God willing, none could be more beneficial to the world, nor more glorious to himself. I also performed the same office with his brother, Marquis Montebello, who accompanies him to King Philip.

Rome, 9th October 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 9.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1058. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Morone [Vice Protector of England] has received a copy of the charges brought against him for his defence, and rather more liberty has been allowed him. Persons conversant with the proceedings of the Inquisition consider this by no means a good sign for his right reverend Lordship.

On the 7th instant the "Fiscale"* was put in the Castle, the Governor of Rome being sent immediately to make an inventory of his effects and writings. Bozzuto likewise† is expected to fare badly, as besides having been deprived of the "superintendence of the State" (*della soprintendenza dello Stato*), he has also been

* By name Silvestro Aldobrandini, as in Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, part 1, p. 593, where his abuse of the Duke of Alba is minutely detailed, and we now see how it was avenged immediately after the Pope's reconciliation to King Philip.

† Bozzuto likewise is mentioned in a footnote, Venetian Calendar, vol. 6, p. 593.

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made to vacate his rooms in the palace. So all the ministers who exercised some authority have every one of them fallen, thus illustrating the miserable condition of those who depend on one single individual or on a few.

Cardinal Caraffa will depart for his legation on Monday, the 11th, nor will I omit to write, that although the Pope says publicly, as confirmed by the Cardinal, that he is going to negotiate the universal peace, well-informed persons are, nevertheless, of opinion that being accompanied by his brother, the Marquis, his object relates rather to private designs, and to the aggrandisement of his family, and I am assured on good authority, that having made terms with his Holiness, King Philip will do everything to gain them.

Rome, 9th October 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1059. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday evening M. de Guise arrived at the Court with the Duke of Altri (*sic*)* and Marshal Strozzi, and a great number of lords and gentlemen who came from Italy with his Excellency.

The King was in the park playing at pallmall (*a giocare al palmaglio*), and on being told that his Excellency was coming he left the game and went to meet him. The Duke, having thrown himself at his feet, was received by his Majesty so lovingly, and with so many embraces, that he seemed unable to detach himself from his neck, but after a good while, the Duke having risen, the King greeted the aforesaid Lords, making them many caresses, and very great ones to Marshal Strozzi in particular. It may be credited that his Majesty felt very great joy at this arrival, and principally from now having a companion for his business and his toils, he alone having hitherto despatched the numberless affairs of recent urgency, rarely employing the Cardinal of Lorraine in military matters.

It is reported that M. de Guise will go one of these days with Marshal Strozzi to Compiegne to see the army which is mustered there, and return here to the Court, *where a consultation will be held with such knights and captains as are deemed most experienced in warfare, and the plan of the army's proceedings will be settled, no sign being yet visible of the time when it is to march, as apparently, whilst the King remains at . . . ,† little of importance can be done.*

The seven French ensigns brought by M. de Guise from Italy will go into La Bresse, where the 7,000 Switzers raised lately are also to remain, both because there is still some suspicion of the German troops levied in those parts by the Count of Ferette, as likewise on account of its being heard that the troops in the Milanese were accumulating with the intention of harassing Piedmont, which, if

* Duke of Atri. See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary."

† Illegible cipher.

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confirmed, his most Christian Majesty will send thither part or all of the said troops. M. de Guise has greatly noticed the Marchese de Cava, the son of the Duke of Paliano, which Duke is commended to the utmost by the personages who have come from Rome; *but they do not speak in like terms either of the Cardinal or of Marquis Montebello, who they say never showed any sign of goodwill towards King Henry or his ministers. They say also (similmente) that the Pope's mind was always very much inclined towards his most Christian Majesty, and that when he heard of the rout of the Constable he could not refrain from tears, and did the like when he saw himself compelled to make terms with the King of England; and that remarks were made about the Cardinal's going to the interview with the Duke of Alva.*

Poissy, 10th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.
(2nd letter.)

1060. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In a few days his Majesty will be in this city; the whole army, which, according to the muster made, amounts to 14,000 infantry, and no more, remains to guard the frontiers, but the cavalry remain in the same force as at first (nel numero che era prima), because they did not disband, and they have suffered much less than the infantry. The remaining English are but 500 in all, part having been killed, part left the camp from sickness (per l'infermità), and these few that remain will also depart; but the rest of the army has agreed to serve King Philip during the next six months, his Majesty giving them but four months' pay (4 paghe) for the whole time; for the residue they will provide for themselves at the cost of the weaker (di chi haverà minor forza). Thus will these frontiers be defended, and the Duke of Savoy, who remains with the army, will superintend the fortification of the places; and in the meanwhile it is heard that towards Burgundy those troops continue advancing to the detriment of the French.

The Bishop of Aquila has arrived, he having been sent by the Duke of Alva to give account to his Majesty of the conclusion of the peace and of the particulars treated by him with the Pope, and which were anxiously expected. I am assured that the King's satisfaction with regard to this peace is well nigh incredible, and the delay of the Duke's messenger made his Majesty fear that something had impeded its ratification; nor do they any longer speak against the Pope as heretofore, but transfer their abuse to the Duke of Ferrara, being perhaps no less disgusted with the Duke of Florence, who is generally said to be more inimical to King Philip than the Duke of Ferrara; and the Lucchese, owing to certain circumstances which have rendered them suspicious of Florence, sent a secretary, who is now with the army, recommending their town to his Majesty.*

* Alvaro de Quadra. (See General Index, Foreign Calendar, 1558, 1559.)

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The Marshal of St. André, who was captured at the rout of St. Quentin, is dead.

Brussels, 10th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 13.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1061. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King is expected here next Sunday, and on his way from the camp he will go and see Le Catelet, and then come straight to this city, accompanied by Don Ruy Gomez, who is indisposed, and by other chief personages.

The whole army will remain for the present round Han, for the defence of the frontiers, but on the other side of the Somme, as, although the advices from France are rather contradictory, they nevertheless all agree in this, that the French are on the confines for the purpose of offering some impediment to these fortifications; so it has been determined to fortify Chauni, between Han and Noyon, but it is not yet known whether the work has been commenced. Immediately on the arrival of the Marquis of Pescara [Hernando Francisco de Avalos] at the camp he was confirmed in his grade of captain-general of the light cavalry.

The report of his Majesty's going to Spain continues.

Brussels, 13th October 1577.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16.

Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1062. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Caraffa's departure has been delayed until now, the general opinion being that he waits for a reply from King Philip; other persons say that he awaits the embarkation of the Duke of Alva, to confer with his Excellency at Pisa, and with the Duke of Florence, who is also there, and yesterday morning Marquis Montebello told my secretary that they might possibly see the Duke of Alva when passing through Pisa, but that they had made no appointment together to that effect.

*Another cause assigned to me for this delay by a person who can know the fact is that before he departs the Cardinal chooses to arrange affairs here in such a way that everything may depend upon him, distributing the chief employments (mettendo i governi) amongst various persons, so that no one may predominate, and depressing his brother the Duke of Paliano as much as he can, remembering that the last time, when not before the Pope's eyes, evil offices were performed against him, so that his Holiness became angry, and spoke to his right reverend Lordship rather resentfully, as I wrote at the time; and Cardinal Caraffa said to me that he thus ascertained how detrimental his absence from Rome had been to his interests. He has, however, obtained the pecuniary supply, and two sets (*due mude*) of his retinue have already been sent in advance.*

To the charges brought against Cardinal Morone, his right reverend Lordship replies that he will confute them all, and he has

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given the interrogatories for the cross-examination of the witnesses, who are greatly opposed, for accusing him of such things as the most villanous maniac, still less an individual hitherto considered sane and good, would never have uttered; and there are also autograph letters of the Cardinal's to his Vicar at Modena, exhorting, praying, and commanding him to prosecute and persecute (*a processare e perseguitare*) certain heretics, who had the same opinions as those of which he is now accused. On the other hand his right reverend Lordship's case causes general fear for him. Nor will I omit to mention that in public consistory, when in the act of departure, the Cardinals Santa Fiore and Sermoneta being on either side of him, the Pope told them for the love of God to beware of making any Pope suspected of heresy, as it would be the final ruin of Christendom, and that they well knew the peril incurred in the past conclaves; that he would make such provision as he could to obviate such a thing as he was speaking of, an event to be expected within 100 years.

The Signor Ascanio Caracciolo has arrived here, having been sent by the Duke of Alva with the hackney and money to pay the tribute for the kingdom of Naples. On Thursday he had audience of the Pope. He is lodged in the house of the Cardinal "Camerlengo," and will remain here until King Philip sends some other representative. Then yesterday in consistory his Holiness said that he intended to accept the tribute sent by the Duke of Alva; and as certain Cardinals had counselled him to accept it without the usual words, *sine præiudicio camere apostolicæ*, as owing to the present peace they were at any rate immaterial, his Holiness said that he would consent to this, but wished to have it well examined, whether by accepting it without those words any detriment would ensue to the said treasury; and having assigned this investigation to the Cardinals Medici, Puteo, and Saraceno, the consistory adjourned.

Rome, 16th October 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16.
Deliberazioni
Senato
(Secreta),
File No. 30.

1063. MOTION made in the Senate by the SAGES of the COUNCIL and the SAGES for the MAINLAND, for a Letter to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

By letters from our governors of Brescia, dated the 12th instant, we are advised that the Bishop of that city, Cardinal Durante, is supposed to be at the point of death; so we, with the Senate, order you to obtain audience of the Pope, and to tell him in our name, that in the event of his Lordship's demise, we earnestly request His Holiness to maintain for us the favour granted us in the person of the Reverend Dom Alvise di Prioli by Julius III. It is important that in the city of Brescia, one of our chief fortresses, we should at all times have one of our noblemen and a confidential person for its bishop, such as the Reverend Prioli, which for many reasons, we cannot say of Cardinal Durante's nephew.

We therefore desire that Prioli do succeed to the said bishopric, and should the Pope say that he has suspicion of his religious opinions, you may tell him that we have held him to be a Catholic person and of good life, but that some one may have brought a false

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charge against him, which he in person might easily confute. We pray the Pope to be pleased to ascertain the truth of this.

De litteris, 127; de non, 6; non sinceri, 1. Lecta Collegio esistenti in Senatu.

Expulsis papalisticis et affinibus R^{di}. D. Aloisij Prioli.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1064. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King arrived here late this evening, having been expected two or three days sooner, but chose to amuse himself by hunting for a short time in this neighbourhood.

The determination formed by his Majesty to retire was not so much on account of the approaching winter season, which is unsuited to fresh undertakings, as because it has been heard that the French have mustered so many troops that they thought of attacking the King even in his fortresses (fin nelli sui forti); so this army being very weak, his advisers, and most especially Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], recommended him to withdraw before the French make any greater stir; as were they to come in his direction he could not give them battle with so small a force without great danger, and were he to delay his retreat until then it would not be to his honour, as it will be now that he has remained so long a time master of the field, the enemy never having dared to face him; so the King, who according to his custom defers to the opinion of his ministers almost in everything, has adhered to this sage counsel and returned hither to-day, sound, cheerful, and full of glory, and to the universal satisfaction; and from what I hear his Majesty hitherto evinces, neither by word nor deed, any diminution of the graciousness and modesty which seemed to him no less natural before these victories, than pride and insolence in prosperity are indigenous to the rest of the Spanish nation.

After the King left Han, some French cavalry made a foray some distance beyond Cambrai in this direction, killing and wounding some of his Majesty's archers, and taking several baggage carts of personages of the court, including one of Secretary Vargas, containing several decrees made in the Council, though nothing of consequence has been lost, as Vargas, foreseeing the danger, took with him the few important papers of his office for their greater security. It is thus supposed that the French will now choose to take their share of pillage, which will be at the cost of private individuals, as his Majesty's places and these new fortresses are sufficiently garrisoned, and at Han, where they are still building, there is all the present army with the Duke of Savoy, the foot soldiers having agreed to serve the King during six months for four months' pay, the cavalry receiving six months' pay for eight months' service.

Brussels, 17th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1557.
Oct. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1065. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

In my letter of the 15th I wrote that, although the Constable's wife† had obtained the safe-conduct to go and see his Excellency, she nevertheless did not depart, and this seemed to imply something of importance. It has now been told me, as a great secret, that after the Constable's imprisonment in the castle of Ghent, the Duchess of Lorraine likewise remained in that city, and having obtained permission to visit him at her pleasure, her Excellency goes into the castle almost daily, staying with him a long while, and she at length discussed with him the means for coming to some agreement between these two kings. Knowing that the Guises counselled and favoured the war, it being also credible that even at present they might do the like, both to continue in their first opinion and also to establish themselves in that supreme authority which they have exercised since the capture of the Constable; and, on the other hand, knowing that his Excellency has always favoured the peace, and that if in his power to induce King Henry to make some agreement, not only would he benefit this kingdom, but also greatly facilitate his own release, and might consequently prevent the house of Guise from radicating itself in its present very lofty position; she suggested to him the possibility of his coming to France to induce his Majesty to make the agreement, on condition of the Constable sending to Flanders, as hostages, his own son, M. de Montmorency, and his son-in-law, M. de la Trimouille. This proposal having arrived here, it seems to have filled the most Christian King with hope of some fair adjustment, and although he recalled M. de Montmorency from Amiens, and made him come here to the Court, where he arrived two days ago with the aforesaid M. de la Trimouille, I nevertheless do not hear that any reply has been given as yet, but that they delay as a demonstration of dignity rather than from a wish to exclude the negotiation. Yesterday evening the Cardinal of Lorraine told the person who made the foregoing statement that within six weeks the Constable will be here; and this seems to be the true cause of his wife not going to him.*

Advices seem to have arrived here, that Sultan Soliman was about to make a fresh agreement with the King of the Romans, the reason being that he has discovered a plot formed by his younger son against the life of the elder one, so that very great enmity had arisen between them; and the Sultan being in ill health, he thinks it for his advantage not to commence a fresh war at a time when, in the event of his death, his sons might revolt one against the other; in which case it is thought here, that the embassy of M. de la Vigne will prove fruitless, as the Sultan not sending forth an army, neither will his fleet put to sea.

Yesterday advices came from Scotland that the Queen [Regent]

* Not found.

† In the "Nouvelle Biographie Générale," vol. 36, p. 347 (ed. Paris, 1861), it is seen that the Constable's wife was Madeleine de Savoie. She descended from Renée of Savoy, and Villars, Count of Tenda, natural son of Philip Duke of Savoy. (See Biographical Dictionary (Bassano), name "Tenda.")

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had built a fortress, to prevent the English from succouring Berwick (*Bervich*), and when they attempted to do so the Scots cut 2,000 of them to pieces; and that the Scottish troops had made several forays in the English territory, burning and sacking the whole territory on their line of march, which caused the people of England to rouse themselves, and to give their Queen greater assistance than they had done hitherto. It is also heard that the English determined at any rate again to attempt to succour Berwick, and that they were therefore pushing forward with the army, the Scots advancing to meet them, so that a battle was considered certain. Another report purports that the Admiral of England with twelve armed ships and a good number of troops went to one of the chief of the Orkney Isles, which profess allegiance to the Scots, and landed a certain amount of soldiery; whereupon the inhabitants of the island rose and cut them to pieces, and the Admiral is missing; other advices saying that his ships were shattered in a violent storm, and that many of them foundered.

Berbighier [*Polvilliers* ?], the captain of the troops mentioned by me heretofore, has approached Bourg-en-Bresse, with the intention of laying siege to it, and has some 10,000 infantry with him and 2,000 horse; and 2,000 Frenchmen on their march from Piedmont have entered Lyons with the Vidâme de Chartres,* together with 4,000 of the last levy of Switzers. At Macon, King Henry has another 3,000 Switzers, and the 1,200 infantry who came with M. de Guise; and some 4,000 Germans who were to have come into these parts, being waylaid by Birboglier [*Polvilliers* ?], took the road through Switzerland; a messenger being also sent to meet M. d'Aumale with orders for him to remain at Lyons until the end of this stir.

It is also understood that in many places in Savoy, placards have been found in the streets, signed by the Duke of Savoy, inciting the inhabitants to free themselves from the tyranny of the King of France, and to resume their obedience to him their true and natural prince, declaring that should they not do so he would come with a very great force to recover his own, and that he would put the whole of that territory to fire and sword; notwithstanding which, no stir nor any commotion is heard of, save that at Geneva, a place under the protection of the Canton of Berne, a certain plot has been discovered, and some of the conspirators were put to death for it.

Nothing more is heard about the army of the King of Spain, and M. de Guise is still at Compiegne, but will be here in three or four days.

Poissy, 18th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* François de Vendôme. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

1557.
Oct. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1066. MICHIEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Having gone to the palace for entry into the King's apartment, I was met by Don Ruy Gomez, with singular graciousness and goodwill, and he kept me company whilst his Majesty was dressing. After the first complimentary greetings we commenced discussing his Majesty's victories, they being the most agreeable topics that can be broached with these Lords at present. During this conversation Don Ruy Gomez said that this great undertaking had been effected *without experience, without troops, and without money*; so the victory had been given not by men but by God (*ma Dio*), who favoured the goodness of this King and his just cause.

He then proceeded to speak about the peace with the Pope, recapitulating all that had taken place before his Lordship went to Spain, and especially the trust always placed by King Philip in your Serenity. He said that the French ambassador, then resident here, proposed that his King should refer all his disputes to your Serenity, and that he, Don Ruy Gomez, spoke immediately to King Philip, and then returned forthwith to the ambassador, telling him that his Majesty also would do the like, on hearing which, the said ambassador instantly turned the conversation, but his Majesty still remained of the same mind, and with the same good confidence, and would always continue so. When I told him that I had constantly assured your Serenity of this his Majesty's goodwill towards you, and universal quiet, his Lordship rejoined that I had written the truth and the results would show it. He then added that he was sorry to have at present to make war near your State, but that it was necessary to chastise (*castigar*) to use his precise words, that neighbour of ours [the Duke of Ferrara], and to teach him to know how to remain at peace. Shortly afterwards the Count de Feria also said the like to me. I merely answered them that I had always known the King to be prudent and good, and I believed that his Majesty would be so in this, and all his other acts. *From what I can comprehend, Don Ruy Gomez and Count de Feria spoke to me thus, thinking perhaps that I had some order from your Serenity about this matter, as was generally reported by the whole of this Court. Another personage of great authority said to me that the King's chief doubt in this affair of the Duke [of Ferrara], is that of displeasing your Serenity; and that his Majesty is disposed to take him into favour if he asks pardon, but will choose him to give up something of his own, and if unable to obtain anything else, will insist on his dismantling Brescello, which is very near Parma and Cremona, so as to facilitate an attack upon them, and it does not at all secure the Duke's State, as it is remote and out of the way, so he ought not to make a difficulty about this, as it secures others and does him no harm. But the common opinion is that nothing can benefit the Duke more than your Serenity's authority, although, for his own respects, King Philip must wish to quiet any disturbance in Italy, so as to unite all*

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his forces against France, should he be compelled to continue the war.

Brussels, 22nd October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 23.
Original
Letter Book,
Venetian
Archives.

1067. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Your Serenity's letters of the 16th instant were delivered to me last Tuesday at 7 p.m.; on Wednesday morning I sent to demand audience, which for a variety of reasons was delayed until to-day (Friday) at 1 p.m.

In reply to my congratulations offered in your Serenity's name on the peace, and to your hopes that it would lead to the general pacification of Christendom, his Holiness ended thus, "And if those princes [Philip II. and Henry II.] make peace through our medium, they will have cause to remain obliged to us and to you, and to respect this Holy See, and those Lords of Venice, who are the relics of Italian happiness;* most especially we having a good understanding together." I rejoined, "Yes, Holy Father, it is salutary for the sovereigns, from the observance and reverence borne by the most serene Signory to your Holiness and to this See Apostolic, and from your paternal love evinced towards the Republic by fresh benefits and favours and by maintaining those already conceded, to infer an increase of goodwill between his Serenity and your Holiness; and the State, relying on this paternal love, and having before their eyes the security of the city of Brescia, being now informed of the serious illness of Cardinal Durante,† have commissioned me to pray your Holiness to be pleased to maintain the privilege (*la grazia*) conceded them by Julius III., that on Cardinal Durante's death, the bishopric of Brescia was to pass to the Reverend D. Luigi di Priuli,"‡ so that having one of your own noblemen in the See enjoying your confidence, you may remain with your mind at ease about that city, which is one of your principal fortresses, nor could the like be said of Cardinal Durante's nephew, on many accounts which when necessary would be made known to his Holiness. The Pope then interrupting me said, "Magnifico Ambassador! in like manner as we are ready to do whatever we can for the Signory, to the honour of God and of ourselves, so about this must nothing be said; it is a thing done in consistory, and in the matter of '*accessi*,' which we have repealed (*i quali habbiamo revocati*); nor do we choose any one, whether cardinal or prince, to

* Che sono le reliquie del "*bene*" d'Italia. The Pope probably meant "nationality," in allusion to the times when the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese were ruled by native princes.

† Durante de' Duranti, elected Bishop of Brescia by Julius III., in the year 1551 (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 267.)

‡ Repeated mention has been made of this Venetian nobleman in volumes v. and vi., Venetian Calendar. His name is written either Priolo or Priuli, and Alvise or Luigi; and in vol. v., p. 335, there is the account of his appointment as Bishop designate of Brescia. He and Cardinal Morone were both persecuted by Paul IV. on account of their intimate friendship with Cardinal Pole.

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hope for anything of the sort in our lifetime, as the term '*accesso*' was a diabolical invention. In the days of our most holy fathers of the Church, *hec portenta verborum* were never heard." I then said to his Holiness, that if this term of "*accesso*" displeased him, he might find some other way to satisfy the most serene Signory. He replied, "You speak to me of a thing that is impossible, as besides the '*accessi*' being diabolical inventions, we will tell you that we repealed them on account (*ad istanza*) (sic) of Priuli;" and placing his mouth to my ear, he added, "We must at any rate tell it you, he is a heretic." I then said, "Holy Father, the most serene Signory and the whole city of Venice consider him a Catholic who leads a good life, and as he may possibly have been slandered by some one, I therefore beseech your Holiness not to deprive him of that bishopric, as it would be to condemn him before having cognisance of the charges, as he being present might confute them."

The Pope rejoined, "We do not speak of a thing which we do not know for a certainty; we tell you that such is the fact (*ch' è così*) and that there are many in the College who know it, and that we have witnesses *omni exceptione majores*, and we touch it with the hand (*e che la tocchiamo con mano*); he is of that accursed school, and of that apostate household (*e di quella casa apostata*) of the Cardinal of England. Why do you suppose we deprived him of the legation? You will indeed see the end of it; we mean to proceed, and shall use our hands. Cardinal Pole was the master, and Cardinal Morone, whom we have in the Castle, is the disciple, although the disciple has become worse than the master. Priuli is upon a par with these (*Il Priuli va al pari di questi*) and with Marc' Antonio Flaminio, who were he not dead must have been burned; and we had his brother Cesare Flaminio burned in public at the Minerva.* The comrade and guest of Priuli was Galeazzo Caracciolo, son of the Marquis di Trivento our kinsman, for he is the son of a daughter of my sister who was here last year, and he has also a niece of ours for wife, he having left his father, his wife, and nine children, and about 6,000 crowns annual income, and has gone to live with those rogues at Geneva, losing both soul and body. Magnifico Ambassador! let us not speak about this matter, for were our father a heretic, we would carry the faggots to burn him (*perchè se nostro padre fusse heretico portassamo le fascine per abbruciarlo*). Write to the Signory now that we are placed by God to have the care of the universal Church, that they be pleased for us to have the same care of it as was sanctioned by them when we were in a private capacity in that magnificent city, and reminded them so intrepidly of their welfare, persuading them to prosecute that Friar Galattee, who at length died in prison, although he was released under pretence of indisposition; but as he then did worse than ever, going into the shops of the booksellers, apothecaries, and shoemakers, sowing his poison, the Signory was compelled again to have him seized, and he died in prison; and there having come into the little church of St. Nicholas a Chief of the Ten, whom we will not name, we had him driven out of it, he being told that he was excommuni-

* *E noi habbiamo fatto abbrugiare nella Minerva in publico.*

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ated for not having done his duty against that heretic;* so that his Serenity will do well not to proceed in the matter, as cognisance of this case stinks in the nostrils.† For the honour of God we are willing to suffer any torment, and when we can do no more we will throw ourselves on the ground and submit to suffocation, but so long as we can walk, although lame and feeble, we will run on (*correremo inanti*). Rely on this and assure the most illustrious Signory, that whatever we can do for their benefit and honour, we will do as willingly and promptly as any of you yourselves, for we were so courteously received and looked on in your city that we consider ourselves your citizen, and were the opportunity to present itself, we should not wait to be prayed like a foreigner; and thus on the other hand we beseech his Sublimity, in a matter of greater value than the whole world, viz. the entireness (*l'integrità*) of the Catholic faith, to be content that we do our duty, to the honour of God, for the benefit of Christendom, and for the especial safety of your Republic." I replied, "Holy Father, one of the indications of your love for those Lords, would be to give them as Bishop of Brescia, one of their noblemen in whom they trust, as they do in the Reverend Priuli." His Holiness rejoined, "We have said that the grant of your demand is impossible; many of those Lords are obstinate and not very easily managed (*e non molto buoni da cuocer*), but in this business they must take patience, although Priuli is of the Doge's family,‡ for we well know your regards, and about your ballot-balls, but in like manner as you choose to have these worldly respects, allow us to have respect for God." I then added that I would write to your Sublimity what he had said to me, and took leave; it not seeming to me the moment for demonstrating how much your Sublimity has this matter at heart, nor would I let it appear that my demand for audience had been made solely on this account; the hour was also late, it being 5 p.m., and Cardinal Pacheco and the French ambassador were waiting.

Rome, 23rd October 1557.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1068. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke de Guise has returned from Compiègne, with Strozzi and the rest of the company who went thither for the cause written by me; and as I am told by a person who was present, and has very good means for hearing the resolves made by the said personages, together with the Duke de Nevers, M. de Termes, and the general of the artillery, M. d'Estrées,§ they consulted about the

* E noi, sendo venuto nella chiesiola di S. Nicolò un Capo di X., che non vogliamo nominare, lo facessimo cacciar di chiesa, con dire che l'era scomunicato per non haver fatto il debito suo contra quel heretico." The church of St. Nicholas was officiated by the "*Theatins*," of which order Gian Pietro Caraffa was one of the chief founders. He was much at Venice from 1527 to 1536, and in that particular church his jurisdiction seems to have been illimited.

† In the original "*questa cognitione che* [SPETTA," this last word being apparently a mistake for *puzza* or *spuzza*, as in the Venetian dialect.

‡ In October 1557, the reigning Doge was Lorenzo Priuli.

§ Jean Sieur d'Estrées. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, "Mary.")

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fortifications to be raised, and first of all determined at any rate to continue those of Compiègne, and to raise there four bulwarks and a half (4 beloardi et mezzo) and a pontoon, as rendered necessary by the position of the place, and thus encircling it for nearly a mile and half. They also determined to fortify Chauni,* which being between La Fère and Compiègne might serve as outwork to both those places, and thus form a semicircle, whose extremities would terminate towards St. Quentin and Han, and thus render their loss unimportant; but there is a difficulty about Chauni, the enemy having 4,000 infantry there and a good body of horse, and although they have burned it almost entirely and are not raising any fortifications, they still remain there, nor is it known what they intend to do; and until they depart this project cannot be effected, as by no means will the French dislodge them by force, to avoid bringing the enemy's army which is near at hand to defend it, and thus having to fight another battle; so for the present they will on no account attempt anything of the sort in this quarter, as all the fortresses being in very good condition, they will procrastinate, placing their hope in such advantage as may be afforded. They say that La Fère and Peronne have been rendered inexpugnable, but the friend who made this report to me is not of opinion that they rely exclusively on the building of fortresses, which would require much time, and they gave it clearly to be understood, that in accordance with the decision previously made by the King, his Majesty will be compelled to raise so strong an army for next year, that it may enable him to attempt the recovery of what he has lost. The troops are all in garrison on the frontiers and in other places, numbering about 35,000 infantry, besides those at Lyons and at Bourg-en-Bresse, the amount of cavalry being what I wrote heretofore; and they will all winter in their present quarters, it not being hitherto intended to take the field this winter, nor to attempt any real undertaking (*nè tentare realmente impresa alcuna*); nor at Compiègne, where the main body of the army is, are there more than 4,500 Germans, and 600 men-at-arms.

The aforesaid gentleman also told me, that in the course of their conference the said personages gave it largely to be understood that they are desirous of some adjustment, chiefly from their wish for quiet after so many and such protracted fatigues (*fatiche*); which I have thought fit to tell your Serenity in detail.

Concerning the negotiation about the Constable, I heard subsequently, that the person who came hither for that purpose is one of his Excellency's servants who attends him in prison, and after having spoken at great length, alone (*da solo a solo*) with his most Christian Majesty, he was sent back without any decision; the King not having approved of the conditions attached (*unite*) to his Excellency's release; nor have I been able to learn any other authentic particulars, but it is supposed that some fresh form will be devised for pursuing the treaty, although these lords of the house of Guise will not fail adroitly to thwart it, so that his Excellency's

* These particulars would make it appear that at the end of October 1557, the Duke de Guise had no intention of attacking Calais.

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release may at least not take place so immediately, knowing how much it might diminish the authority now held by them.

With regard to the return to Rome of the Caraffa nephews,* the King told Flaminio da Stabia that he will consent to their going back, but chooses first of all to honour them as they deserve, assigning to them both becoming pecuniary supply (*provisione*) and paying the pensions assigned heretofore to their fathers, but that he being unable to despatch this matter so immediately, they must remain here in the meanwhile; and from what is heard, his Majesty will have them detained as long as he can by fair means, but should they insist strenuously he will at length let them go sooner, rather than come to an open rupture with the Pope.

The German troops who were near Bourg-en-Bresse have disbanded from want of money, and part of them, hearing that M. de Guise was preparing to march thither with his Majesty's forces, departed in such haste that they left their baggage, which became the booty of the French soldiers thereabouts.

The Canton of Berne evinces some intention of resenting the passage given to the said Germans by the Franche Comté contrary to treaty, and to make more sure of the fact, the Canton sent an ambassador to the spot, to know the road taken by them. From what the said ambassador told a friend of mine who met him on the way, he takes back word to his masters that the said troops passed through the Franche Comté, and that therefore the treaty is broken. He told him besides that the said burgomasters (*signori*) of Berne have a mind to invade the said Franche Comté, provided his most Christian Majesty will accommodate them with cavalry and contribute half of the cost, dividing subsequently the conquered territory between them.

A few days ago a gentleman in the service of the Duke de Guise went out of Guise with some 15 (*sic*) cavalry, and, advancing about 20 leagues into the enemy's country fell in with Don Ferrante Gonzaga, who with a few followers was going to Cambrai, and captured him, but on the way to Guise with his prisoner, being pursued by a band of cavalry, after rifling his Excellency they set him at liberty and got safe back to Guise; but afterwards M. de Bourdillon,† having gone out of La Fère, took a good part of his baggage, routing also 200 pistolers (*pistoletti*), and doing much damage to the victuals and troops of the King of Spain on their way from St. Quentin to Han.‡ Yesterday evening there was brought to the King a purple velvet gown, richly embroidered with the arms and plumes (*le arme et penacchi*) of a Spanish grandee, name unknown, who was killed by Bourdillon's troops. Don Francesco of

* Namely, Marquis Cava, son of the Duke of Paliano, and the son of Marquis Montebello, the Duke's younger brother.

† Imbert de la Platiere. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, Mary.)

‡ On the 17th October, Surian wrote from Brussels that some French foragers had killed some of King Philip's archers, taking also some baggage waggons, but nothing is said about the capture of Ferrante Gonzaga, who on the 30th October was ill at Brussels, where he died on the 15th November 1557.

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Este,* whose arrival here was announced by me, had not made any previous agreement with the King, in whose hands he placed himself, praying his Majesty to have such consideration as becoming for his honour and interests, and it is said that the King will make him a Knight of St. Michael, and make suitable pecuniary provision for him. There have also arrived Paulo Orsini and Mario Santafiore, to serve his Majesty on this present occasion.

Poissy, 24th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1069. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The only intelligence about the affairs of the confines and of the army, is that yesterday a general proclamation was issued here for all the soldiers to go immediately to the camp, under very heavy penalties, this being done so that they may all go to the quarters appointed them. Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] told me that the French had already greatly reinforced themselves, and were still continuing to do so, it being apparently their intention to prevent these fortifications, though as yet they are not heard to have moved, perhaps because their troops are for the most part useless, having been raised tumultuously (*tumultuariamente*) from the national militia (*delle ordinanze del Regno*). This is quite certain, that a few Spaniards still remain in Chauni without being molested, but the place is not strong, and orders have been given to fortify it, so soon as Han is rendered defensible. *When the Council determined on the King's retreat, his Majesty was told that nothing more could be done this year, because the season was far advanced, and the army weakened by deaths, sickness, and deserters. He replied angrily, "Yes, at present, nothing else can be done, but at first much might have been accomplished;" and he evinced regret (e mostró dolersi) at their not having gone to Compiègne as counselled by Don Ferrante [Gonzaga]. His Majesty believes that then that place would have been easily occupied, as it was not strong, nor is it, although the French subsequently made a trench, in which they merely quarter the army. Thus do the affairs at these frontiers proceed; whilst here at Brussels, since the King's arrival, the States have been called to provide money, and to remedy the high price of victuals, which is so exorbitant that it could not be greater had the place been besieged for a year, and foreigners are the chief sufferers, being compelled to purchase everything to their disadvantage.*

Cardinal Caraffa and the Cardinal of Trent are expected here, this latter having had a pension of 10,000 crowns on the archbishopric of Toledo, and the Cardinal of Augsburg has had 5,000 crowns assigned him in like manner.

The Duke of Alva is also coming to exculpate himself from the charges brought against him, and to complain of being daily

* Francesco d'Este, Marquis of Massa and Padula. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index, as above.)

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deprived of his authority, first by their making a governor of Milan, then by giving away one appointment and another, all which things appertained to him in virtue of the authority he received, which is so ample that the King cannot have greater; so the Duke considers himself aggrieved, and his adherents therefore say that he is come to obtain the observance of his privileges, and if denied him he will resign and go to Spain. So say his adherents, but I am assured by persons in authority who have seats in the council chamber (*che entrano nelli consigli*), that the Duke has not given satisfaction, and that he will easily (*facilmente*) be deprived of the government; it being also hinted to me that the Count de Feria will be sent to Naples, and Don Juan Manrique to Milan; and that Don Ruy Gomez intends to rule alone, with Don Ferrante [Gonzaga], putting him in charge of the affairs of the war, and keeping the rest for himself. The Bishop of Arras [Antoine de Granvelle], who was much favoured in the camp, it being supposed that he would recover his former high station, has returned to his bounds (*è ritornato nelli sui termini*) since the arrival of Don Ruy Gomez. The ambassador from Genoa, who came to urge the King to repeal the decree made in Spain about the assignments given to the merchants for the moneys had from them, is returning to Italy, nor has he been able to obtain what he wished.

The ambassador from Florence is intent on soliciting the expedition of the privilege for the cession of Sienna (*la espeditione del privilegio della cessione di Siena*), and that Duke renders himself more and more suspected daily; and now again by having so long delayed to send his troops against the Duke of Ferrara, and for having sent such as are of little use, and for protracting their payment, and because, in addition to this, he is drawing up a sort of process against the Cardinal of Burgos, who was in Sienna; thus giving occasion to those who favoured him to proceed more coldly than before about his affairs.

There are advices from England that the Scots entered England in the direction of Wark, and the English are marching against them with a numerous force.

Brussels, 24th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 27.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1070. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After my letter of the 24th the King determined that M. de Guise should go to Compiègne on the 2nd of next month, with Marshal Strozzi and M. de Termes, the chief cause of this despatch being to put troops in Chauni and to fortify it, it being heard that the troops of the King of England are retiring, and particularly from that place; for which purpose they will draft a certain number from the fortresses, always with the intention of undertaking some other enterprise should the opportunity present itself. After despatching this business his Excellency will discharge a certain number of troops, in proportion to those disbanded by the enemy, whereas, had

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they kept the whole army on foot, he also would have done the like. Don Francesco da Este will be made a knight of the Order, and have the command of 50 men-at-arms, for which he apparently demands 10,000 crowns stipend, he having been offered hitherto, in the King's name, 6,000, which it is thought will be adjusted with 8,000; and M. de Montluc having had leave to return from his government of Mont' Alcino, it is thought that Don Francesco will replace him. Paulo Orsini has prayed the King to continue his good offices for the release of the Count of Pitigliano, about which his Majesty has shown himself so very anxious that he announced the intention of not allowing the Caraffa nephews to depart hence until the said Count shall be at liberty.*

Poissy, 27th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1071. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King has been rather indisposed lately, having hurt his leg when boar hunting, but the injury is slight, and does not prevent him from transacting business, although he lives rather cautiously. Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] has been very dangerously ill; he had a relapse to-day, and the physicians are of opinion that if he remains in these provinces he will die here. *Should he absent himself, it will be very detrimental to King Philip, and highly advantageous for the French, as it is perfectly true that no one else at this Court understands war; and although the Duke of Savoy goes gaining authority for himself (si va acquistando autorità), he has as yet neither sufficient valour nor ability (nè valor nè ingegno tale) to sustain so great an undertaking. His Excellency and Don Bernardino de Mendoza are accused of obstinately insisting on battering St. Quentin on its strongest side, contrary to the advice of the said Don Ferrante, who was at length forced to consent to raise a new battery as written by me at the time, thus delaying the capture of the place, and consequently preventing the advance of the army to make greater conquests, to the displeasure of the King, who on the other hand very greatly favours Don Ferrante, so that his enemies, who commenced recovering their reputation, are again downcast (bassi). Don Ruy Gomez, in like manner as he is more than ever in favour with the King, so does he favour Don Ferrante's interests more than ever, and to say all in one word, these two personages are those who rule everything, and the Count de Feria (who seemed at first to be of another league) is doing all he can to join them, and he may possibly succeed (et li potrà venire fatto) should he choose to yield to Don Ruy Gomez, and depend on him entirely, as seems to be his intention. In case the Duke of Alba come hither as reported, the less favour will he find, and I am assured on good authority, that if he comes he will*

* Blaise de Montesquieu. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, Mary.)

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no longer return to Italy with his present authority, nor can he in honour go back with less, but will necessarily determine to pass his life in Spain. His adherents having warned him of this, he will probably not come hither so soon, and not coming the King bears him such great respect, that he will not make any change to his detriment (*non farà niuna novità contra di lui*).

The Cardinal of Trent is expected here at the end of next month, but as yet no advice has been received of Cardinal Caraffa's departure from Rome, though an apartment has been prepared for him in the palace of M. de Lalain,* which is a noble building (*un palazzo honorato*), and near the Court. It was proposed in Council to lodge his right reverend Lordship in the royal palace, because the King of France did so last year, but it was decided negatively, so as not to introduce this custom, which the Emperor always avoided. As yet no ambassador has been appointed to Rome, and the cause of this seems to be, that some persons are suspicious of the Pope's mind, about which the ambassador from Florence speaks in such a way that he seems to have had advices from his Duke, purporting that what his Holiness has done hitherto is entirely feigned (*tutto finto*), by the advice of the French for their own interests.

Brussels, 30th October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

1072. MICHEL SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with King Philip, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Advices having been received lately that his Majesty's troops were disbanding from the camp, wandering here and there to avoid the cold and inconveniences of the winter season, it has been determined to discharge such part of them as are unnecessary, and merely to retain the number required for the custody of the frontiers, thus saving the great cost which would otherwise have been incurred for the maintenance of so large a force during this winter, which is very opportune, as at present King Philip does not possess, nor can he find, sufficient sums of money for his expenditure in so many quarters. These States have been convoked to furnish pecuniary supply, but the utmost that can be got from them cannot exceed one million of florins (equal to 500,000 crowns), which sum is required for his Majesty's ordinary household expenditure, and that of the Court here and in England, whither according to report he will go for Christmas at the latest; so to keep so large an army in his pay for such a period would be a useless and insupportable burden. The Duke of Savoy is therefore expected here in the middle of next month, when it is believed that the fortress of Han will be in a state to defend itself, as King Philip's bulwark (so called because his Majesty himself superintended its erection) is at length completed. It is true with regard to the other bulwarks, that the one

* Charles, Comte de Lalain. (See the late Sir William Hackett's Index to Foreign Calendar, Mary.)

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of the Duke of Savoy is not much raised, and that of M. de Glasson still less, but the engineers continue working.

As to what the French are doing, the most accredited advices are that they have discharged a great part of their troops, and that the most Christian King is indisposed. The French for the present year are expected to limit themselves to forays, which they make daily, to the detriment of a few luckless individuals.

King Philip will remain in these parts with only the frontier garrisons and the local militia (*et con le gente ordinarie del paese*), but in Burgundy he has well nigh a regular army (*ha quasi un giusto essercito*), and in Italy, besides the forces attacking the Duke of Ferrara, he must provide for the Milanese, where his Majesty owes the troops 400,000 crowns, so that the soldiery there live at discretion, to the utter ruin of that province; and the inhabitants might be relieved from such great wrongs with 250,000 crowns, for it is said those soldiers would be content with that amount in ready money, although infinitely less than their due; but the government here (*questi Signori*) would wish the Milanese to try and obtain that sum from the duchy itself, either by loan or in some other way, though they are assured that this is impossible, and that the funds must be raised here, as the Milanese is burdened beyond measure. They have written about this to the Duke of Alva, whose reply they await, and in the meanwhile no remedy is applied for the evil, nor for the danger to which that territory is exposed by the discontent of the population, and the vicinity of the enemy.

The Indian fleet has arrived at Seville with two millions of gold, of which 800,000 are said to belong to the King, and the rest to private individuals, but I am assured that his Majesty has not more than 400,000 on his own account (*di sua ragione*), but thinks of making use of the entire sum by giving the merchants assignments (*assegnamenti*), thus causing them all to clamour, as they suspect that in the course of time the assignments will be withdrawn, as was done lately by others. The Genoese, who are so greatly interested in the matter, sent an ambassador (*un suo ambassator*), who proved to his Majesty that this proposal destroys both their property and credit, yet he could obtain nothing but fair words, the matter being referred for better revisal (*ad esser meglio rivista*) to the Council of Spain, so that he departed very dissatisfied. It is said for certain that this breach of promise will render it difficult for the King to obtain money in his present great need, and that the other merchants who trade in the Indies will no longer allow their property (*avere*) to go to Spain, but will have it landed in Portugal, where they think it will be safer; so it is believed that in order to obtain pecuniary supply, his Majesty must give the merchants satisfaction.

The Admiral of France [Gaspar de Coligny], now prisoner in a castle beyond Bruges, near the sea, is seriously indisposed, and being very melancholy and in a place where most especially at this season the air is most unwholesome, he may very probably never return to France. The universal hatred borne him is incredible,

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the rupture of the truce being attributed to him ; all persons who have been prisoners in France accusing him also of cruelty, avarice, and baseness (*di crudeltà, di avaritia, et di villania*), by reason of the shameful way in which he treated them.

To-day Don Ferrante Gonzaga seemed better, but he had another relapse this evening.

Brussels, 31st October 1557.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]



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